CHAPTER III

EARLY WORKS/WRITINGS
Land revenue being the main source of income of the British in India, the new rulers displayed a vital interest in it and attached great importance to it right from the beginning of their rule. Even the newly recruited British Civil Servants were expected to acquire a knowledge of India in general and its land revenue administration at the district level in particular, for it was there that the 'groping for information' began and "from the first compelled attention to the history of the institutions",[1] which were found in the country.

Against this backdrop a number of British administrators in India gradually evolved into historians. To this genre of administrator-historians belongs W.H. Moreland, who heralded the dawn of a new and distinct phase in modern Indian historiography. Not only did he lay down the foundation of historiography of medieval Indian economy, he also fortified it systematically and steadily by the wide range of his works and articles. In fact, Moreland's career as a historian may be visualised as consisting of two phases. The first phase co-incided with his tenure in India, while the second phase began after his retirement, when he devoted all his energies to historical research in the field of Indian economy. Moreland arrived in India at a young age of twenty one in 1889 and throughout his tenure in India he served only in the United Provinces. His aptitude for land settlement work soon became apparent and a close perusal of Moreland's career reveals that he developed a flair for writing on land revenue and other agrarian themes at quite an early stage. As early as 1896, on the Settlement Officer's death, Moreland completed the assessment work and published the Final Report of the Unao District. A large portion of the Settlement Report was incorporated in

Towards the close of the last century Moreland was deputed by the Indian Government to the Australian Colonies on an important mission— to study on the spot, Farrer's methods in raising new varieties of rust-resistant wheats, to obtain a supply of the same for use in India and to report on their suitability for the Indian conditions. On his return Moreland summed up the results of his visit in, A Report on Australian Methods of Testing and Improving Wheat And Their Applicability To India; With Special Reference To The Prevention of Rust. The Report written on 14 December, 1900, was published in 1901, as a separate document as well as in the Agricultural Ledger of 1901.

Firstly, contrary to the orders, Moreland decided against bringing over any large stock of rust-resistant varieties, primarily because he felt that, "the climate and agricultural conditions prevailing in India are so different from those of the Colonies that it is not possible to infer that a rust-resistant variety in New South Wales will show the same character in India". Further, the adoption of Australian method of testing the value of grain appeared unnecessary to him, so far as the Indian market was concerned. However, in case it was considered desirable to adopt it with a view to the export trade, Moreland recommended the setting up of one testing establishment for the whole of India, which might be located as the Dehra Dun Laboratory. Secondly, Moreland recommended that the system of scientific cross-breeding of the improved races of wheat could be introduced in India at a very moderate expense. He suggested that the first step in this direction would be to establish a central breeding station at Kanpur, which would "breed wheats such as may be expected to be an improvement on those in use, and

---


will supply these to the provincial department: the latter will arrange for the cultivation and selection of the new breeds, so that these processes may be carried out in the agricultural region for which the wheats are intended".[4] Thirdly, Moreland wanted the provincial departments to bear the expenditure in the work of selection and that the Imperial Government should provide the cost of the central breeding station. Finally, "the first work of the central station should be an attempt to produce wheats that will, as far as possible, stand drought and resist or escape rust...".[5] As a result of Moreland's proposals, wheat-breeding on the lines of the Australian work was taken up at the Kanpur Farm in 1902, with the help of a grant from the Revenue and Agricultural Department of the Indian Government.[6]

Moreland also participated actively in the proceedings of the Board of Agriculture, wherein he outlined the experiments, investigations and improvements being undertaken in the United Provinces. Thus his references to, the progress made in cropping, extension and improvement of Indian cotton, sinking of wells, attempts to utilize barren lands (usar), (which were a prominent feature of the Provinces), improvement of water-supply in the sub-montane tract (tarai),[7] course of studies in force at the Agricultural School at Kanpur,[8] the development of sugar-cane industry and distribution of seed of certain crops on credit[9], are to be found in the Proceedings.

---

[5] Ibid.
It was however, the publication of Moreland's first manual, *The Agriculture of the United Provinces, An Introduction For The Use of Landholders And Officials*, in 1904, which marked the beginning of his career as a historian in the specific field. As the title of the work clearly indicates, Moreland's object in undertaking it was to provide an introduction to agriculture, which he hoped would be of use to all those who had to deal with the cultivator. Moreland believed that, "The welfare of the cultivator may be affected for good or for evil by the actions of two distinct classes: the officials with whom he has to deal and the landholders (or their subordinates) under whom he holds his land. The two classes have at least one feature in common, that they know very much less of the cultivator's business than he knows himself.... and thus it happens that even experienced land agents and officials may do a great deal of harm merely from ignorance and thoughtlessness".[10] Thus the book was written primarily for the benefit of the landholders and officials in order to equip them with sufficient knowledge relating to the basic principles of agriculture as well as the agricultural conditions in the United Provinces. As a revenue official Moreland went into an indepth study of various aspects related to agriculture.

The work contains no bibliography and one gathers from the Preface and notes given at the end of the chapters, the sources from which Moreland drew the relevant information. Thus apart from consulting several books by British authors, he consulted numerous Settlement Reports, Famine Commission Reports and Government Publications also. Moreland was aware that "it would be pedantic not to use the vernacular terms". A rich and copious glossary of vernacular terms has been appended to the book and Moreland used the English name of a crop only when one was in common use. Besides, he mentioned the scientific names of the crops for the benefit of those who were not familiar with the

Divided into two parts, the first part of the work aims at giving an account of agriculture in general, with chapters on topics as: The Growth of Plants and the way in which it can be influenced by the Cultivator; The Weather; The Soils of the Provinces; Drainage; Tillage; Sowing and Seed; Irrigation; Manuring; Harvesting; Payment of Rent and Disposal of Produce; Plant Disease and Pests; Cattle and other Farm Animals; Management of a Holding; Management and Improvement of Estates and Trade in Agricultural Produce. The second part carries some details regarding the different agricultural regions of the United Provinces and the various crops that were grown there.

The main object of agriculture, reflects Moreland was "to feed the grower and his family, as well as the animals employed in tillage: the second object is to produce something for sale in order to procure money for clothes, for rent (where this is not taken in kind), and for the incidental expenses of the household". Besides the cultivator also endeavoured "to put something by; and to grow for himself such necessaries other than food and such comforts and luxuries as his holding can yield." In accomplishing these objects, the cultivator apart from being helped by labour and cattle was also aided and guided by the accumulated experience of many generations of cultivators, which was to be found in the custom of the country. Moreland who seems to have been in favour of co-operative societies called for co-operative action for the improvement of seed-stocks and to tempt the buyers to pay a fair price. He stressed that the introduction of new crops and varieties required for its success the active co-operation of the landholders and organised bodies of cultivators which were found in the form

[14] Ibid., p. 132.
[15] Ibid., p. 75.
of co-operative societies.\[16\] In fact, Moreland wanted the co-operation of even the Agricultural Department in the project, since "no improvement in local agriculture is needed more urgently than increased facilities for obtaining good seeds".\[17\]

Regarding labour Moreland pointed out that, "the extent to which a cultivator can depend on the labour of his family is a very important element in the economy of the farm".\[18\] This was particularly the case among the lower castes of agriculturists who were interested in the success of the crop and thus worked hard. But among the higher castes where the women on account of social constraints did not participate in agriculture and where men like some Oudh Thakurs, who considered agricultural exercise below their dignity, labourers had to be employed. However, Moreland pointed out that on account of a marked increase in the wages of agricultural labour in the recent past, a certain degree of change in the social customs could be seen.\[19\]

Although Moreland applauded the Indian cultivator for his sound judgement and experience in agricultural operations, but the archaic methods of harvesting followed by the latter did not find favour with him. He felt that they were defective, tended to injure the crop, and "which the cultivators have worked out for themselves in the course of centuries, are adapted primarily to their own needs since there was no possibility of exporting ordinary produce until quite recently".\[20\] However, according to Moreland, even finished products like sugar and tobacco were not in demand in European markets due to their inferior quality. Therefore, it was essential and of practical importance that the cultivator should adapt his methods to suit the tastes of a wider market and the best way "appears to be the multiplication of collecting agencies under skilled supervision which shall take over the raw produce

\[17\] Ibid., p. 75.
\[18\] Ibid., p. 141.
\[19\] Ibid., p. 142.
\[20\] Ibid., p. 100.
and work it up for the market. The great spread of cotton ginning mills in recent years indicates the direction which this movement may take in future".[21] Moreland also made the readers aware of the plight of the cultivators in the Provinces most of whom possessed small holdings. Financial limitations usually led them to dispose off most of their produce as soon as it was harvested. Moreland called this practise "undoubtedly an evil" for it ran contrary to the interests of the toiling peasants who need money urgently to pay the rent, clear their debts and meet other expenses, but got less money from the buyers who lower the prices accordingly. On the other hand if the cultivators had enough capital to hold their produce for a few weeks, they could get substantially higher prices. Moreland reiterated the valuable results of organised co-operation in agriculture which enabled the cultivators to wait for a favourable market.[22]

In the Chapter on Management And Improvement of Estates, Moreland indicated the principles on which a landholder should deal with his cultivating tenants. Thus, while the object of the landholder was to realise as large an income as he could, he was not free to deal with the cultivators in the manner he liked.[23] The Tenancy Laws imposed several restrictions upon him with regard to the demand and collection of rent and the ejectment of tenants. According to Moreland, it was in the direct interest of the landholder, "that his tenants shall be prosperous... that his land shall be as productive as possible; and the share of the produce which he takes from the tenants must be so calculated that it shall not in any way affect efficiency".[24]

In fact, Moreland went a step further and even laid down detailed qualification for the landholder and their agents.[25] Moreland

[22] Ibid., p.703.
[23] Ibid., p. 145.
[24] Ibid., p. 146.
[25] Ibid., pp. 149-151.
felt that a landholder could assist the cultivators in several ways, because an ordinary cultivator, who did not lack in skill, knowledge or readiness to take pains, was otherwise handicapped in many ways in making the best use of his land and labour.[26] This is where a landholder could come to his rescue and help him out of such difficulties as want of water, want of drainage, want of good seed and implements for special purpose, inferior cattle, scarcity of fuel, insufficient facilities for marketing, defective processes for preparing products, and want of means to cope with diseases.[27]

Discussing the different agricultural regions of the United Provinces Moreland concluded that the regions lying South of the Jumna differed widely, with regard to agriculture, from those lying to the North. The difference consists partly in the habits of the people, partly in the soil and partly in the water supply. The people are perhaps less industrious than those who live North of the Jumna, and are readier to give up the struggle against adversity; but it must be admitted that in their case the struggle is exceptionally severe, and their resources have until recently been scanty.[28] However, Moreland also noted that in the recent years Bundelkhand had made tremendous progress. Several canals, lakes, reservoirs and embankments called bandhiya had been constructed with government loans and which had materially altered the economic condition of Bundelkhand. Thus, apart from catering to the needs of the region, the area that could be sown in a drought was now much larger. These improvements were "due in part to the provision of material facilities, such as the new canals and the offer of loans for agricultural purposes, and in part to the policy adopted by the revenue administration."[29] In fact, Moreland was full of admiration for the revenue policy of the government which he felt had far-reaching effects. Thus by recognising the fundamental

[27] Ibid., p. 152.
[28] Ibid., p. 169.
[29] Ibid., p. 175.
principle that Bundelkhand required strong cultivating communities and not absentee landholders, the debts of the landholders were liquidated under special legislation so that land should not be sold for existing debts. Simultaneously the methods pertaining to revenue assessment were modified in order to ensure that no excessive demand was made in unfavourable seasons. These measures resulted in "an undoubted increase in the capital available for agricultural use.... the people have shown more aptitude to make the most of their resources and to struggle against adversity than might have been expected from their past history".[30] Thus Moreland highlights the role played by British Government in encouraging cultivation.

Further, it is interesting to note the new meaning the term famine had acquired in the recent past. Moreland pointed out that with the development of trade and railways famine no longer indicated a condition of extreme scarcity, especially of food grains, but one of acute unemployment among labourers owing to the cessation of field-work.[31] He also suggested that the government should adopt a policy of growing fuel to meet the contingency of fodder-famine. In fact, he hoped that the landholders who read this book would insist on the adoption of this policy in their estates.[32] Moreland also noted, in most parts of the United Provinces rents were calculated and paid mostly in cash and varied from region to region, depending on the productivity of the soil and on the competition for land. For instance, rents in Bundelkhand and the unhealthy Tarai regions were comparatively much lower than in the fertile central and eastern districts, "where every patch of fertile land has many claimants".[33] Thus a cultivator who did not pay the rent promptly could be easily replaced by a more satisfying tenant, but in the backward tracts the land was waiting for cultivators and ejectments were also very rare. If

[31] Ibid., p. 25.
[32] Ibid., p. 234.
[33] Ibid., p. 103.
the landholder insisted on full payment, it was not uncommon for the cultivator to abandon his holding and seek fresh settlement. Finally, Moreland also advocated the use of machinery in sugar industry.[34]

As Moreland became aware of the changes in the agriculture of the Provinces as well as the advance in knowledge, he considered it essential to bring out a revised edition of the work, The Agriculture of the United Provinces, in 1912. Thus, while Moreland's first manual was written mainly with the aim of providing guidelines to the junior officers and the landholders, the welfare of the cultivator was set as a goal for them.

After the publication of his first manual in 1904, Moreland contributed a note on "The Relation of the Weather to Rust on Cereals", in Butler's and Hayman's paper on Indian Wheat Rusts in 1906,[35] in which he discussed the relationship between the weather and rust in the United Provinces. Moreland pointed out that the long-continuing rain or cloudy weather in January or February gave rise to those conditions under which rust spread with greatest rapidity.[36] Besides he also wrote papers on such topics as, "Reh. An account of the attempts which have been made to utilize the upland barren lands (usar) of the United Provinces for profitable purposes", which was published in the Agricultural Ledger No. 13, 1901; "Conditions determining the area sown with cotton in the United Provinces", in Agricultural Journal of India, Volume ii, 1907.[37] Moreland described the mode of working of the Oudh seed depots and distribution of pure and sound seeds to cultivators at reasonable rates.[38]

[36] Ibid., p.97.
[38] Albert Howard & Gabrielle L.C. Howard, Wheat in India, Its Production, Varieties And Improvement, p. 120.
While Moreland's first manual acquainted the Junior officers with the subject of agriculture, the second manual, *The Revenue Administration of the United Provinces* (1911) introduced them to "the history and working of the oldest branch of administration".[39] Moreland felt that the Junior Officers ought to be given "training in the elements of survey, and records, and the connected branches of the revenue administration".[40] The work had its origin in the informal lectures, which Moreland delivered on the principles and development of revenue administration of the United Provinces. However, much before Moreland wrote, the question of land-revenue had drawn the attention of scholars, as is exemplified in such works: John Briggs, *The Present Land Tax of India* (1830), E. Atkinson, *Statistical And Historical Account of the N.W. Provinces*, volumes issued in various years for different divisions, (1875-94), Baden-Powell, *The Land Systems of British India*, 3 volumes, (1892), Romesh Dutt, *Famines And Land Assessments in India*, 1900, and Baden-Powell, *Administration of Land Revenue And Tenure In British India* (1907). As the titles of these books indicate, they all deal with the land-revenue, but not with all the aspects of revenue administration. Moreland's *The Revenue Administration of the United Provinces* was an attempt to offer a comprehensive and systematic account of the development of the revenue administration. Moreland, in the early chapters of his work seeks to provide the historical background of revenue administration together with the gradual rise of Zamindars. The subsequent Chapters deal with the development of revenue administration under the British and focus exhaustively on topics as: Settlements made under the British, rise of Landholders in United Provinces, Tenancy legislation in Agra and Oudh, Land Records, The Record Staff, the Record of cultivating rights, the Record of Rents: Rental systems, Rent Litigation, Revenue Collection, Principles of Famine Relief,


[40] Ibid.
Agricultural Deterioration, Improvement of Agricultural Conditions, Agricultural Capital, Co-operative Credit, and the Administration and Productive Departments.

For the Muhammadan period Moreland referred mainly to the Ain-i-Akbari translated by Blockmann and Jarret, and Elliot and Dowson's, History of India As Told By Its Own Historians. For the British period his major sources are Selections From Revenue Records, Settlement Reports, Official Papers, Sleeman's Tour in Oudh, The Oudh Gazetteer, The Garden of India by H.C. Irwin and the N.W. Provinces Rent Act edited by H.F. House, 1893. Moreland felt particularly obliged to the individual settlement reports and he claimed to have "read almost the whole series of these at one time or other in the course of my official duties..."[41] Although the book carries a lengthy glossary of vernacular terms, it has no index.

What struck Moreland most about the Indian revenue administration and which distinguished it from other countries, was its extent and complexity. While in England the functions of the revenue officials were practically limited to assessment and collection, in India the revenue officials had numerous duties to perform, apart of course, from the assessment and collection of revenue.[42] However, there were a few things which Moreland wanted to impress on the mind of the reader at the outset. Thus, according to him, the multifarious functions of the revenue officials in India were not the outcome of "the whims of an over-active bureaucracy, plunging into state-socialism in the attempt to magnify its own importance...(but) the development of such activities has followed necessarily from the revenue-system indigenous to the country and adopted first by the Mohammedan and then by the English Empire, with only such changes as were necessary to fit it to the changing political and economic circumstances of the country

[42] Ibid., p. 2.
and of the world in general". [43] Secondly, according to Moreland, "In order to obtain a clear view of the revenue administration, the first great essential is to realise that it is a gradual development: the land-revenue was not imposed by the English, nor by their fore-runners, the Mughals: the principle that the cultivator of the soil should provide for the greater part of the expenses of Government seems to have been followed in India from the earliest times, and to have been common to, at least, large portions of Asia; and successive Indian Governments have been careful to maintain the principle while introducing changes in the machinery of assessment and collection". [44]. Typical to his fellow administrator-historians, one does not fail to catch an imperialist strain in Moreland's description of the eighteenth century when the British assumed control of India. While the Indian system of revenue administration differed greatly from their own, the elaborate bureaucracy of the Grand Mughals had "almost ceased to exist-submerged in the flood of lawlessness that prevailed in the eighteenth century". [45] The first concern of the British was necessarily to collect enough revenue to pay the expenses for

[44] Ibid., p. 3. However, Karl Marx, Capital, Vol. III, Moscow, 1959, did not hold the view that the roots of the revenue system of India go back to the Hindu period. According to him, "If any nation's history, then it is the history of the English management of India, which is a string of unsuccessful and really absurd (and in practise infamous) experiments in economics. In Bengal they created a caricature of English landed property on a large scale; in South-eastern India, a caricature of small allotment property; in the North-West they transformed to the utmost of their ability the Indian commune with common ownership of the soil into a caricature of itself", 328 n.
[45] W.H. Moreland, The Revenue Administration of the United Provinces, p. 4
establishing order out of chaos and to meet the needs of the administration and demands of the East India Company. Since it was no time to devise a new system of revenue, "the old machinery of the country" was brought into some sort of working order. But here again a new difficulty presented itself. In the absence of a data for a fair assessment, the earliest English revenue officers did not know how much revenue should be demanded or who should pay it or who the owners of the land were.[46] The old standards of assessment, although known theoretically had vanished practically, "while as regards ownership the chaos seemed even more complete".[47] In this situation the English Officers looked to English experience for inspiration, where the institution of individual ownership and fixed sum of land revenue had become well-established. A fact which appeared before them was that the persons who paid revenue were known as Zamindars and thus they concluded that Zamindars were the landowners in India and Moreland says, "In fact, they were treated as such".[48] However, Moreland pointed out that the term Zamindar had a different meaning, for it applied to a person who undertook to pay the revenue, but he was not necessarily the owner of the land on which he paid revenue. This was not realised by the

[46] The situation which confronted the British has been aptly described by R.C. Dutt, Speeches And Papers On Indian Questions, "The Indian Land Question", Calcutta, 1902, "In the latter half of the eighteenth century, a variety of administrative problems presented themselves to the new rulers of India, but none of them was so deeply interesting or presented itself in such varied forms as the Land Question. And the servants of the East India Company, familiar only with the English system of landlords, farmers and labourers were fairly puzzled when Zamindars and Polygars, village - Communities and Peasant - proprietors before their astonished eyes with all their archaic customs and ancient rights", p. 1.


[48] Ibid.

early British officers who observed Moreland, “found Zamindars and left landowners”. [49]

Moreland’s portrayal of the origin of the Zamindars is indeed informative. He felt that some knowledge of this process was certainly essential to a proper understanding of the development of the revenue system. Moreland held the view that the entire concept of individual land-ownership was alien to the original Hindu polity. [50] While there is no trace of landowners and tenants in the earliest Hindu records, one finds, on one hand, a body of cultivators who tilled the soil and paid a share of the produce in kind to their Raja, on the other hand, there was the Raja who protected the cultivators. However, a State organised on these lines appears to Moreland “an unfamiliar conception”. [51] In it, the cultivator was the Zamindar who paid revenue to the State and kept the balance of the produce with him. Another revelation made by Moreland


[50] Ibid., p. 7. Here Moreland appears to be in line with those British administrator-scholars, who in order to justify land legislation in British India, sought to prove the existence of royal ownership of land in ancient India. Moreland’s view has been supported by many Orientalists, including V.A. Smith, Early History of India, Oxford, 1904, p. 123. See also U.N. Ghoshal, The Beginnings of Indian Historiography And Other Essays, Essay VI, Calcutta, 1944, pp. 158-166. The above view has been contradicted by P.N. Banerjee and K.P. Jayaswal in their respective works, Public Administration In Ancient India, Calcutta, 1916, p. 179, and Hindu Polity, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1924, pp. 343-51. For the most incontrovertible documentary evidence in support of the individual’s heritable and alienable right to private property during the medieval period see B.N. Goswamy and J.S. Grewal, The Mughal And Sikh Rulers And the Vaishnavas of Pindori, Documents iv, v. and xiv.

was that while in the earliest Hindu Polity there were only two shares in the produce, when the British established their rule not two, but three sharers-cultivators, Zamindar and the State, came into existence. Moreland felt that in the absence of sources relating to the Hindu period, which could throw light on the development of a class of intermediaries between the State and the cultivator, when "the great Hindu empires imposed themselves above the smaller existing states, then the change may be described as the temporary conversion of Rajas into Zamindar",[52] who would regain their independent status on the collapse of greater empires. Like before "the raja continued to collect revenue from the cultivator and paid a portion of it to the Maharaja or Emperor; he was thus the intermediary between the cultivator and the State and may be looked on as a Zamindar ...." [53] During the reign of Ala-ud-din Khilji a localised system of revenue administration came into existence because it was impossible for the central treasury to deal directly with all the revenue-payers. According to Moreland this was a significant development "because there is no doubt that in time this organised bureaucracy came to furnish a considerable proportion of those intermediaries between the State and the cultivator, whom the English found as Zamindars and who eventually secured a right of property in the land". [54] Further Moreland points out that although administrative organisation for the assessment and collection of revenue was widespread by 1300 A.D., it was still not clear who actually paid revenue to the collectors. Thus it might be gathered that the payments were made largely by the representatives of cultivators of a village or also by a Raja, and it was precisely at this juncture that the rudiments of Zamindari system become visible.

Praising the well-organised revenue machinery of Akbar, Moreland perceived a close link between the revenue administration of

[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid., p. 13.
Akbar which was based "on a wide foundation of ascertained facts" and the later British Settlements. Also the instructions issued by Akbar for the protection and assistance of cultivators were by no means out of date. But the eighteenth century presented a dismal and a completely reversed picture, where instead of an orderly bureaucracy one finds the rajas, collectors, and intermediaries of all kinds, trying to exhort more than they accounted for to a superior authority. This is how three sharers of the produce came into existence.\[55\] Moreland felt that the conditions for a social change of such magnitude could be detected in the weakening and collapse of the Mughal Empire, and in the ensuing period of anarchy, "but the lines on which the change preceded were determined largely by certain tendencies apparently inherent in the people of the country, which, working under the new social and economic stresses, developed the rudimentary conception of Zamindars (as distinct from Cultivators) into the widespread organisation which existed at the end of the eighteenth century." [56] These tendencies may be noticed in the traditional loyalty of the people to the Chiefs of certain ancient clans, especially Rajputs, which induced them to accept the Chief willingly as their ruler once he regained his power on the weakening of central government. Thus numerous "rajas were found by the British in the position of Zamindars over the land held by members of their clan".\[57\] Another tendency may be traced to the hereditary sentiment. The various Mohammedan Governments, the local appointments of revenue collectors certainly tended to become hereditary, and a family often established a connection with the revenue business of a particular area, its head being the collector and its member filling various subordinate posts. The family thus became identified with local interest, and (a most important point) it became in time the "natural" recipient of

---

[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid., p. 19.
payments on account of the revenue”. [58] However, it was the tendency to administer Pakka (or pukhta) instead of Kachcha (or Kham) which was most active in producing Zamindars. Moreland has defined these technical terms thus, “A collector of revenue, or rent, or money due on any account, is appointed Kachcha if he has certain definite sums to collect and account for, and is remunerated for his work by the person who appoints him. He is appointed Pakka if he undertakes to pay a fixed sum and his remuneration depends on what he can collect in addition”, [59] Akbar's administration was Kachcha since the revenue collectors had to account for definite sums. But as supervision slackened, so efficiency also deteriorated and collectors became dishonest. Consequently there was a fall in revenue deposited in the treasury. In this situation collectors were appointed Pakka and the weakened government relieved itself of all duties of supervision so long as they received the fixed sum. Thus various families with hereditary charge of the revenue business of particular areas came into existence. So long as they deposited the fixed revenue they were practically free to collect, rather exact, whatever they could from the cultivator. “They were, in fact, Zamindars in the modern sense, only that they had absolutely no guarantee that their hereditary position would be respected”. [60] Thus there were a vast number of heterogeneous claims to the position of Zamindar and Moreland considered it worthwhile to reproduce Briggs description of the state of affairs, “The hereditary descendants of a line of princes, the feudal Thakoor or Baron, the district collector, the farmer of the revenue, the elderman or Mukaddam of the village, and the member of the village copartnery, each styled Zamindar, though they have their distinct and special rights”. [61]

[59] Ibid. "Thus, under the British rule collectors hold their districts Kachcha, but Zamindars hold their estates Pakka".
[60] Ibid., p. 21.
As regards the position of cultivators before the annexation of India in the eighteenth century, Moreland sums up thus, "The cultivators never, so far as we know, disputed their liability to pay the revenue, and the only question for them was its amount; they paid it into the treasury (or to the local raja), and so long as they did so their possession of the land seems to have been unquestioned in the absence of that competition for land, which is one of the dominant factors of the present economic situation".[62] Further, according to Moreland, the cultivator went on cultivating and paying revenue, but, "when life became intolerable, owing to the want of security or to the excessive demands, he left the village and either took land elsewhere or started life afresh as a robber. There seems no doubt that during the period of anarchy the population decreased and there was a great decline in cultivation while many villages were left waste, but the majority of villages probably held together and carried on their traditional life".[63]

In their efforts to deal with the chaos of the Zamindari claims, the English rulers effected settlements of revenue. The early settlements were very summary in nature as the British were yet to gain experience, but 'as experience accumulated, it became clear that the whole system of revenue assessment must be based on an accurate knowledge of the assets; in other words, of the capacity of the land to yield a surplus after maintaining the cultivators; substantially the same lesson had been learned by Akbar and his administrators. The subsequent history of the administration consists largely of the successive approximations to a detailed and accurate knowledge of the assets".[64] A step towards this end was taken by the Regulation IX of 1833 under which the first regular settlements were carried out in major portion of the Agra province. These settlements were based on the

[63] Ibid, p.29.
[64] Ibid., p. 33.
records of (1) rights, and (2) assets, prepared through the agency of the Patwaris (the village accountant) whose potential utility had now been recognised. With the data thus available, the revenue was fixed from 65 to 70 percent of the net assets, instead of the original 90 percent.

With regard to the controversy regarding the ownership of land, which was carried on with so much heat in the early years of the nineteenth century, Moreland pointed out that since the English looked for owners, the question before them was: whether the ownership was vested in the State, in the Zamindars or in the cultivators. While all these views found earnest advocates, "the early administrators - each of whom held his own views strongly and was subject to comparatively little control", seemed to have been influenced by political considerations in deciding who should be permitted to engage for the revenue. The controversy regarding the ownership of land...


gradually settled itself, when in Agra both large estates and cultivating communities holding land direct from Government were recognised and in Panjab the "hardy yeomanry" won the case. But in Oudh the decision went in favour of the 'enlightened landholders' (Talukdars) and Oudh became pre-dominantly a province of large landholders. This is how the revenue-payers came into existence under the British. "Proprietary rights were recognised, and the owners of proprietary rights were entitled to the option of engaging".[68] Since the Zamindars were recognised as the legitimate owners of the land, Moreland here dropped the 'ambiguous term Zamindar', and used instead the term landholder, which according to him was the legal description of the persons entitled to engage.[69]

To show that confusion prevailed when the British took over from the Mughals, Moreland gave another example. In the eighteenth century the Zamincars were prevented from taking the full economic rent by the fact that competition for land was by no means keen. But the establishment of internal peace by the British Government was followed rapidly by the competition for land, which was accompanied by acute tenancy problems, which were aggravated further by high revenue fixed in many of the earlier settlements and the efforts of the speculators to pay the revenue for which they had engaged. The government strongly objected to those landholders who raised the rents to the highest point and ejected those cultivators who refused to pay, because this situation apart from "imperilling the stability of agriculture" led the ejected cultivator sometimes to join the robber gangs. Thus, the Act X of 1859 was passed which for the first time legally recognised the occupancy right in the province of Agra.[70] The Tenancy Act (Act II of 1901), sought to provide an alternative to the whole system of occupancy rights, which were unpopular with the landholders. Thus the leasehold system was provided for.

------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid., p. 56
In Oudh the history of tenancy was entirely different from Agra. Majority of the land in Oudh had been entrusted to the great Talukdars whose special cultivating rights had been recognised and defined in the records of rights. "The soil and the cultivators were placed practically at the disposal of the landholder, ..."[71] who raised the rents and ejected the cultivator, which destroyed the feeling of security in the latter. Thus the Act XXII of 1886 was passed which according to Moreland was essentially the embodiment of a compromise between the Talukdars on one side, and the Government, representing the cultivators on the other.[72] Analysing the Tenancy legislation in Agra and Oudh Moreland observed that while the problem of tenancy had not been entirely solved by the existing legislation, it could be solved only with time. In the meantime he suggested, "that the wisest course of the revenue administration in the near future is to legislate as little as possible, but to foster and support the more enlightened views of the duties of land-holders, the spread of which is probably the best guarantee of security that the cultivator can obtain".[73]

In the Chapter on Land Records, Moreland reflected on the necessity of maintaining Records of Rights, which despite the fact, had originated as part of the proceedings at Settlement, had acquired an individuality of their own. Moreland attached great importance to a written record, which he felt was a great safeguard for illiterate people,[74] and in the absence of which the court would be practically helpless in dealing with most of the cases that would come before it. Thus with the availability of a written record half the battle was won. He mentioned the Land Revenue Act of 1901 which provided for the maintenance of two records in each Mahal, (1) The register of

---

[72] Ibid., p. 63.
[73] Ibid., p. 68.
[74] Ibid., p. 70.
Landholders known as Khewat and (2) the register of cultivators known as Khatauni. These as well as certain ancillary records, as the village map, the Khasra or the field book, rental accounts between the landholder and the tenant, known as Jamabandi (which was annexed to Khautauni), were to maintained by the Patwaris, who thus occupied an important position in the revenue administration.

Moreland has dwelt at length on the Patwaris and has indicated how they attained their present prominent position. The Patwari and his village - accounts were well-established institutions at the end of the thirteenth century, though Moreland thinks it probable that they existed even before, since "the tendency of Indian village - life towards specialisation of function appears to be of very early growth". Akbar also does not seem to have interfered with the Patwaris and when the British began to rule, the Patwaris were independent of the Government and absolutely the servants of the village. But they were not whole-time employees and in many cases did not receive a living wage for their work of maintaining accounts. The British considered the Patwari as the only indigenous agency. Equipped with local information which the British, required they began to rely upon the Patwaris who gradually "came to be regarded as available for local administrative business, and to a certain extent as public servants". The Revenue Act of 1873 declared the Patwaris as public servants and their records as public property. Their salaries were to be paid into the tahsili by landholders along with the revenue due. In most districts schools were opened with training classes for the Patwaris and also their heirs who hoped to succeed them; "rules were drawn up for the guidance of Patwaris and for the supervision of their work; and gradually the machine was organized as it may be seen at work to-day".

[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid., p. 75.
effected in the position of the Patwari who from the administrative view-point was now a Government servant, paid by the State and who did the work of the State, and almost the only signs of his origin were the powers of nomination possessed by landholders and the regard for hereditary claims to the appointment.[79] However, Moreland observed that in the "villages views have not altered so completely" where the Patwari was still considered as the servant of landholders, and who in particular sided with the landholders against the revenue officers of the government.[80] It was also not uncommon that he sided with the cultivators against an absentee landholder. For the supervision of Patwaris, the British considered the Kanungos to be the right officers. Under the Mughal's Kanungos were usually hereditary officers and served as registrars of deeds and recorders of statistics regarding the revenue for each Pargana.[81] The British government however discovered that all Kanungoships were not hereditary and that some Kanungo families had died out. Under the British the institution of Kanungo was constituted of hereditary as well as other Kanungos.

Talking of the rental systems, Moreland pointed out that just as "it is impossible to point to any definite epoch at which landholders came into existence. Similarly, it is not possible to say when rent began to be paid - meaning by "rent" a payment by the cultivator of any sum in excess of the state demand on his land. So much however is certain, that from the earliest times the occupation of land involved the payment of a share of the produce to the State or to some representative, and this idea underlines the whole of the rental systems that have gradually grown up.[82] According to Moreland, the most primitive system of rent was Batai (actual division of the produce),

[80] Ibid.
[82] Ibid., p. 111.
while the transition from Batai to Kankut (estimation) marked the first step in the development of rental systems.

As regards revenue collection Moreland set a maxim before the collector, that, "The first thing is for the collector to know when the debtors are likely to have the money in their pockets, and to take the first opportunity of getting it in".[83] Stressing the comparatively mild attitude of the British government Moreland indicated that despite the provision for authorised processes to extract money from the defaulting debtors, "the tradition is strong, and the more drastic methods of collection die hard: the landholders too, are accustomed to them, and have been known to regard their discontinuance as a proof of weakness".[84] Yet the State is "a partner in the productive business of agriculture, with the paramount interest of seeing that the cultivator has every chance of making the most of the land".[85] Further, Moreland pointed out that, in dealing with all the calamities the same governing principle applied - to leave the cultivator in the best possible position, since the calamities have a great impact on the revenue.

The Chapter on the 'Principles of Famine' highlights the commendable role played by the British Government in counteracting the effects of the famine. Indicating the change in the meaning of the word famine from "an actual insufficiency of food for the population be affected, and consequent deaths from starvation" in the past to "a period of unemployment".[86] Moreland's opinion was that while the railways had ensured abundant food supply, the people now suffer more acutely from unemployment, because in India a large mass of people were dependent 'on the single industry of agriculture'. When a famine broke out both the productive and unproductive classes were affected simultaneously. However, Moreland brought out the fact that on account

[84] Ibid., p. 148.
[85] Ibid., p. 154.
[86] Ibid., p. 156.
of the enlightened famine-policy of the government, dictated largely by humane motives, there was now a marked change in the attitude of the people as compared to the past traditional practise, when they would sit down to starve at home or wander away in search of subsistence. People now "fight the calamity for themselves and co-operate with the State, instead of waiting to be fed".[87] The Government feeds the unproductive classes, provides work for labourers, and for those cultivators who require it, gives facilities for the resumption of agricultural operations at the earliest by giving them large advances, and advances money to artisans and organises a market for them. While these measures succeeded in "putting heart into the people", the policy, according to Moreland, met with a tremendous success and "its gradual success is probably one of the greatest achievements of the co-operation of the English and Indian races".[88]

While the above measures reflected the humanitarian attitude of the government towards the affected ones, Moreland pointed out that, "as a financial transaction it pays the revenue - receiver to help agriculture through seasons of stress... of actual calamity (and) of periods of what is described as agricultural deterioration".[89] Agricultural deterioration, according to Moreland, manifested itself in diminishing the resources of the cultivator, and posed a serious danger to the revenue, as gradually the people get poorer, fall occurs in revenue and rent, holdings begin to be thrown up and less and less land is cultivated. Moreland observed that actual losses from agricultural deterioration had been so great in the past, "that an elaborate intelligence system has been organized to ensure so far as possible that their early symptoms shall not be over-looked and that remedial measures shall be applied while there is yet time".[90] Moreover, the landholders

[88] Ibid., p. 161.
[89] Ibid., p. 163.
[90] Ibid., p. 155.
and cultivators also could not be trusted to supply the earliest information of dangers that threaten them. Moreland attacked the activities of the past governments in India which had strengthened the tradition among the people to view all state activity with distrust. These traditions, according to him were "based on many centuries of either neglect or active mis-government, with perhaps occasional glimpses of a golden age of short duration; and the attitude of the people has hitherto been to avoid troubling the Government with their private affairs".[91] However, he reports with some satisfaction that this attitude among people was now changing. People were now gradually learning to inform the collector if things went wrong and to see if anything could be done to remedy them. Moreland wanted to impress that the British experience for the past century had established the fact that the interest of the State was bound up in the prosperity of the cultivators. Thus, the object of the State was to ensure that, "The cultivator shall have the freest scope for his energies, and shall have command on the easiest terms over all the factors of agricultural production".[92] Moreland pointed out that for the improvement of agricultural conditions the State had taken action along two main lines "the equipment of the people to face a famine and the counteracting of any tendency towards a deterioration in productivity".[93] So far as social and political conditions permitted. Moreland indicated that tenancy laws had succeeded in securing the scope of cultivator's ability, the State had also played a major role in making available to the cultivator the factors of agricultural production like, adequate water-supply, supply of efficient plough-cattle, implements, seeds, manure, and capital. Several expert departments such as Irrigation, Civil Veterinary, Agricultural and Co-operative credits had been established which worked in association and co-operation with revenue

[92] Ibid., p. 170.
[93] Ibid.
department. The Irrigation Department had constructed canals, wells, improved drainage and was undertaking water conservation projects. The canal system developed in Northern India was one of the greatest things in the world.

Thus the state – activity in this matter according to Moreland had been made possible firstly, by the provision of expert departments to deal with technical questions, and secondly, by the organisation of the supply of capital. While Moreland stressed the use of capital as a growing and mobile factor of production, he also reflected on the practise of hoarding followed by the people which prevented the capital from coming into circulation. However, despite the abuses, Moreland regarded the services of even the money lenders as absolutely indispensable in the existing conditions, for if they were wiped out the crops could not be sown at all.[94] He felt that the greatest need of the cultivator at the present time was undoubtledly the availability of "more and cheaper capital". Although, the systematic policy of the present government to help cultivators through loans was still unpopular with the people whom they are designed to benefit",[95] Moreland pointed out "it is not to be expected that the progress and development of the agriculture of the province can be financed exclusively or mainly by the State",[96] rather other financial agencies like banks, specialised agricultural banks and co-operative societies should also step in. In fact, Moreland was in favour of co-operative credit societies in agriculture because its greatest advantage was that it eliminated the profit of the middlemen.

This policy of agricultural development adopted by the revenue administration was channelised through special or productive departments each concerned primarily with technical activities and trained by experts. However this specialisation introduced the problems of

[95] Ibid., p. 193.
[96] Ibid., p. 194.
"departmentalism" into administration. Thus, while, "it is one of the best traditions of the revenue administration that its officers have aimed at the good of the people as a whole and have worked for this aim on the basis of laboriously acquired knowledge of the people's ways of thinking and living",[97] the same qualities could not mostly be found among experts who aimed at the ideals of technical efficiency and professional reputation. The only solution in averting official controversies "lie in cordial co-operation between the two parties, founded on a due appreciation by each of the other".[98] Moreland however did not want to incur the risk in illustrating these controversies and concluded his account by stating the position of revenue administration as one of an "intermediary between the productive departments and agriculturists, to interpret each to the other and to bring them together".[99] Thus, while a revenue officer had to understand and appreciate the attitude of both parties he must equally strive to understand and appreciate the work of the productive departments. Hence, while Moreland seemed to have been against the vicious tendency of "departmentalism", he fully appreciated the work of productive departments. The fact that after seventy-eight years of its publication, the second edition of Moreland's The Revenue Administration of the United Provinces has come out, is a clear indication of its utility in the present time. The work is beyond doubt a valuable contribution to the economic history of India.

Moreland's third manual, Notes on the Agricultural Conditions and Problems of the United Provinces and of its Districts, was published in 1913. Divided broadly into three sections, namely, Provincial Note, General Notes and District Note, the book contains comprehensive notes on various topics related to agriculture. Under the Provincial Note, such topics as masonry wells, field embankments, embankments for late rice,

[99] Ibid., p. 203.
drainage, ravines, insect pests, fungoid diseases, weeds, cattle supply, seed supply, implements and machinery, manures and communications have been examined. Moreland fully realised the numerous difficulties which the cultivators experienced in obtaining good seed if the produce of the previous harvest happened to be of poor quality. And since it could lead to deterioration in cropping, he considered it desirable that when seed time approached district officers should make arrangements to provide advances for the purchase of seed, whenever they felt that the supply was defective.\[100]\] In fact, Moreland felt that, "The takavi-system can in many cases be so used as to facilitate the introduction of improved implements and simple machinery, the need for which increases the cost of labour and cattle-power".\[101]\] Further, in order to improve the manure-supply, Moreland suggested that the use of other forms of fuel like coal and oil, should be promoted in cities and towns. He also suggested improvements in the means of communications to enable the cultivator to reach the markets.

Under the General Note, such topics as, the cattle-supply of the United Provinces, agricultural loans in famine years, movement of rent rates, cattle supply and grazing land, were covered. On Moreland's suggestion, in the Cattle Conference held in 1909, "that a survey should be made of the breeding industry in order to ascertain the risks or drawbacks to which it is exposed and the nature of the assistance that can suitably be offered", \[102]\] two naib-tehsildars were placed on duty for the purpose. They visited all the districts of the province and submitted full reports on the questions requiring investigation, which were summarised by Moreland in this note.

\[100\] W.H. Moreland, Notes on the Agricultural Conditions and Problems of the United Provinces and of its Districts, Revised upto 1911, Allahabad, 1913, p. 17.

\[101\] Ibid., p. 18.

\[102\] W.H. Moreland, Notes on the Agricultural Conditions and Problems of the United Provinces and of its Districts, Revised upto 1911, Allahabad, 1913, p. 25.
Moreland indicated that although the province, taken as a whole was not self-sufficing and imported cattle, there were certain districts or portions of districts, which produced cattle in excess of local needs and exported the surplus. In these breeding tracts, the production of cattle was carried on in two ways, namely, professional breeding and village breeding. In the former, men owned breeds of cows of considerable size, and specialised in the production of agricultural cattle as their sole, or at least their primary occupation in life. In the latter, landholders and cultivators owned cows in varying numbers and sold the young stock that was in excess of their needs. While both were alike in being conditioned by the existence of suitable grazing grounds, the professional breeding deserved encouragement especially on the ground that it meant better working stock.[103] Thus, to ensure their maintenance on the existing scale, it was essential to preserve the existing grazing grounds. Moreover, the maintenance of private forests and pastures was indispensable to the continuance or professional breeding.[104]

The District Note, contains comprehensive notes on the forty-eight districts of the United Provinces. Moreland has dealt separately with each district, taking into consideration its topography, animals, water-supply, drainage, cattle-supply, progress, dangers and possible remedies or improvements, position of agricultural wages, extension or development of railway system, mileage of metalled roads, construction of masonry wells, organisation of agricultural co-operation and establishment of credit societies. Moreland also touched on the progress in cropped area, population, communications, canal system, establishment of new organised industries and the employment provided. Thus, he pointed out that agricultural co-operation had made a satisfactory start in the districts of Jaunpur, Fyzabad, and Benaras,

[104] Ibid., p. 32.
where rural credit societies had been organised. Agricultural co-operation had made some headway in Ghazipur, Gorakhpur and Rae Bareli, while Unao and Hardoi showed a marked development. Thus, as the contents of the book reveal, it gives a detailed account of the agricultural conditions and problems of the province and its districts till the year 1911.

In 1913 when Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Economics of British India* ran into its third edition, Moreland published *An Introduction to Indian Economics*, written primarily for the benefit of Indian students in order to acquaint them with "the leading ideas of modern Economic Science in terms that would be easily understood by them".[105] Moreland was of the opinion that contrary to the prevalent notion, the Indian students should be trained to realise that Economics is not an abstract but a concrete science and arises out of the facts of life. Moreland felt that students should be provided an opportunity for observing economic facts for themselves, whether in the form of price-lists, market-reports, and selected statistics or of facilities for seeing how production is actually organised in the neighbourhood of their college.[106] "He hoped that the study of economics, which was of vital importance to the future of India, would be greatly facilitated if its leading ideas could be apprehended in the first place, in terms of Indian field and market place. It was to illustrate these leading ideas that Moreland undertook to write this book. Surprisingly Moreland has not mentioned the sources consulted by him, except reference to Marshall's *Principles of Economics* at one place. The book is divided into five parts. The first part defines the meaning of economics, of wealth and value, of production and consumption. The second part deals with the factors of production namely, land, labour and capital, with the organisation of production and capital and finally with the specialisation of the factors of production.


[106] Ibid.
production. Book Third deals with the consumption of wealth and Book Fourth with demand and supply and finally book fifth deals with distribution of wealth.

Quite in accordance with the present view that Economics is inherently an evolutionary science, changing to reflect the shifting trends in society and economy, Moreland also, considered that Economics like the Physical Sciences is "based on the everyday experience of the world, and endeavours to state experience in a set of conclusions which will show what changes in regard to wealth are likely to follow from changes in the conditions under which people live. These conclusions are called laws...." Moreland, W.H., An Introduction To Economics, p. 6. The science of Economics, according to Moreland, revolves around wealth - its production, consumption and distribution.

According to Moreland, for productive purposes the location of land and the availability of means of communications constituted the important factors. Moreland illustrated this from the history of a few Indian cities and towns like Delhi and Kanauj, Kanpur and Kalpi, Murshidabad and Calcutta, whose rise and fall was dictated by two factors mentioned above. Thus Delhi situated on the Jumna was ensured of a good water supply and means of communication by boat. It remained all along the capital of the Pandavas, Hindus in twelfth century and Delhi Sultans and successive Muslim dynasties with only brief intervals. "All over the world it is true that places chosen by kings as their capitals have become centres of production because the presence of King's Court and armies supplies a market which makes the city a suitable place for artisans to settle". Thus Kalpi located on the Ganges declined in importance, firstly, because the Muslims did not establish a Court but retained it as an administrative centre, and secondly, when changes in the course of Ganges deprived it of its former advantages and finally,

when the great trade route established by the East Indian Railway passed at it. [110] On the other hand Delhi, whose importance as a Capital city had declined in the eighteenth century and ceased in the nineteenth century, was given a fresh lease of life with the establishment of peace and railways. Delhi was established as a large centre of trade inhabited by enterprising merchants. It appears, Moreland wanted to show that the declining or rather the sagging status of Delhi was revived by the British who built the railways and modern factories. "Thus at the end of the nineteenth century, though there was no longer a Court or a large army, the trade and industries of the city were sufficient to support a large population, while its recent selection as the headquarters of the Government of the whole of India, will most probably result in a further development of its industry and commerce",[111] and Moreland has not been proved wrong. Further Moreland indicated the changed conditions under which in the modern times railways tend to do the work, which was formerly done by rivers and the growth of new cities at suitable points on railways rather than on the river banks. Moreover, in the past the artisans mostly followed the Court and when the Court left a city, many of the artisans left it too. But now the large factories, when once established were not likely to suffer from political changes such as the movement of a Capital. "The chances are that the modern town with a large population employed in industries of modern type will be more stable than if it depended for its existence, as the older towns did, on the caprice of a king or a Governor".[112] But for an agriculturist the location, as well as quality of land, both were of great importance.

The Law of Diminishing Returns has been described in an enlightening manner by Moreland as, "the existence of a limit to the amount of work that can be done profitably.[113] Hence in India the cultivators have learned that, "it does not pay them to do more than a

[111] Ibid., p. 40
[112] Ibid., p. 43
[113] Ibid., p. 49.
certain amount of work, because, they have come to the point where the extra produce would not pay for the extra work".[114]

Pointing out that most of the population in India, supports itself by manual labour, Moreland also drew attention to the uneven distribution of labourers in India. He set a maxim before the Indian statesmen of not limiting the numbers of people but to facilitate the more even distribution of people over the country and to increase "the production of wealth, partly by the improvement of agriculture and partly by development of those industries, for which the country offers a wide scope, and which would afford employment and subsistence to what now seems its surplus population".[115] Moreland tried to highlight the more humane and considerate attitude of British Government as compared to the past governments, when he pointed out that in the former times the problem of unequal distribution of labour was met by forcing the labourers to go where they were needed. While "Forced labour is still a memory among the country-people, and it might possibly be found in existence in some native states even at the present time. But under the British Government of India, the personal freedom of each individual labourer is maintained as far as possible.... it is now impossible to more by force any considerable number of men in order to make them work at a distance...".[116] Moreland pointed out that the mobility of labour in India depended greatly on caste and locality. Thus the Chamars, Brahmins, Chhatris, and even the artisans were more mobile than the cultivators who were exceedingly slow to move since they could not carry their land with them. Disinclination and ignorance were the major obstacle to mobility of labour all over the world. In India, increase of knowledge had weakened the obstacle of ignorance. Consequently the amount of temporary migration had risen largely in recent years. Labourers were fast becoming aware of the fact that more money could be

[115] Ibid., p. 60.
[116] Ibid., p. 62
earned elsewhere. Mobility implied change of occupation also, which in India was "rendered exceptionally different by the rigid customs of caste".\[117]\ Not only the workers are unable to change their occupation, but they cannot choose occupations for their sons, who are equally bound by their caste.\[118]\ Thus, the want of adaptation between workers and work was probably greater in India than in European countries. The means securing closer adaptation was one of the large economic problems before the country. However, Moreland felt that the "Caste-System is by no means an unmixed evil".\[119]\ In fact it is of great value in securing the training of labour and thus maintaining the quality of labour. Since quality of labour was equally important, Moreland introduced the proposal for improved sanitary conditions in India, which would be greatly beneficial in reducing the amount of sickness due to fever and keep labourers in good health and fit for work. Moreland also observed that compared to the manual labourers, intellectual labourers were more mobile and caste restriction on them too were less rigorous. Moreland indicated that in the present times, the tendency of the world was towards an increase in the amount of intellectual work and a reduction in the amount of manual labour which had been achieved by the introduction of machines and mechanical power. This he felt would naturally be a new and puzzling phenomenon to the Indian students. To acquaint them with the new situation he proceeded to highlight the virtues of Industrial Revolution by giving examples of the establishment of railways, several jute, cotton and flour mills, pumps for water-works and factories which had been established in India and had greatly reduced manual labour. In fact, Moreland foresaw that with the extension of such processes, hand labour would cease to be important in towns and diminish in importance in villages. He, however, realised the plight of labourers trained on old lines who "may suffer great hardships owing to the loss of their means of employment, and one

\[117]\ W.H. Moreland, An Introduction to Economics, p. 68.
\[118]\ Ibid., p. 69
\[119]\ Ibid.
of the chief sources of interest in studying the industrial history of Europe must be to ascertain how these hardships were felt in other countries and how they can be avoided or mitigated in India".[120]

According to Moreland, the method of taking capital by force or fraud was popular in India during many periods, but it was not permitted when a strong government was in existence, and at the present time it is forbidden by the Indian Penal Code and prevented as far as possible by the Police"[121] Thus, the peaceful and secure conditions established by the British in India are emphasised by him and although "at the present time theft and fraud are not unknown and though bribes may be paid, the great majority of the people have confidence that they will be able to keep whatever wealth they acquire; and it is just this confidence which is necessary before people will devote their energies to the production of wealth"[122] And according to Moreland, it was precisely this want of security that had existed for centuries before the present government which gave rise to the habit of hoarding among the Indians, which still persists even when the need for it has passed away. Consequently a large portion of wealth in the form of hoarded treasure was lying useless in the hands of Rajas, Nawabs and ordinary people, which could otherwise be employed in increasing the productive powers of the land and people. Hoarding was vehemently attacked by Moreland and he asked the students to realise, "that, at the present time one of the greatest practical needs of the country is to secure the employment as capital of the wealth which is now lying unused, in order both to increase the wealth obtained from the soil and to develop those industries which can profitably be carried on".[123]

Moreland pointed out that in India the development of organisation of production had taken place rather gradually and its speed had varied very greatly from place to place and even from one place to another.

---

[121] Ibid., p. 91.
[122] Ibid., p. 93.
[123] Ibid., p. 94.
industry to another, especially in agriculture which had progressed very slowly. In fact, various stages could be seen existing side by side and even the process of change could be watched. This was true of the present day also when the most primitive methods of production could be seen alongside with the latest inventions.\[124\] Moreland indicated three typical stages in the development of organisation of production as:

1. Self-Supporting stage.
2. Artisan stage—when market production is on a small scale.
3. Factory stage—when market production is on a large scale.

According to Moreland industrial progress as well as agriculture of a country depend greatly on the organization of capital. In India while the class of professional money-lenders facilitated the availability of capital at exhorbitant rates of interest and not favoured by Moreland, the task was performed more effectively by banks which Moreland described as intermediaries and which provided great help in factory production. "Banks are now familiar institutions in most Indian cities. The early ones were started by Europeans.... the system is now being adopted by Indians who have seen its success".\[125\]

However Moreland warned the Indian students not to infer that the establishment of factory system of production and the distribution of wealth which accompanies it was a thing to be desired or that production in India could develop only in this way and that independent artisans must be superseded by large bodies of workmen and that it would benefit the people of India as a whole. He suggested that they should approach the question with an open mind and remember that India is a very poor country and even though more wealth may be produced by a change in the system of production, it does not imply that this wealth would be available for the people who need it the most. It is possible that richer may become more rich while poorer may just slightly be better off.

While explaining the impact of habit, custom and fashion on

\[124\] W.H. Moreland, An Introduction to Economics, p. 96.
\[125\] Ibid., p. 120.
consumption in India, Moreland pointed out that the rate of change in India was comparatively slower than in most Western countries. He further observed and rightly so, that Indians on the whole were slow to respond to changes. This attitude was exemplified by the fact that even where means of education were available it sometimes took a long time before villagers got into the habits of sending their children to school.[126]

While on rents Moreland observed that in most past of Northern India, competition for land was keen and in India the people bound by custom and tradition look to cultivation as the natural mode of life and have great difficulty in adopting some other occupation, so much so, that they were prepared to pay a very large share of produce also in rent to the landholders rather than leave the land. In this situation the Government could by effective legislation restrict the amount of rent that a landholder could claim. Thus, realising that, "the unrestricted rise in rents must operate in the long run to reduce the income of the whole community",[127] the Government enacted the Tenancy Legislation which aimed to secure for the cultivator fixity of tenure and fair rents, while it prevented the landholders to eject the cultivators except on good grounds.

Moreland had a distinct style of presenting his ideas on any principle. Not content with merely stating them, he at times gave elaborate examples to make them perfectly clear to the reader. Moreland certainly had a good grasp of Indian history and the Indian way of life, since most of his examples are derived from them. In fact, this is one of the most striking things about this book. What is more, they add a realistic touch to it. Till 1935 the book ran into eight editions, which indicates that it was certainly found useful by the Indian students. However, certain statements made by Moreland do not fail to escape the notice of the reader. Thus the displacement of Indian weavers by modern industries was attributed by Moreland to the former's failure to keep

---

[127] Ibid., p. 282.
pace with the changes in time and needs of the people. Further, the emergence of landholders "mainly during the period of anarchy which covered the greater part of the eighteenth century"[128] was, according to Moreland a great social and economic change which had received less attention in most textbooks of Indian history. Finally, the benefits which had accrued from the establishment of railways, banks, industries and machines have been greatly highlighted in the true spirit of a pro-imperialist historian. Thus Moreland indicated that the development of means of communication made it possible for an Indian living in a town or even in a village to use such things, as matches from Sweden, Norway or Japan and oil from Russia, America and Burma. Railways played a major role in securing the mobility of labour. Labourers could now reach a place of work quickly and cheaply. "This is only one of the many ways in which railways had added so greatly to the productive power of the country as a whole".[129] And finally, he seems to justify the import of goods into India in the light of the argument that the restrictive influence of the caste system prevented a person to learn new things and developments, he remains ignorant of them and continues to make old things, while people buy things made in other countries. However he proposed to remedy this by providing training to the workers in new skills, new materials and new tools.[130]

From 1913 till the present times the Science of Economics has come a long way and it covers a much wider horizon today. But the Production, Consumption and Distribution of wealth, still constitute the important and basic contents of Economics. Thus remembering that the book was written quarter of a century earlier to familiarise the Indian students with Economics, it certainly fulfills the purpose. If viewed in this context, An Introduction to Economics is especially welcome.

In his article, "The War And Indian Wheat", (1915), Moreland pointed out that an era of bold experiments began from the year 1914,

[129] Ibid., p. 67.
[130] Ibid., pp.74-75.
and the most interesting of the economic experiments already in progress was, "the undertaking of the Indian Government to regulate the price of food throughout the vast area of the Dependency".[131] This enterprise, however, was not new to the Indian Statesmen, for it already had a precedent in the market regulations of Ala-ud-din Khalji.[132] The Government of Lord Hardinge also decided to revive partly the policy of Ala-ud-din. While awaiting the verdict of results on this enterprise, Moreland, in the present article, considered it worthwhile to examine the conditions in which action was considered to be essential and the methods by which it was hoped to attain success.

Moreland pointed out that with the modern development of export trade in wheat, the price of wheat all over India was gradually brought into relation with the rates prevailing in the European markets. According to Moreland, the decision of the Indian Government to continue the export of wheat through the medium of the administrative machinery, though no private exports were allowed, would carry the surplus wheat to the place where it could be of most service to the Empire, the internal prices would be lowered, though not to the same extent if exports were entirely stopped, and the balance of trade would also not be affected. Moreland admired this experiment, for he believed that if export trade had been left free, then the most serious danger would lie in the possibility of over-exporting. However, the nature of the measures taken by the Government to avoid this danger were not apparent to the ordinary producer. His "expectations had been raised by the high prices prevailing in the winter, and by the flood of rumour and gossip which has supplemented the thin stream of information regarding the war and its effects".[133] Consequently he was disappointed when prices offered

were less than he had hoped, and felt it was practically certain that the blame for this disappointment would fall mainly on the Government. Moreland feared that both the actions and motives of Government would be misrepresented in a way that Englishmen would scarcely realise. For the "Indian peasant is at all times credulous, just now he is ready to believe even more than he is told".[134] Consequently the holders of wheat might decide not to sell or cultivators might be discouraged from sowing wheat next season. In 1915, the recommendations of the Government to sow wheat in preference to other crops was accepted by the peasants. Moreland wondered, "whether similar recommendations for the next sowings would be equally effective if made by a Government which is known to have interfered to reduce the price at which crop could be sold, and the nature of whose interference has been magnified and distorted by the currents of popular rumour".[135] Since, on account of the war, it was possible that the Empire's need for wheat might be more urgent next summer than this, it was important for the Empire, perhaps for civilisation, that the Indian crop of 1916 should be as large as possible. In the last analysis, however, the outcome would depend on the response of the peasants. Moreland pointed out that by contributing to the world's needs the peasants had an unequalled opportunity to improve their position.

Moreland stressed that the future of Indian agriculture could not be ignored by the administrator or the statesman. He drew attention to the constructive agricultural policy initiated by the government and recorded the results attained by the various departments in the promotion of this policy. Thus the Irrigation Departments regulated the supply of water from the larger resources. The Co-operative Departments charged with the promotion and regulation of credit and other forms of activity on co-operative lines had attained striking results, like the organisation of credit. Besides experiments in co-operative production,

[135] Ibid., p. 106
sale, and purchase and also in the insurance of working cattle, had already yielded valuable results. Still greater were the effects produced on the peasants themselves, which were manifest in the broadening of vision, in readiness to consider new ideas and to depart from ancient custom, and in a higher level of individual and social moral. Thus, "co-operators are ordinarily the pioneers of the improvements in practice worked out by the agricultural officers,... so that the future of the industry depends very largely on the maintenance of harmonious and cordial relations between the agricultural and the co-operative departments".[136]

After returning to England in 1916, Moreland turned his attention to the history of medieval India, especially of Akbar whom he really admired and for whose reign Ain-i-Akbari was the main source of information. As he realised that the knowledge of Persian was a prerequisite for undertaking the study of the Ain-i-Akbari, Moreland therefore, first learnt Persian, and thus armed, he embarked on a systematic study of the monumental work by the celebrated 'Mughal Historiographer', Abu Fazl. Moreland's penetrating inquiry in the Ain-i-Akbari to extract information relating to several aspects of the Mughal economy resulted in numerous articles, which appeared in quick succession and which in fact were a prelude to the broad canvas that was gradually taking shape.

The first in the series of the articles based on the Ain was "The Ain-i-Akbari - A Possible Base-Line for the Economic History of Modern India", which appeared in 1916, and the object of which was to draw attention to the statistical figures recorded in the Ain-i-Akbari and their utilisation as a starting point for the economic history of modern India. Moreland did not fear that the study of wealth in India would lead to materialism. In fact, Moreland stressed that India should project her attention on the attainment of material wealth, which was an essential pre-requisite for progress in the Modern World. However, as

development, whether industrial or agricultural required trained intellect, which was not available in India, Moreland wanted the newly created Department of Economics in the United Provinces "to make good this want" and produce man-power having a sound knowledge of the theory of production and its application. This necessitated the study of economic history of India. However, while some materials for it existed but the economic history of India had not yet been written. Besides the materials available also required 'sorting and sifting' prior to their utilization. Thus, Moreland pointed out that one of the earliest tasks of the recently instituted Department of Economics in the University of United Province would be, "the re-consideration and re-editing of a part at least of the mass of statistics accumulated during the period of British rule".\[137\] However, this period, albeit important was too short for the purposes of the economic historian and Moreland felt that the value of these figures could "be greatly enhanced if they could be linked up with accurate records of any earlier date..."\[138\] Drawing attention in this context to the statistics recorded in the Ain-i-Akbari, Moreland suggested that they could be so interpreted as to be utilized for a base-line or starting point of the economic history of modern India.\[139\] The statistics were related to the latter part of the sixteenth century, a period which according to Moreland was an important epoch for the economic historian, because at that time, "The greater part of India was then enjoying a period of tranquillity,... (and) the oversea trade with Europe was in its infancy, and had not yet begun to exercise that influence on the production and exchanges of Northern and Central India which is the key to most of the economic changes during the centuries that follow".\[140\] Hence, the figures could provide 'a

\[138\] Ibid.
\[139\] Ibid., p. 46
\[140\] Ibid.
real starting-point for the modern Indian economic history.

Highlighting the significance of the figures in the *Ain-i-Akbari* Moreland indicated that they disclosed, for the majority of the *parganas* of India down to the Southern limits of Akbar's empire: (1) the area assessed to revenue, (2) the revenue assessed, (3) the amount of the revenue alienated, and (4) the strength of the local militia. Besides there were also lists of the rates at which each crop grown in the Empire was assessed, and more general tables showing the average yield of these crops, and the current prices of agricultural and other produce. These figures argued Moreland, enabled to compare the relative productivity of the different parts of the Empire and to form a general idea of the actual productivity of the whole, and also to draw tentative conclusions about the rural population, the surplus available for trade, and other facts. Moreland described this data as a "gold mine", but one which required a lot of mining, because some of the difficulties the data presented to students were (1) Changes in administrative boundaries, making it impossible to identify the areas to which the statistics relate. (2) Errors in the figures arising from careless editing. (3) Errors introduced while transcription of the manuscripts (4) and fourthly, the exact significance of the figures was also doubtful in some cases due to the inappropriate method of assessing revenue. In Moreland's opinion, "Perhaps the best way of illustrating the interest of these figures will be to attempt a comparison of the state of cultivation in a limited area as it stands today and as it stood under Akbar". For instance, taking the district of Fatehpur, Moreland found that, although older figures could not be trusted

sufficiently to make an exact comparison,[142] still it might be inferred that in Fatehpur, cultivation in British period had just about doubled since Akbar's period and that on the whole the increase was evenly distributed.[143] Moreland pointed out that since the revenue was calculated on the crops, the assessment-rates thus ought to indicate roughly the class of cropping also which prevailed in the District. He hoped that these assessment-rates would also serve the purpose of indicating errors in the figures of area and revenue of a particular pargana. In case of an error, "the rate calculated from those figures will differ widely from the rates of neighbouring parganas except in the single case when errors of the same proportionate magnitude have been made in both figures", the chance of which was very small and "it is probable that abnormal rates will indicate most of the large errors in the figures from which they are derived.[144] In order to illustrate this argument Moreland evolved a test by which he picked up that part of the Allahabad district which adjoined Fatehpur on the east and was able to detect many probable errors. Thus the figures in the Ain could not always be used precisely as they stood and anyone desirous of using them would "have to find some critical method of estimating their value, and of eliminating those which are clearly corrupt".[145] Nevertheless, even

[142] W.H. Moreland, "The Ain-i-Akbari - A Possible Base-Line For The Economic History of Modern India", Indian Journal of Economics, p. 49. According to Moreland one definite source of error existed. He believed "that Akbar's assessments were made separately at each season: if so, the areas in the Ain are what would now be called the gross cropped area; a field that has given two crops in a year would be wanted twice. The present area on the other hand is the net cropped area, twice-cropped fields being counted once only...".

[143] Ibid.

[144] Ibid., p. 51.

[145] Ibid., p. 53.
after such elimination Moreland felt optimistic that even the surviving data would be sufficient to give an almost accurate idea of the economic conditions prevailing in some parts of Akbar's Great Empire.

Moreland's second article, "Prices And wages Under Akbar" appeared in 1917 in response to the conclusion drawn by Mr. Vincent Smith in his work, Akbar The Great Mughal (1917) that the rise in wages had not kept pace with the rise in prices from Akbar's time to the present, and that consequently, "the hired landless labourer in the time of Akbar and Jahangir had probably more to eat in ordinary years than he has now".[146] Not being in agreement with the conclusion thus advanced and fearing that lest it should "pass quickly into a dogma of the schools". Moreland pleaded for a further examination of the data.

The data relating to prices was drawn by V.A. Smith from Ain-i-nirkh-i-Ajnas (Ain 27 of Book I in Blochmann and Jarrett's translation of the Ain-i-Akbari). The wage-rates were also taken from the Ain-i-Akbari. In his analysis of the data, Moreland utilized the Persian text as well as the translation by Blochmann and Jarret. Moreland arrived at the two major, albeit tentative conclusions:

1. The real wages measured in food-grains of city labourer or unskilled labourer employed by the state in large labour markets were substantially the same in 1910-1912 as in the period to which the figures in the Ain-i-Akbari relate.
2. The value of money measured in food grains at the Imperial court was seven times more, than during the years 1910-1912.

However, Moreland felt that a much wider basis was required to reach a final judgement since "the figures in question have a strictly limited significance".[147]

These conclusions were arrived at in the following manner:

Moreland's first argument was that the figures of Ain-i-Akbari

were not the "average prices" as treated by Mr. Smith, rather they were the wholesale rates considered to be reasonable or moderate by the officials for purchases for the Imperial Household which was the largest consuming establishment in Northern India.[148] The prices were wholesale since they are given per maund. Moreland also corrected Blochmann's translation of the word miyana. After reading the text, he discovered that the word miyana which was loosely translated by Blochmann as "average" actually meant 'middling" or "moderate", "avoiding extremes".[149]

Moreland, however felt that for a final calculation of the purchasing power of the rupee during Akbar's time the data of prices could not be safely relied upon, since it was doubtful that the rates which the Mir Bakawal thought reasonable represented the open market. It was possible that the Mir Bakawal, who held an extraordinary official position as probably the largest single buyer in the markets might have used his position "to depress prices unduly" and "may have charged higher prices than he actually held".[150] Moreover, those prices were reasonable from the point of view of the buyer, not of the seller. He hoped that for the future a more valid or reliable evidence of actual transactions, to which high officers were not parties could be discovered. Using the prices in question only for a first approximation, with a candid recognition of their uncertainties",[151] Moreland drew a comparison between the prices of Akbar's time and during the years 1910-1912. Prices for 1910-1912


[150] Ibid., p. 818.

[151] Ibid
were drawn from *Prices And Wages in India* (32nd issue - 1917) and considered as representing reasonable level of prices for the period immediately before the outbreak of First World War. These prices were also wholesale. Corresponding to the Imperial Household, average prices of Agra, Delhi and Lahore were taken which in the Modern period were the largest consuming centres in that part of India where Household was ordinarily to be found. Listing wheat, gram, barley, Juar and Ghi, a table was drawn up representing the prices in pounds per rupee. By dividing the *Ain-i-Akbari* Prices with the present ones Moreland got the Factor of Comparison, which served as an "Index to the comparative purchasing power." Thus, Moreland's first approximation was that measured in food grains the value of rupee in Akbar's time was seven times more than the rupee of 1910-1912.[152] Moreland also indicated the possibility that the *Ain* prices related to the centres of Production and not of consumption, because the purchases were made at places where the commodities were available, in which case the factor of comparison would be substantially reduced, as a result of adding carriage charges to the prices given. In fact, the factor then works out at six rupees.[153]

Coming to wages Moreland questioned Mr. Smith's statement that two dams was "the normal rate for an unskilled labourer". Moreland pointed out that two dams was the commonest rate sanctioned for State Labour in one particular market of Northern India where demand was extraordinarily high; in which case two dams was the normal or ordinary rate for unskilled state labour in that market but not of the "hired landless labourers". After looking up the *Ain-i-Akbari* Moreland found that two dams was received by those employed in House Departments as Horse Stables, Camel-Stables and Buildings.[154] Allowing for the increase in the value of rupee seven times, measured in food, the

[153] Ibid., p. 821.
[154] Ibid., pp. 821-822. "Daily rates did not prevail in the Army Departments but the equivalent of less than two dams was sometimes paid to the groom". 
sanctioned rate of two dams in force in Akbar's time would be equal to Rs. 0.35 at the present day. Moreland specified that this rate has to be compared not with the rural wages nor those paid by private persons, but with the wages paid in large State establishments in the centre of greatest demand in Northern India.[155] Finding it difficult to get a modern comparison Moreland turned to the great permanent labour-markets of Northern India. Wages of unskilled labour in the years 1910-1912 were taken again from Prices And Wages (32nd issue). Since the book had monthly rates it furnished only a single case of daily rates with regard to unskilled labour in the State Railway Workshop in Lahore whose wages worked out as Rs. 0.34 as against the sanctioned rate of Rs. 0.35 in force in Akbar's time, thus on comparison, difference between these two figures appears to be very insignificant.[156]

Moreland considered it unsafe to draw final conclusions from the wage-rates as they represented the rates sanctioned by Akbar and were not given by Abul Fazl as market or prevailing rates. Moreover, Moreland doubted whether these sanctioned rates of wages in the Ain-i-Akbari actually or in practise reached the labourers unhindered since it was probable that some portion of it was pocketed by disbursers. To support his view Moreland quoted John Jourdain, "a competent observer, writing a few years after Akbar's death", that India "lives like the fishes in the sea, the greater, eat the lesser".[157] According to Moreland, elaborate arrangements for disbursement were devised by the British Government. However, in getting money actually

[156] Ibid. Two dams were equal to five and five and a half annas in 1911.
[157] Ibid., p. 825.
into the hands of the recipients", the current elaborate elaborate arrangements still did not guarantee that the wages would reach the labourers safely and would not be tapped by the Subordinate superiors on the way. Moreland remarked wittingly, "I do not think any one will assert that this difficulty came into India with the English",[158] for Abul Fazl certainly refers to the various malpractices in finance that Akbar stopped, but which Moreland thinks he could only limit. However, Moreland found no reference to any precautions such as were now commonly exercised in disbursing officers in India. Thus it appears that Akbar did not reflect on this issue in connection with the Household Establishment and there was a great possibility that Akbar's workmen actually got less than two dams a day.

The impact of this article could be seen in Mr. Smith's second revised edition of Akbar The Great Mogul which appeared in 1919. While accepting Moreland's view, Mr. Smith modified his conclusion also. The world "probably" was abandoned and Mr. Smith concluded thus; "the hired landless labourers had possibly more to eat under Akbar and Jahangir than he has now"[159]

In his article, "Prices And Wages Under Akbar" Moreland ardently felt the need for a wider basis to arrive at a "final Judgement". To meet this requirement, Moreland gathered a much wider range of statistical data for his article, "The Value of Money at the Court of Akbar", which he published in 1918. While in the previous article he had analysed only five foodgrains for his investigation, now to find out what money was actually worth to the population of Imperial Capital, Moreland had a vast data at his disposal relating to more food grains, Ghi, Flour, Animal Food Products, Oil-seeds, Food Adjuncts and Relishes, Clothes and Metals. However, the data, "refer primarily to the country between Agra and Lahore and they are suggestive for the greater


part of the plains from Bihar Westwards".[160] Like before, for this article also, the prices relating to Akbar's reign were those considered to be reasonable by the officials of Akbar's court. For the modern period, prices were drawn mostly from Prices And Wages In India (32nd issue) and where this authority failed, prices were obtained from the responsible market authorities in Lucknow. The value of Akbar's mound was taken 55 ½ lb and the official ratio of 40 dams to the rupee was adopted.

Moreland's analysis revealed that measured in foodgrains and flour, the value of one rupee during Akbar's reign was at least seven times more as compared to the rupee of the first quarter of the present century. The table of Animal Food Products showed that mutton and milk, when measured in grain were rather dearer at Akbar's Court than now, though much cheaper relatively to money. Ghi was comparatively cheaper then. The data further disclosed that oils and fats were in fact, much cheaper at Akbar's Court than in the modern period, relatively not only to money but to grain also. On the other hand, brown (surkh) sugar was, relatively to grain, distinctly dearer than now and white (safed) sugar was relatively much dearer in Akbar's time. Moreland attributes this increase firstly to the fact, "that the complete art of refining sugar was less commonly practised than now so that really white sugar was a rarity",[161] and secondly, sugar manufacturing was not an important local industry and it was commonly imported from Bengal.[162] Salt was costly relatively to grain, though cheap in terms of money. Cloves were more than double the present price in money, about fourteen times the equivalent in grain.

Regarding clothes, however, Moreland could draw only a tentative comparison because firstly, although Abul Fazl gives a long list of clothes purchased for Imperial wardrobe, his figures are of

[161] Ibid., p. 379.
[162] Ibid., p. 380.
little use for comparative purposes, because most of the fabrics listed are luxury goods and "quotations are naturally so wide as to be useless".\[163]\ Moreover, the quotations are for piece and do not indicate the yards which each piece contained. Secondly, Abul Fazl mentions that Akbar had changed the width in which some fabrics were woven. Thus assuming that (a) "The cheapest quality now in the market is approximately similar to the cheapest quality sold in Akbar's time and (b) the width has not been altered in the interval".\[164]\ Moreland drew the comparison taking only three articles into consideration and suggested that probably clothes were five times dearer relatively to grain in Akbar's time. Regarding metals, copper was slightly more expensive than now. Cost of iron was perhaps very high when measured in grain, and much cheaper than now when measured in money. These results as, Moreland indicated, applied directly not only to the population of the Imperial Capital, but they also had some bearing on the economic conditions prevailing over a wider area in Northern India.\[165]\ 

Thus roughly keeping in view the quantities of the various goods required by different classes, the value of money differed in each class. To the extremely poor, a rupee was worth as much as seven times now; to those who lived just above the line of extreme poverty, it was worth about six rupees, and to the middle and upper classes, it valued around five rupees or more, if imported luxuries are not considered.\[166]\ 

The results drawn by Moreland throw a great deal of light on the economic condition of several classes during the latter part of Akbar's reign. Thus the upper classes, who had large cash incomes, cheap supplies and an ample surplus for expenditure on luxurious goods were rather well off. The urban labourers could get food as at present but

\[164]\ Ibid., p. 381,
\[165]\ Ibid, p. 375.
\[166]\ Ibid., p. 383.
could buy fewer or inferior clothes on account of high prices of the same. Since metals were expensive they must have usually gone without metal utensils.[167]

The condition of the peasant, gathered Moreland was by all means worse and depressive under Akbar than under present regime. With regard to the purchase of all articles he was the loser. To obtain Rs. 1 he had to part with 185 lb. of wheat, a large amount indeed.[168] And this was the position of those peasants who lived in the Court. As distance from the market increased their condition became worse. Thus it appears that the condition and welfare of the cultivator from the beginning held Moreland's prime attention.

While Moreland's deep interest in the revenue system was reflected in the Revenue Administration of the United Provinces, which carried a very summary account of Akbar's land-revenue system, he now proposed to extend his scope of inquiry and to focus attention on Akbar's Land revenue system, as he felt that Akbar's reign held a unique importance in political and economic history of India. Thus in collaboration with Yusuf Ali, a fellow Civil Servant, Moreland produced an account of "Akbar's Land-Revenue System as described in the Ain-i-Akbari", in 1918. Akbar's Land-Revenue System was universally acclaimed as one of his greatest administrative achievements, a correct understanding of which, both the authors felt, was essential for a genuine appreciation of the vast historical material recorded in the Ain-i-Akbari. Claiming it to be a pioneering attempt, the authors aimed at bringing together the facts disclosed in somewhat disjointed fashion in the Ain-i-Akbari",[169] in order to present in an integrated manner the theory of the land revenue held at the headquarters of Akbar's

[168] Ibid., p. 384.
administration. Another purpose was to correct the numerous errors or
omissions current in standard text books of Indian history.

However, their, "attempt to restate the official account" was not
accomplished without "obstacles" which confronted them in the form
of (a) Faulty text (b) limited scope of the Ain-i-Akbari and (c)
Terminology employed by Abu! Fazl. After working on the text the authors
concluded that "Professor Blochmann's text, valuable as it is, cannot be
accepted as final, and that there is urgent need of a careful recension,
based on a critical study of all existing manuscripts.[170] Hence, they
did not rely solely on this text, but in cases of difficulty, they
referred freely to the M.S.S. in the India Office Library, which in
their opinion showed "readings which make sense instead of nonsense."
The authors indicated that the Ain-i-Akbari dealt not with the entire
administration of Akbar but only with Akbar's rules and regulations
relating to the palace, the army, and the administration and welfare of
the Empire. The difficulty was further aggravated since the readers
remained in darkness about the system which these regulations modified
and consequently the "precise effect" of some of his modifications could
not be judged accurately.[171] They pointed out that a perusal of the
Third Book of Ain-i-Akbari clearly shows "that the revenue
administration had evolved an extensive technical language of its
own",[172] but that it does not contain definitions of all the terms it
contains. Since the authors considered ordinary dictionaries to be of
little help in defining such terms and also felt that dependence on

Described in the Ain-i-Akbari", Journal Of The Royal Asiatic

[171] Ibid., p. 3. Moreland and Yusuf Ali pointed out that the Text
of Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi vide Elliot's History, iv. 302, was
very uncertain. Thus an adequate knowledge of Sher Shah Suri's
administration, who was Akbar's predecessor and precursor in
several revenue reforms was lacking.

[172] Ibid.
technical glossaries compiled in nineteenth century, "may be seriously misleading because in some instances the signification of terms had altered with the later changes in the revenue system and the modern use of a word is different from the use in Akbar's time".[173] In this situation the only solution, according to the authors was to explain a term by a comparative study of the different passages in which the term occurred. This method was resorted to by the authors in explaining certain terms.

In their attempt to narrate Akbar's Land-Revenue System in a systematic and integrated manner, the first step was marked by an analysis of the contents of the Third Book of the Ain-i-Akbari, which comprised three sections. The first section dealt with chronology and regulations for the guidance of some of the higher administrative officers as Mir Adl, Qazi, Kotwal (who were not connected with revenue administration), and others like Sipah-salar, Faujdar and Khazandar, who were concerned incidentally with revenue administration, the conduct of which was the special duty of Amalguzar, who was the chief executive officer in revenue and Bitikchi, the accountant and principal assistant in revenue department. Second section contained a disquisition on economics and taxation and with the measures introduced by Akbar in the land-revenue system under the Zabti System. The third section containing an account of Twelve Subas or provinces, apart from serving the purpose of a gazetteer, incorporated statistical details and historical notes also, which throw light on the revenue system. According to Moreland and Yusuf Ali, for clarity and ascertainment of facts relating to revenue system, it was imperative that these three sections be read collectively. The authors have also endeavoured to follow this trend.[174] A further investigation led Moreland and Yusuf Ali to the point that while the Ain-i-Akbari mentions that the territorial


[174] Ibid., p. 6
jurisdiction of Sipah-Salar and Faujdar extended to Suba and Sarkar respectively it remains silent about the territorial jurisdiction of Amalguzar. And since it could not have extended to such a small unit as unit, the authors suggest that the Amalguzar's territorial Jurisdiction also extended over a Sarkar, thus making him a colleague of the Faujdar.[175] However, the duties of both the officials were separate and clearly marked out. According to Moreland and Yusuf Ali the territorial unit of administration was the Sarkar and that the mahal was a purely fiscal (and unstable) unit which was commonly adopted as an Akbari Mahal".[176]

The revenue-system prevalent in Akbar's time was not uniform rather three principle systems of assessment namely, Gallabakshi, Zabt and Nasq were in force besides other which are not specifically mentioned. With regard to Gallabakshi (Crop Division), the indigenous Indian system, under which the ruler was entitled to a share of each crop, Moreland and Yusuf Ali made a significant observation that the word Gallabakshi as used in the Ain-i-Akbari appeared "to include such developments as the determination of the share by estimation and instead of actual weight and commutation of its value for cash".[177] Gallabakshi was prevalent only in a comparatively small part of the Empire as Tatta (Lower Sind), parts of Kabul, the Sarkar of Kashmir and where the cultivators could not afford Zabt. The Ain-i-Akbari reflects that it was with the view of obviating the uncertainties and difficulties inherent in the Gallabakshi that Zabt was introduced. That the Zabti System was prevalent over a wide area as most parts of Bihar, Allahabad, Multan and generally in Oudh, Agra, Malwa, Delhi and Lahore, is evident from the area-figures given in the Ain-i-Akbari and the entry of these Subas in the list of Dasturs except for Gujarat. Both the area

[176] Ibid., p. 8.
[177] Ibid., p. 9.
figures and dasturs were an essential feature of the Zabti system. The authors have appropriately summed up that "the central feature of the Zabti System is the attempt to eliminate uncertainties due to variation in the yield. The system in its final form laid down that each plot of land sown should be charged with a fixed assessment in cash, determined according to the nature of the crop: the revenue officer's main duty in regard to assessment was then to furnish each season a statement showing the area under each crop, and when this statement was ready the demand could be calculated by applying the rates already prescribed. The revenue demand was thus ascertainable before harvest,..."[178] The authors further classified the system into two divisions, the schedule of rates and the preparation of crop statements.

Moreland and Yusuf Ali clarified that the technical name for schedules of rates was dastur and the word did not convey any idea of a local area as assumed by Sir Henry Elliot in The Races of the North West Provinces, where he treated dastur as representing an aggregation of parganas.[179]

The authors next discussed how the crop-rates were fixed under the Zabti System. The rates used for assessment were originally calculated in terms of produce. Land was classified into polaj, parauti, Chachar and Banjar, "in the two former, (they take) good, middling, and bad. They total the produce of each crop, take one third as Mahsul, and fix one third of the Mahsul as the demand".[180] Mahsul therefore meant average produce of good, middling and bad land and one third of this average produce gave the revenue ratio. Moreland and Yusuf Ali felt that since the transition from produce rates to cash-rates is rather difficult to understand, they endeavoured to give the essential points:


[179] Ibid., p. 12.

[180] Ibid., p. 15.
"more closely than the published translation".[181] Even when produce-rates had been determined, they had still to be commuted periodically into cash-rates according to the prevailing prices. This difficulty was finally obviated in 1580 A.D., by fixing cash-rates on the average prices of past ten years. Indeed, the measure gave immense relief for now Cash demand for every bigha was known as soon as the crop sown on it was known and a crop-statement for the season would reveal the amount of revenue to be expected before collections actually began.[182]

Another notable contribution of Moreland and Yusuf Ali was to infer the nature of the Produce of Paimaish - a well-known process of survey or measurement, because Abul Fazl does not describe it, but merely recounts the changes such as fixing the standard Bigha, substituting a measuring rod for the rope previously used under Sher Shah and revising the remuneration of the staff. Precautions on which Akbar thought it necessary to insist are also mentioned. Thus Paimaish was described by them as a process in which "each season a staff was set to work to make the crop-statement, working over the cultivated area of the village, writing up the areas of the various plots from the previous records, and measuring the plots for which area were not on record. The record thus showed the area of each crop contained in each holding, and the Bitikchi applied the prescribed rates to these areas and thus deduced the revenue due for that season from each cultivator and from the whole village".[183] This record served as the basis of collection, and this assessment statement was to be forwarded to Imperial headquarters. According to Moreland and Yusuf Ali, the object of Paimaish was to get crop-statements for each season and these were not ordinarily obtained from the village accountants as is now the practise.

[182] Ibid., p. 18.
but were furnished by a separate staff of officers.[184] The authors indicated that the Zabti system of assessment was the ryotwari system as the officials had to fix the demand on each cultivator separately.

Further, in the light of difference of opinion prevailing among the writers regarding the scope of Zabti system that, whether it was of the nature of budget estimate or was the demand fixed under it an assessment in the strict sense, that is, to be realised from the individual cultivators. Moreland and Yusuf Ali tried to put the controversy at rest by stating, that, ".... the revenue figures tabulated in the Ain-i-Akbari for the Zabti areas of the Empire may be taken as representing approximately the amount which Akbar's administration endeavoured to collect...."[185]

Before ending the discussion on Zabti System Moreland and Yusuf Ali dealt with some questionable statements regarding it, which were current in the text books. For instance, the Imperial Gazetteer and Blochmann's translation state that Akbar made a ten years settlement.[186] According to Moreland and Yusuf Ali, the words of the Ain-i-Akbari from which this idea has sprung up are : (1) The heading of the chapter, Ain-i-Dih-sala (2) The words in the text, "Jama-i-dih-sala qarar girift". According to them din-i-sala is obviously the decade 15th to 24th Ilahi, that is the period (already past), which gave the basis of revenue rates adopted and Jama-i-dih-sala cannot be read as implying a settlement for ten years to come.

The third system of assessment namely Nasaq is not specifically defined although Moreland and Yusuf Ali have inferred that it was perfectly familiar to be described".[187] According to them, "Nasaq was a well known and old-established mode of assessment, regarded

[185] Ibid., p. 25.
[187] Ibid., p. 27.
as simpler and cheaper than the alternative Zabt", [188] since it required no detailed surveys or measurement, revenue under Nasaq was fixed by contract, or mutual arrangement. Nasaq existed in Bengal and Berar and some parts of Gujarat and Kashmir also. Thus revenue system was by no means uniform under Akbar.

A perusal of the article reveals that in their masterly as well as pioneering attempt to furnish a connected and a detailed account of Akbar's Land Revenue System, Moreland and Yusuf Ali have certainly succeeded. The article also went a long way in clearing up certain discrepancies and misconceptions regarding Akbar's Zabti system and other aspects. Although the authors felt that "Abul Fazl's claims for Akbar are a maximum", the Zabti system has been specially praised by Moreland and Yusuf Ali. Thus, "assuming a tolerably efficient administration and rates reasonably adopted to local agricultural conditions, the system contained the elements of success".[189]

Moreland's next purpose was to devise a method for interpreting the statistics included in Abul Fazal's Account of the XII Subas. Accordingly his paper, "The Agricultural Statistics of Akbar's Empire" published in 1919 sought to provide the above stated method and Moreland specified that his purpose was "to render this large body of figures available for the social and economic historians".[190] It was as Moreland claimed a pioneering attempt, and the efforts of earlier writers were dismissed by him as illegitimate because they had not subjected their data to a critical analysis on account of which errors had crept in the process of transcription. Moreland thus advocated the

[189] Ibid., p. 41.
first principle, that, "before any of the figures can be used, it is necessary to take a large number of them into consideration and to devise methods by which material error can be eliminated".[191] Moreland's method of investigation involved five steps or stages. i) Determination of the precise significance of the figures, ii) Selection of methods for eliminating errors, iii) working out the comparative geography of the tract in which the enquirer is interested, iv) comparing the figures with those of the corresponding modern administrative areas and (v) drawing conclusions from the figures so obtained. Each of these stages have been explained in a detailed manner by Moreland.

Stage one, namely, the determination of the precise significance of statistics was essential for Moreland because although figures for area and revenue were given by Abul Fazl, he had made no formal statement to indicate what they represent. It was left up to the reader to find out from the language used in this and other parts of Abul Fazl's work. In their article, "Akbar's Land-Revenue System As described in the Ain-i-Akbari", Moreland and Yusuf Ali had explained much of this language and had reached the conclusion that area figures were given only for those regions where the Zabti or regulation system of Akbar had been introduced, under which assessment returns were prepared locally for each harvest. Since "the detailed account of the system shows no other returns of areas which could be utilized for such statistics",[192] Moreland strongly presumed that the statistics were prepared from the seasonal assessment returns and that the figures represented not the total revenue from all sources but only the land revenue demand which is denoted by the word Jama".[193] The figure did

[192] Ibid., p. 2
[193] Ibid., p. 4
not indicate the amount collected but that amount which the administration hoped to collect. Next task was to determine the period to which these statistical figures related because Abul Fazl made no formal statement about it. After several considerations Moreland suggested that the statistics of area and revenue under consideration were most probably based on the assessment returns of a single year very shortly before the Ain-i-Akbari was completed and showed the area cropped in that year, the demand on that area calculated on the Zabti system of assessment, probably the year 40th Ilahi, running from March 1595.[194] The Ain-i-Akbari was completed in the year 42nd Ilahi, though some additions were made subsequently.

The second stage dealt with the detection and the elimination of errors that had crept into the figures. Moreland asserted that while preparing a standard text of the Ain-i-Akbari would be the best way out, but lack of resources and skill inhibit performing this task.[195] He therefore settled for the figures supplied by Blochmann’s work. However, the chief discrepancies in the printed text were: "(a) alteration of individual digits (b) Mis-alignment, bringing the figures opposite to a pargana to which they do not relate and (c) insertions of an extra digit or the omission of one which should appear".[196] Moreland maintained that area and revenue figures should advisably be handled in larger masses, and not pargana wise, as the larger the masses the smaller would be the proportion of error. Moreover, he pointed out that a change of a digit varies in importance with its position, so the numbers may be legitimately smoothed to nearest thousand in the case of areas, and the nearest ten thousand in the case of revenue.[197] Handling the figures in large numbers would also be helpful in tackling

[195] Ibid.
[196] Ibid., p. 9.
[197] Ibid.
the problem of mis-alignment. He pointed out that the magnitude of errors rose to the maximum due to a fairly common feature of the faulty copying of Persian statistics, that is, the dropping or adding of a digit (cypher).[198] Fortunately, this error could be detected with near certainty by the application of the rate-test,[199] that is, by calculating the average revenue rate per bigha. Thus, the area cropped and the revenue paid in large parts of India (probably during the end of eighteenth century) might be determined and above all nearly all the great errors which had crept into the statistics could be detected by the test evolved by Moreland.

The third stage of investigation, the comparative geography, was according to Moreland of utmost importance, because it enabled to draw a comparison between the figures of Abul Fazl and the statistics of the British period. Elliot's work, Races of the N.W.P. ii, 83, indicates where Akbar's parganas lay and the District Gazetteers explain the changes in the parganas, but the problem was to determine the modern administrative areas made up of complete parganas of the earlier period as only then accurate comparison was possible.[200] Hence, the main task to be performed was to accurately pinpoint a pargana with its boundary. The large rivers can be taken as guiding lines as they served as boundaries in Akbar's time as well as the British periods.[201] This procedure helped Moreland to present definite figures for (i) North-Western plains nearly down to a line joining Agra and Bareilly, and (ii) the east of the provinces, north of the Ganges, nearly as far as a line joining Allahabad and Fyzabad. Some marked features for comparison between the British period and Akbar's rule have been

[199] Ibid., p. 13. Moreland has drawn attention to the potential value of this test in his previous article also.
[201] Ibid.
presented thus: the first tract was the most prosperous and productive part of the provinces; and most of the second is now a typically congested area, while the remainder is known to have transformed considerably from the sixteenth down to the nineteenth century.[202]

The fourth stage, namely, the comparison of areas effectively investigate the areas under cultivation as exhibited by Abul Fazl's statistics and compared with those of the British period. Abul Fazl's statistics reveal the "gross cropped area" of the year, that is, the totals returned as cropped in the Kharif and rabi seasons, covering all the three seasons known to modern statistics. These figures had to be compared with the gross cropped area of the present day and not with the net cropped or cultivated area which according to Moreland was a modern statistical refinement. The figures given in the annual Season and Crop Reports had to be converted from acres into Akbar's bighas so as to compare directly with the earliest figures. However, the size of Akbar's bigha varied considerably in length because of the idiosyncracies of rod makers and men employed on measurement, and with the decay in administrative efficiency, bigha tended to increase in size, in accordance with the extent to which the surveyors employed in different localities found it profitable to stand in with the cultivators.[203] Inspite of the diversities, a bigha may be said to be equal to 0.55 acre.[204] The detailed calculations involved in the comparison of areas have been given in the Appendix by Moreland. The broad results have been summarized by him in a Table which indicates that the figures exhibit more changes in the Eastern that is Ganges-Gogra duab and North of Gogra, than in the Western Province, that is upper duab and Rohilkhand. It may safely be inferred that in both the Eastern and Western provinces, cultivation has certainly extended from Akbar's time the

[203] Ibid., p. 17.
[204] Ibid., p. 18.
British period, but not by an area so large as to make a material difference in the aspect of the country.[205] The area figures with regard to the extent of cultivation, incidence of revenue and average rates per bigha, reveal a marked contrast between the East and West, which may partly be due to higher crop-rates in the east and partly to the class of cropping. The Western cultivation extended to inferior soils and common low grade crops predominated, leading to a lower average yield. Cultivators in the East could pick and choose their soil and crops got on an average twice as many dams from a bigha as the peasants in the West, who had to cultivate lands of all grades and had to adjust their cropping to the capacities of the land within their reach.[206]

The fifth stage finally deals with the conclusions drawn from the statistics. Thus when treated by Moreland's methods, Abul Fazl's statistics disclosed a definite picture of the economic condition of the country, but Moreland pointed out that "It remains to enquire whether that picture is true or probable."[207] However, the base or the infrastructure for Moreland's first major work had already begun to take shape. It remained to infer from the contemporary and subsequent descriptions that the Western divisions were on the whole fully cultivated with a low average of productivity, while the eastern districts contained large areas of waste, with cultivation confined to superior soils and yielding a correspondingly larger income per unit of area.[208] Moreland indicated that Abul Fazl, in his account of the Suba of Oudh, gives scanty information about the condition of life in Gorakhpur. However, knowledge available with regard to times later than Akbar show that this tract developed recently and the cultivation also

[206] Ibid., pp. 21-22.
[207] Ibid., p. 22.
[208] Ibid.
extended mainly under the British rule.

Further, the statistics according to Moreland led to an inference that the Western Provinces were much more fully cultivated than the Eastern. But he says that these conclusions are difficult to accept when compared with the knowledge of this tract during the British period. Upper duab is one of the most productive and prosperous parts of Northern India and it is difficult to believe that once it was covered with inferior crops and was a congested area.[209] These contradictory features however, have been very well explained by Moreland. Thus, he says that the wealth of upper duab is drawn mainly from three sources, wheat, sugarcane and cotton, maize being the chief subsidiary crop, but none of these crops were widely grown in Akbar's time. Maize had not yet reached Northern India and sugarcane and wheat could not be grown widely due to scanty and unsatisfactory sources of irrigation available in Akbar's time.[210] Thus, if maize, wheat, sugarcane and cotton are abstracted from the staple products of upper duab there is little left of value. The bulk of the land must have yielded the ordinary low-grade crops like millets, pulses, oilseeds and some barley. Thus it may be said with fair amount of certainty that the procedure adopted by Moreland in reaching the inference regarding inferior cropping as indicated by the revenue statistics is quite accurate. The Appendix presents the results based on the critical examination of the statistics pargana by pargana for all the sarkars situated in the area under consideration. According to Moreland the increase in the cultivation of sugarcane and wheat was the outcome of the canals constructed during the nineteenth century, that is, under the British regime. He infers that "before the advent of the canals the country must have resembled the plains of central India with great expanses of dry cropping broken by oasis of garden cultivation in places where efficient wells were


[210] Ibid., p. 25.
possible or a stream lent itself to utilization by the indigenous methods".\[211\]

Thus the Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl was closely studied by Moreland and the much valuable material relating to economy was extracted by him to reconstruct several important elements of medieval Indian economy, as a result of which a vivid picture of the economic condition of India under Akbar begins to form gradually in our minds which would be greatly enlarged by his subsequent researches. However, while Moreland recognised the importance of the Ain-i-Akbari as a vital source of information, he was keenly aware of its drawbacks also and pointed out that it "has a complex structure and requires to be read as whole".\[212\] Furthermore, he says that the point of view of the Ain-i-Akbari was different from ours and was not always grasped at first sight, "because Abul Fazl merely indicates and does not mention what he has to say specifically. Thus according to Moreland, it is essential on the part of the reader or writer to exercise some caution in interpreting the Ain-i-Akbari. He points out that "it is to the neglect of this precaution that we may trace a large proportion of erroneous statements regarding Akbar's administration which have gained currency during the last hundred years".\[213\] In fact, as we have seen Moreland has corrected many of the erroneous statements.

Apart from the Ain-i-Akbari Moreland focussed on other topics also. He was struck by the amount of attention which the Indian speakers paid, in their speeches to economic topics, among which "the Drain inevitably took a prominent place", a theme which, they chose to appeal to their audience. Their reports sent Moreland "back to some half-forgotten blue-books, just to see how it came about that India has


\[213\] Ibid., p. 816.
survived this outpouring of her life-blood". In his article, "Some Thoughts About The "Drain" in India", (1920) Moreland set out to expose some facts about the "Drain". First of all he examined the trade statistics of the years 1910-1913, "when things were running their ordinary course" before the war and found that, in one year India sold things worth 152 millions of pounds and bought things worth 99 millions of pounds, so that she gained a balance of 53 millions of pounds. Against this sum India received over 28 million pounds in gold and silver, while nearly 26 million pounds were paid into her account with the Secretary of State.

According to Moreland, India did not receive good value under gold and silver and he "classed from 20 million pounds upwards of this gold and silver as a Drain on her material resources. The quantity of these metals which is put to useful purposes is very small; the bulk of both lies useless, or at most ministers to the vanity of the people, yet in order to obtain them, India has given useful things like grain and oilseeds or cotton and jute, some of which she could have used for herself, while the rest could have been exchanged for things which would have helped to increase the real income of the people". Confident of her own efficiency, "she objects to the existence of these payments as a whole .... the hard truth is that India makes payments to foreigners to secure her national existence solely by reason of her


secular national efficiency". This was a fact which Indians glossed over and they took glory in the political and administrative system of the distant past. "That system had many admirable features, but it was vitiated by one fatal flaw - it failed to provide security for national existence, and for a thousand years at any rate, India lay open by land and sea .... Such things do not happen now and these annual payments indicate the reason why".

According to Moreland, these facts albeit unpalatable, were relevant and important for they conveyed a lesson that India make herself efficient in order to maintain her self-respect. Moreland wished to impress on the Indian leaders that the two Drains, material and sentimental were very closely interconnected and every reduction in the import of useless gold and silver could bring down the volume of payments made abroad. The programme for action offered by Moreland stressed (1) To "support the rupee loans, so that their may never again be any question of borrowing abroad for railways, canals or other needs". (2) People should be taught to invest in more wisely in productive enterprises (3) To buy up foreign debt (4) In order to finance these activities people should diminish their demand for gold and silver, and to bring out what lay idle. According to Moreland, "at the present juncture there is no work better worth doing than to reduce steadily the volume of the material Drain, and thereby diminish the Drain on the national self-respect". In fact, by clinging to this old economic evil India literally gave bread for stones. Further, these stocks of gold and silver were the principle incentives to crime. It was there that the Drain of India's life-blood could be seen.

Out of 26 million pounds, one million pounds were spent on stores, 15 million pounds on railways and canals and about 10 million

[217] Ibid., pp. 37-38
[218] Ibid., p. 38.
[219] Ibid., p. 35.
pounds on defence and administration. In canals and railways India acquired property which already yielded several millions a year after interest and other charges were defrayed, "and which presently make her the envy of the civilised world".[220] Also the amount under administration did not cover the charges for the world-wide services of the Navy, so that Moreland concluded that India got "her national existence ridiculously cheap". Thus, the fact was, that India got exceedingly good value for the money spent abroad, but she lost heavily by the import of gold and silver on which her people insisted. But the Indian critics focussed merely on the first item and said nothing about the second. This according to Moreland was due to the fact "that, the money spent abroad does in fact represent a sentimental though not a material Drain; in a word, it hurts. It involves a Drain on India's newly found self-respect, an immense national asset, though its value cannot be shown in the country's balance-sheet. Young India is not really interested in knowing whether she gets good value or not.[221]

Indian poverty, according to Moreland was a notorious fact, and the one, the study of which was of particular importance at the present time. In his article, "The Study of Indian Poverty" (1920) he pointed out that although India had started in earnest on the long road leading to complete national self-development, the main obstacle was that its national income was insufficient to meet the reasonable needs of the nation as a whole. According to Moreland, in the meantime a large and progressive increase in the national expenditure under such heads as, education, sanitation, new political institutions, and productive departments like agriculture, forestry, industries, was essential. "In fact, nearly every head of the budget-hydra has its mouth wide open gaping for larger grants; and it seems impossible for India to go forward without a large and rapid increase in the national income".[222]

[221] Ibid.
By the study of poverty Moreland meant, "You must work from the symptoms to the causes and ascertain why the national income is not greater than it is...". Only then a progressive increase in material wealth was possible. This study of Indian poverty indicated Moreland, had a past as well as future. According to him the study of Indian economic history in every Indian University was "an essential part of the fight against poverty which India is now entering in earnest". Moreland gave several illustrations pointing to the value of Indian economic history and indicated how a knowledge of the past would help to explain the present. Thus, he attributed the Indian habit of absorbing gold and silver "to the effects of a long period of insecurity". For instance, in the Mughal period, the real threat to property came not from robbers but from the Administration; "extortion was much more to be feared than robbery, and it threatened producers in every grade". Thus activities of the people were increasingly dominated by administrative exploitation. Calculating in terms of commodities like food, Moreland indicated that at the end of the sixteenth century India was not much richer than in the years immediately before the war. The distribution of national income was very unequal at that period. Yet "so many Indians look back to this period as a Golden Age. The explanation is that it was followed by even harder times. The seventeenth century must be classed as a period of impoverishment". However, while India entered on the nineteenth century desperately poor, the increase in wealth during that period was overwhelming, yet India was still poor. This was due to the fact that, "It was not enough to make India economically free: the mischief was too deeply seated for that, and liberation required to be supplemented by a policy of active stimulation".

[224] Ibid., p. 621.
[225] Ibid., p. 625.
[226] Ibid., p. 628.
[227] Ibid.
Indian economic history was essential, so that the past "may serve its true function as a guide to better things". This paper was read by Moreland in the meeting of the East India Association. It was well received and followed by a lively discussion amongst the participants.

In his article, "The Shahbandar of the Eastern Seas", Moreland found it desirable to form an accurate idea of the position and functions of Shahbandar since "the personages described by the term Shahbandar, with such variations in orthography as Savendar, Sabinder, Xabendar, and the like, appear so frequently in the literature of the Eastern seas". Hobson-Jobson defined "Shahbunder". Pers. Shah - bander, lit. as 'king of the Haven', Harbour Master. This was the title of an Officer at native ports all over the Indian seas, who was the chief authority with whom foreign traders and ship-masters had to transact. He was often also the head of the customs. This definition according to Moreland, was applicable from about the middle of the seventeenth century onwards, but it was too narrow for the literature of the period 1500-1625. In the writings of the Portuguese historians of that period, the word Shahbandar emerged as one having a wide range of meaning. Basing his research on standard English and Portuguese authorities, Moreland found Shahbandar mentioned in about twenty-five localities before 1625, and the range of its meaning was also extensive. Thus, (1) In Sumatra and farther East, Shahbandar denoted minister of State (2) Shahbandar as President was found in Banda Islands and probably in Ambon also, where there were no kings, but Shahbandars acted as representatives of the people. (3) Shahbandar used to denote a Consul implied a foreigner representing the merchants of his nation. (4) Portuguese records referred to Shahbandar as Harbour-Masters in Goa and Ormus and English records mentioned Shahbandar on the East Coast of India. Consuls were found in Malacca


[230] Ibid., p. 520.
also, but if Malacca was excluded then "all Shahbandars in the Malayan area, that is from Achin eastwards, are either Ministers or Presidents; while from Masulipatam to Mocha there is no trace of Ministers or President, but we have consuls and Harbour-Masters or other localized officials".[231]

Thus on the basis of recorded facts, Moreland forwarded the theory that, "(a) the Shahbandar was originally a consul chosen by a body of Moslem merchants to be their chief in foreign port. (b) some of these consuls may have become domiciled, and, from being farmers of the customs or associated with the authorities in other ways, slipped gradually into the local bureaucracy as harbour-masters or collectors of customs".[232] (c) The Portuguese writers interchanged the Persian Shahbandar with the Malayan word, Bandara, meaning Minister of State, and applied Shahbandar to Bandara, and also to the Presidents of the Republic which they found in some of the Eastern Islands. "It is possible that some of the Indian Shahbandars also may be the creation of Portuguese interpreters".[233] Thus in the Indian region Shahbandar meant a consul or harbour-master, or a man occupying some intermediate position.

An analysis of the early works and writings of Moreland therefore, reflects his deep and genuine interest in the medieval Indian economic history. More significant however, is the fact that for the first time, knowledge about the agricultural and revenue administration of the United Provinces, Indian Economics, and the analysis of the vast statistical data in the Ain-i-Akbari was made available on account of the pioneering services of a British Civil Servant.

[232] Ibid., p. 532.
[233] Ibid., p. 533.
The Map is as reproduced from Isfan Habib An
Atlas of the Mughal Empire, Delhi 1962.