

# Local History of a Global Commodity: Production of Coffee in Mysore and Coorg in the Nineteenth Century<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

When was large scale production of coffee introduced in India, and what role did global capital play in the process? How did indigenous capital respond to the plantation sector? Taking a petition submitted by some European coffee planters of the Mysore Planters' Association in December 1864 as a point of departure this article attempts at answering these questions by analysing the initial phase of the coffee industry in Mysore and Coorg in Karnataka. The petitioners claimed that the tax they paid on coffee was much higher than coffee planters elsewhere in India had to pay. The authorities concerned sought experts' opinion on the petition, and came to the conclusion that the claims made in the petition were baseless. By comparing the role of the European and Indian enterprise in the coffee industry, the article contributes to the ongoing discourses on dual economy and the response of indigenous capital in the face of Western capital.

## Keywords

Coffee production, India, coffee plantation, dual economy, Western capital, indigenous capital, mono-culture vs poly-culture

On 3 December 1864, W. Lonsdale Esq., Secretary to the Mysore Planters' Association wrote a letter to the Secretary to the Commissioner for the Government of the Territories of His Highness the Raja of Mysore requesting him to forward the

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memorandum appended to his letter.<sup>2</sup> Signed by Major General Coghill Ottley and twenty-one other members of the Association, the document stated that the signatories were interested in coffee planting and wanted to draw the Commissioner's attention to the oppressive nature of the coffee tax levied in Mysore. They pointed out that in a statement released from the office of the Commissioner the average yield of the coffee estates in Mysore was declared to be six cwt. per acre,<sup>3</sup> and at the rate of Re 1 per cwt., they paid the *halut* or excise duty of Rs 6 per acre which was three times as much as the highest tax levied on coffee in Coorg and six times as much as the tax paid on coffee on the Shevaroy Hills in the Madras Presidency. As most of the coffee in Mysore was grown by 'natives' who were against the substitution of the excise duty by acreage, the planters wanted a reduction in the tax they were paying. The Commissioner L. Bowring forwarded the petition to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department but referring to letters he had received earlier from H.M. Elliott, Superintendent of the Nagar division,<sup>4</sup> D.P. Mackenzie, late executive engineer of Nagar and Col. J.F. Porter on the question of lowering the duty on coffee in Coorg in 1862, gave a negative advise with regard to the demand of the planters.

This application, the accompanying reports and the decision of the Commissioner that form the basis of this article, raise several questions. When was coffee, usually associated with the plantation mode of production, begun by Europeans, and almost entirely neglected in the study of plantation mode of production in India, introduced in the country, and what explains large scale participation on the part of Indians in Mysore in the production of coffee already by the middle of the nineteenth century, inviting this petition from European planters? What does the document tell us about the relationship between the traditional village economy, and the global economy represented by the European plantation sector? Finally, what conclusion can be drawn as to the interaction between indigenous capital and capital of exogenous origin? This essay seeks to answer these questions by shedding light on the beginnings of coffee cultivation in Mysore and Coorg.

<sup>2</sup> National Archives of India. Foreign Department. Revenue – A. Fort William, 'Complaint of Mr. Lonsdale against the excise duty on coffee': File no. 212, Proceedings May, no. 32: From the Hon'ble W. Muir, c.s. Secretary to Government of India, Foreign department, with the Governor General, to the Commissioner, Mysore, 18 May, 1865. Appended to this file are no. 5271–211, no. 30: From the Commissioner for the Government of the Territories of His Highness the Raja of Mysore to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Bangalore 12 April 1865 and no. 31: 'From W. Lonsdale, Esq. Secretary to the Mysore Planters' Association, to the Secretary to Commissioner of Mysore, dated Manjarabad, the [...]December 1864' (15 pp. in all); henceforth 'Complaint of Mr. Lonsdale'.

<sup>3</sup> Units of measurement used in this essay are based on the Weights and Measures of Act of 1824 and used across the British Empire since 1825. Cwt is the abbreviation of one hundredweight and is equal to eight stone or 50.8 kg; 1 acre = 0.4047 hectares; 1 maund = 28 lb.

<sup>4</sup> Not to be confused with Sir H.M. Elliott of *The History of India as it is told by its own Historians*.

## Situating Coffee

Coffee, a corruption of Turkish 'kahve', is the liquor made from the roasted seed of the coffee plant *Coffea Arabica* originating in Ethiopia.<sup>5</sup> It was from here that the plant was carried to the Yemeni ports of Jedda and Mocha, soon to be grown in the highlands in the hinterland, source of the coffee taken further to the ports in India and beyond through the channels of commerce in the Indian Ocean, and to Europe via the Levant trade.<sup>6</sup> As a result of the increasing demand for coffee which became a popular beverage in the West, European countries like England, France and Holland were growing coffee in their colonies in the Caribbean, Central and South America, Africa and in Asia from where it was exported to Europe. Although the bulk of the coffee traded by the Dutch East India Company in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century was from Mocha, already by 1726 as much as 90 per cent of the coffee imported to Amsterdam was from Java.<sup>7</sup> Extensive use of virgin, fertile land and the abundant 'voluntary' cheap labour compelled to produce the crop under the Cultivation System initially made the coffee story one of enormous success in colonial Java. Both in terms of the number of people involved and of the cash distributed, coffee surpassed sugar in its impact on the indigenous population.<sup>8</sup> The Dutch also grew coffee in Sri Lanka where coffee had long been a peasant crop. The English gained first-hand experience with coffee production after they conquered the maritime provinces of Sri Lanka in 1796. Large-scale production of cocoa, coffee and rubber with British capital and Indian labour came in vogue in Sri Lanka following the British conquest of the island in 1818. British accounts from the 1820s noted the crop growing on roadsides and around the peasants' homes in the hill country.<sup>9</sup> Within a few decades the entire agricultural sector in Sri Lanka became geared to plantation economy. Here too the story of coffee was initially one of great success leading to the establishment of a coffee economy between 1840 and 1875. While peasant coffee prospered from the late 1840s, there was a 'coffee mania' among foreign investors leading to a boom between the late 1850s and 1870.<sup>10</sup> The success of coffee in Sri Lanka seems to have boosted European coffee enterprise in South India.

Attempts were being made by European individuals to grow coffee in different parts of India since at least the late eighteenth century.<sup>11</sup> From this time on we come across many other European individuals attempting at opening coffee plantations in different

<sup>5</sup> Ukers, *All about Coffee*, p. 197.

<sup>6</sup> See the essays in Michel Tuchscherer, ed., *Le commerce du café* for trade in coffee in the Indian Ocean.

<sup>7</sup> Clarence-Smith, 'The Impact of Forced Coffee Cultivation,' pp. 241–64; Knaap, 'Coffee for Cash,' pp. 33–50.

<sup>8</sup> O'Malley, 'Plantations 1830–1840', p. 156.

<sup>9</sup> van den Driesen, *The Long Walk*, p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> A.C.L.A. Ali, 'Peasant coffee in Ceylon,' 50–59; Bandarage, *Colonialism in Sri Lanka*; Wenzlhuemer, *From Coffee to Tea*.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, British Library, (henceforth BL) India Office Records (henceforth IOR) /G/17/3 part 3, ff. 333–34, Copy of general letter from Bombay.

parts of India. As early as 1805–06 Charles Wallace Young approached the authorities in Madras Presidency for the grant of lands in Tinnevely for the purpose of cultivating coffee and other crops.<sup>12</sup> The famous botanist William Roxburgh tried to grow coffee in Rajamundry and Samuelkotah in Andhra Pradesh.<sup>13</sup> Cultivation of coffee was commenced in Bengal in 1823 by Dr Wallich and Mr Gordon, and while coffee of good quality was grown in the Botanical Gardens of Calcutta, some experiments were being made in the Botanical Gardens of Saharanpur as well.<sup>14</sup> Because of the bulk of the resources involved and the quantity produced, much of the literature on cash crops in India has focused on tea considered to be first the imperial and later the national drink. Compared to the vast literature on the production relations in tea plantations in northeast India, very little is available in print on cash crops and coffee in particular in South India in the nineteenth century.<sup>15</sup>

## Coffee in Mysore

The document cited at the beginning of this essay emphasised the coffee-rush in the districts of Mysore on the part of both European and local growers of coffee.<sup>16</sup>

Coffee-planting has extended with a rapidity that is a convincing proof that the cultivation is profitable to the native planter, and it is asserted on good authority that a new comer resorting to Manjarabad would find but little unoccupied land of value, and that he must either content himself with jungles in inaccessible places exposed to the full force of the western monsoon, or must purchase from native proprietors... the great extension of cultivation conveys, to my mind, absolute proof that it is profitable...

This brings up the question of the introduction of coffee in India. As stated above, coffee entered the Indian market through the circuits of commerce in the Indian Ocean.<sup>17</sup> Travelogues from the seventeenth through to the nineteenth century bear testimony to the consumption of coffee by the Muslim elite and Hindu merchants, among others.<sup>18</sup> As far

<sup>12</sup> BL, IOR/F/4/190/4169, IOR/F/4/244/5530 and IOR/F/4/315/7188 for the proceedings in this connection.

<sup>13</sup> Royle, *Essay on the Productive Resources of India*, p. 53.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 184–85; cf. BL, IOR/F/970/27404, 'Papers regarding the cultivation of coffee in Bengal—rules under which Europeans are permitted to rent land for this purpose—11,000 bigahs of land already applied for' and BL, IOR/F/1409/55628 'Bombay Government grant Mr Lingard 100 bigahs of land on the island of Bassein to enable him to establish a sugar factory and to cultivate nutmegs, coffee, etc. They also advance him the sum of 15,000 rupees and a further sum of 8,000 rupees'.

<sup>15</sup> The exceptions are Moore, 'Plantation Development'; Kooiman's 'Plantations in Southern Asia', although touching Mysore and Coorg focuses mainly on Sri Lanka and Travancore.

<sup>16</sup> 'Complaint of Mr. Lonsdale'.

<sup>17</sup> See especially Brouwer, 'Al-Mukha as a coffee port', pp. 271–95; Gopal, 'Coffee Trade of Western India', pp. 297–318; and Khan, 'Coffee Trade of the Red Sea', pp. 319–31.

<sup>18</sup> Edward Terry who visited India in the early seventeenth century noted people in western India especially those 'strict in their religion' drank a liquor 'more healthfull then pleasant' which they called Cohha, from the Arabic kahwa or coffee, William Foster, ed., *Early Travels in India: 1583–1619*, p. 300; also see Bowrey, *A Geographical Account*, p. 97. Bowrey observed that people in the Coromandel coast drank coffee, chewed betel nut and smoked tobacco.

as the cultivation of coffee is concerned, legend has it that on his way back from Mecca, a pilgrim called Baba Budan smuggled a few coffee seeds strapped around his waist and planted them on the hills known since as the Baba Budan Hills in Kadur district; it is from here that coffee gradually spread to Manjarabad and other places in Mysore. European planters came across fully grown coffee trees in Baba Budan Hills and Chikmagalur in Mysore in the 1830s. Since religion and commerce went hand in hand, it is possible that a pilgrim, perhaps from a family of merchants—or perhaps even a group of travellers as William Clarence Smith has suggested—introduced coffee in Mysore.<sup>19</sup> Some coffee was grown in the Anjarikkanti estate of Kannur (Cannanore) at the beginning of the nineteenth century whence it reached Wayanad, and there was some export of peasant coffee from Kannur and Mysore around the same time.<sup>20</sup> However, in the absence accounts of merchants buying local coffee, and the fact that till the very end of the eighteenth century coffee, unlike areca, cardamom, pepper and sandalwood, was not taxed, suggest that locally grown coffee retained a low profile till the early nineteenth century.<sup>21</sup>

Of the two naturally divided regions in Mysore—the *malnad* or the hill country and the *maidan* or the plains—the former, with extensive forests providing shade and a number of streams was extremely fertile and suitable for coffee. There were five types of land in *malnad* where coffee was planted: *káns* or forest; *male* or heavy forest in the passes and slopes; village jungles termed *uduve*; *kumri*, where the original timber was cut and replaced by a secondary growth of trees; and *kanave* or lands covered with hard wood trees and bamboo. Of these, the forest and village jungles with a rich deposit of vegetable matter decaying under the shade provided organic and inorganic manure and were considered best suited for coffee.<sup>22</sup> The forests north of the Baba Budan Hills and in Koppa and Madikeri *taluks* in Kadur, densely covering the hill sides and sheltering coffee plants, were some of the areas known for coffee.<sup>23</sup> In the nineteenth century, almost every household in Mysore had a few coffee trees planted at the back of the house and the village headmen extended the cultivation in small plots till it embraced the entire forest in which their village was situated.<sup>24</sup> It is, however, difficult to say anything definitively about the nature of coffee production prior to the 1820s because the first recorded contract for revenue from coffee growing land goes back to 1823.<sup>25</sup> In the domestic market demand for coffee seems to have been limited to major towns and market centres like Srirangapatnam and Bangalore.<sup>26</sup> But it is clear that the value of

<sup>19</sup> Clarence-Smith has argued that it was from Southwest India that the cultivation of coffee spread to other parts of Asia, including Sri Lanka; see his 'The Spread of Coffee Cultivation in Asia', pp. 371–81.

<sup>20</sup> Pillai, *Coffeehousinte katha*.

<sup>21</sup> Coffee was not part of the products taxed by the interventionist Tipu Sultan of Mysore, see B.S. Ali, 'Development of Agriculture' and Habib, ed., *State and Diplomacy*.

<sup>22</sup> Rice, *A Gazetteer of the Mysore District*, Vol. 1, pp. 163–64.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 372, 374, 391, 393.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 329–30.

<sup>25</sup> Short, *A Handbook to Coffee Planting* (henceforth Short, *Coffee Planting*), p. 160.

<sup>26</sup> Moore, 'Plantation Development', p. 66; Moore argues that awarding the coffee contract to Parry's ousted Indian entrepreneurs from the coffee trade and reoriented coffee from a domestic product to an export commodity, *Ibid.*, 'Plantation Development', p. 83.

coffee was known to at least some in the region because favourite lieutenants of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan—rulers of Mysore in the eighteenth century—were granted special coffee lands as *jagir* and *inam*.<sup>27</sup> After the fall of Tipu Sultan, the administration of the kingdom was restored to the Wodeyar Dynasty and till 1811 the de facto ruler of the kingdom was the king's chief minister Purnaiya. After this period the government lost control over distant provinces leading the British government to intervene on the pretext of misgovernment. Some Europeans serving in the region during this period had taken to the cultivation of coffee in varying scales.<sup>28</sup> In 1823 the Mysore Crown leased out its half share of the Baba Budan produce to Thomas Parry of Parry, Dare & Co. of Madras, who used to sell 'Mocha' coffee imported from Muscat, Basra and Bushire, for ten years for an annual sum of Rs 4,270, at least Rs 2,000 less than the annual average of the preceding ten years.<sup>29</sup> The practice of sharing half the produce of coffee with the ryot with the other half going to the crown, commonly known as *vara* or *warung* indicates that coffee was perhaps an additional source of income to the peasants. Till 1834 the coffee gardens on the Baba Budan Hills were a monopoly of the Mysore *darbar* that shared the crop with the cultivators on this basis.

During the years that Parry enjoyed the contract, the firm had a virtual monopoly on Mysore coffee as the agreement permitted them to purchase the cultivator's coffee at a price set by the firm stipulating at the same time that any export of coffee would have to seek prior approval of Parry's. On the other hand, the growers had no choice but to sell the yield to the representative of Parry's who also provided with the advance they needed for the continuous investment coffee required. While they lowered the price paid to the grower from Rs 3.5 in 1823 to Rs 2 in 1833 per maund of coffee purchased, the sale price of Parry's coffee in Mangalore increased from Rs 4.6 to Rs 5.6 per maund during 1823–37.<sup>30</sup> In 1838 the contract was replaced by an excise duty of Re 1.<sup>31</sup>

Opening up of coffee plantations by Europeans on a large scale took place when Mark Cubbon, in office as the Chief Commissioner and acting as the regent of the king, administered Mysore from 1834 to 1861.<sup>32</sup> Cubbon encouraged planter capital to open up the mountainous areas of Mysore initially by granting wasteland to prospective planters.<sup>33</sup> The first European coffee plantation in Mysore was opened south of the Baba Budan Hills by Mr Cannon around the year 1840.<sup>34</sup> When Lonsdale and other

<sup>27</sup> Moore, 'Plantation Development', p. 65; *jagir* is rent-free land offered in return for services while *inam* is a grant of land for religious or charitable purposes, often rent-free.

<sup>28</sup> During his travels through South India at the turn of the eighteenth century, Buchanan saw coffee being cultivated by the Collector of South Canara; Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras*, Vol. 2, p. 186.

<sup>29</sup> Brown, *Parry's of Madras*, pp. 63–64; in 1833 the contract with Parry's was renewed for five years by the British Mysore Commission for an annual rent of Rs 7422. Thomas Parry died in 1824, but the name of the concern was not changed. This monopoly must have encouraged smuggling just as in the case of cardamom in Coorg described below.

<sup>30</sup> Moore, 'Plantation Development', pp. 70–72.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>32</sup> Mysore would be restored to the ruling dynasty again in 1881.

<sup>33</sup> Moore, 'Plantation development', pp. 13, 28.

<sup>34</sup> Rice, *A gazetteer of the Mysore district*, Vol. 2, p. 389.

planters were seeking a reduction in the duty on coffee, contemporaries noted that the annual influx of merchants and coffee planters and the increasing demand for firewood had a prejudicial effect on the indigenous woods of the neighbouring Nilgiri hills.<sup>35</sup> The success of coffee in the 1840s and 1850s encouraged extension of its cultivation in Mysore, North Kanara, Madura and Wayanad districts and there were constant applications for the grant of forest land for opening of new plantations. Writing in the early 1860s, Cleghorn noted that in Malabar and Wayanad trees were felled by European settlers clearing forest for coffee plantation.<sup>36</sup> Vast areas of forest were often cleared by aspiring entrepreneurs lacking in expertise resulting in subsequent desertion of the land.<sup>37</sup> As coffee needed to be encouraged as 'bona fide cultivation', Cleghorn advised that in order to restrict the destruction of timber, grant of coffee-land should be restricted to places where the plant could be grown with advantage and the denudation of the higher ridges and slopes of the hills be prohibited.<sup>38</sup> The increase in the production of coffee is evident from the increase in the government's revenue especially after the introduction of the excise duty on the commodity. Between 1822 and 1861 the annual returns on this account increased by leaps and bounds (Table 1).

The high returns clearly indicate that the overall production of coffee increased considerably especially given the fact that during the early years after the excise duty was imposed the yield in rupee was equivalent to the quantity produced in maunds, while towards the later years the yield represented only a quarter of a rupee. This increase was ascribed to the encouragement given to the coffee industry. While the duty to be paid on coffee was lowered, the cost of 'native' coffee sold in the country went up from Re 1 per maund to Rs 6–8 per maund.<sup>39</sup> However, what seems to have been more important is

**Table 1.** Annual Revenue From Coffee in Mysore, 1822–61

1822–32 (contract system)	Rs 4,270
1832–37 (contract system)	Rs 7,472
1838–43 @ Re 1 per maund	Rs 15,238
1844–49 @ Re ½ per maund	Rs 26,118
1850–61 @ Re ¼ per maund	Rs 86,824

**Source:** Short, 'Coffee Planting', p. 161.

<sup>35</sup> Cleghorn, *The Forests and Gardens*, p. 178.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 266; W.R. Morgan, in charge of the Mudumalai forests in Tamil Nadu observed that increase in the coffee cultivation and demand for labour (in the plantations) in the Nilgiri district had resulted in a scarcity of labour and increase in the wages.

<sup>37</sup> C.R. Markham noted that in total about 60,000 acres of forest were felled for coffee, tea and cinchona plantations in the Western Ghats. While several thousand acres had been cleared in Manjarabad, Nagar and Coorg, 16,000 acres had been cleared in Wayanad, more than 9000 in the Nilgiris and 600 and 1200 in the Annamalais and in Cochin respectively; see his 'On the Effects of the Destruction of Forests', pp. 180–95.

<sup>38</sup> Cleghorn, *The Forests and Gardens*, pp. 16–17, 30–31.

<sup>39</sup> The returns in the year 1861 were Rs 68,000 (Rs 9000 less than the preceding year), Short, 'Coffee Planting', pp. 160–61.

that indigenous farmers grew coffee mostly in forest land where cultivation of coffee was optional<sup>40</sup> and while a small portion of their farm was under coffee, they were growing betel nut, ginger, plantains and other fruits, turmeric, vegetables, yams and spices at the same time.<sup>41</sup> Pepper-vines among other plants grew in the wild in the same area growing coffee in Mysore; before the systematic cultivation of cardamom began in Manjarabad, it grew in the wild. Unlike tea, which needs to be processed immediately after harvest making large-scale investment in land, labour and capital a necessary pre-condition for growing the crop, coffee can be grown in smallholdings. Peasants and local entrepreneurs often planted coffee in between other cultivated crops and since coffee by no means was the only crop they depended on, failure of the crop meant comparatively little loss. That this method suited the Indian agricultural entrepreneurs and farmers will be clear from Tables 2 and 3. While the prosperity generated by the profit from coffee must have inspired them to acquire coffee-growing lands (Table 2), it should be borne in mind—and this is repeatedly referred to in the document under discussion—that one acre of coffee land under indigenous farmers yielded five maunds of coffee while the same measurement of land under Europeans yielded at least twenty-five maunds of coffee. The European planters took this as proof that the ‘native’ did not do his best to grow coffee. D.P. Mackenzie, the engineer with fifteen years’ experience in Nagar and perhaps a planter himself, minced no words while giving his opinion on the existing system:

The natives, so far as I can gather, would prefer the halut system; it is more consonant with their ideas; it allows them to cultivate as they like, that is, in most instances, not cultivate at all; and it enables them to take up large tracts of land, stick in a few plants here and there for the name of the thing, and thus hold jungle, in the hopes of someday selling it at a profit, and

**Table 2.** Land Under Coffee Cultivation in Mysore in the Early 1860s

District	Total amount of acres under Europeans	Total amount of acres under Indians	Grand Total
Bangalore	15	—	15
Kolar	45	59	104
Mysore	764	1,082	1,846
Hassan	21,017	24,708	45,725
Shimoga	142	2,034	2,176
Kadur	4,028	12,647	16,675
Total	26,011	40,530	66,441

**Source:** ‘Complaint of Mr. Lonsdale’, p. 3.

<sup>40</sup> ‘Complaint of Mr. Lonsdale’.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*; Moore, ‘Plantation Development’, pp. 90–96.

causing in the meantime a loss to the Sircar by keeping *bonâ fide* planters from entering on the cultivation. It is also so far for the benefit of the poorer ryot as, save the expense of planting, he pays nothing to the State until his trees bear. But... this is not cultivation, and as a dose of medicine is given for its good to a child against its will, so I believe that a moderate assessment of say, Rupee one an acre for four years and Rupees two afterwards in perpetuity would make the ryot exert himself, and force him to exhibit, for they well know the profits of the cultivation, an energy of which he has now little idea...<sup>42</sup>

That so much of the coffee-land was under Indians is an indication that Europeans joined an already existing local plantation production process.<sup>43</sup> Apart from Bangalore where all the coffee was grown by Europeans, 'native' growers by far dominated the coffee scene in Mysore. That this trend continued at least till the end of the nineteenth century is evident from the details of plantation holdings in Mysore provided by Moore for the period 1862–1896.<sup>44</sup> An analysis of this data shows that the number of holdings under European planters increased from 153 (25,244 acres) to 865 (61,955 acres) and the number of those under Indian planters rose from 12,285 (38,470 acres) to 28,116 (102,779 acres) during this period. The size of the average holding under European planters decreased from 165 acres to 71.6 acres while that of a holding under Indian planter increased slightly from 3.1 to 3.7 acres over the period. While the total acreage increased from 63,623 to 163,734, the percentage of total acreage under Indians increased from 60.3 to 62.3 per cent and that under Europeans decreased slightly from 39.7 to 37.7 per cent. The data is incomplete in the sense that although it is clear that Indians were buying up large tracts of land for the purpose of growing coffee, we do not know how much of the land was actually owned by smallholders. In the context of Sri Lanka it has been noted that the coffee plantations varied in size from a small unit of twenty to thirty acres to large properties of 1000 acres and above each while smallholdings, cultivated by owners and their family, were less than ten acres in size.<sup>45</sup> In comparison, the average size of a coffee-holding under Indians in Mysore was much smaller.

Similarly, it is not possible to clearly demarcate the spheres of traditional agriculture and the export-oriented capitalist mode of production. On his way from Mangalore to Manjarabad, R.H. Elliot noted that almost all farmer families in the neighbourhood grew some coffee which they carried themselves annually on pack-bullock down the hills in the market in the plains and took salt and other items back.<sup>46</sup> It was generally believed that European planters introduced improved methods of plantation but contrary to the claims of Mackenzie and the likes that the indigenous mode of production was inefficient and ineffective, it was precisely that sector that provided the lion's share of the duty on coffee in Mysore. As indigenous planters contributed as much as a clear

<sup>42</sup> 'Complaint of Mr. Lonsdale', p. 10; emphasis in original; cf. A.C.L.A. Ali, 'Peasant Coffee in Ceylon' for a similar statement over the neglected state of indigenous coffee plantations.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Roberts, *Class Conflict and Elite Formation*; and Kooiman, 'Plantations in Southern Asia', for a similar position regarding coffee planting in Sri Lanka and Travancore.

<sup>44</sup> Moore, 'Plantation development', Table 4, p. 183.

<sup>45</sup> Bandarage, *Colonialism in Sri Lanka*, p. 66.

<sup>46</sup> Elliot, *Written on their Foreheads*, p. 46.

**Table 3.** Share of European and Indian Planters in the Excise Duty on Coffee, 1863–64 (in rupee [ @Re ¼ Per Maund])

District	Excise Paid by European Planters	Excise Paid by Indian Planters	Total
Mysore	25	49	74
Hassan	8,864	31,095	39,959
Shimoga	–	1,042	1,042
Kadur	5,892	62,448	68,340
Total	14,781	94,634	109,415

**Source:** ‘Complaint of Mr. Lonsdale’, p. 2.

86 percent of the excise duty (Table 3) it seems that either they were quick to adapt the European methods of weeding, pruning and spacing of the trees in neat rows or that their method of planting coffee together with other crops and between existing vegetation made more investment on their coffee growing land unnecessary.<sup>47</sup> In any case, it explains the cause of the anxiety of European planters: native smallholders’ coffee out-competing large European planters.

### Coffee Planting in Coorg

As regards the complaint of the planters in Mysore that in comparison with planters elsewhere they were paying more on account of the excise duty, although they did not explicitly mention Coorg, both the Commissioner to the Mysore King and Mr Elliot compared the situation in Mysore with that in Coorg where the question of substituting the existing excise duty with an acreage was brought up in 1862.

From the seventeenth century Coorg or Kodagu was ruled by the Haleri kings with their capital in Madikeri.<sup>48</sup> Chikka Veeraraja, who ruled Coorg from 1820 to 1834, was deposed and Coorg transferred to the East India Company to be ruled by the laws and regulations prevailing in the Company’s Dominions. It was stipulated in the ordinance issued by General Fraser, the Resident for the Affairs of Coorg in 1834 that peasants growing cardamom—grown in abundance in Coorg—would have to sell the entire produce to the government under the prevailing system at a price fixed by the government. As the price paid by the government (Rs 12–20) was much below the market price (Rs 65–50), the revenue continued to be low and cardamom was smuggled out of Coorg through the passes in the Western Ghats to ports in Malabar.<sup>49</sup> Coffee was first

<sup>47</sup> ‘Complaint of Mr. Lonsdale’; Bandarage has argued on the other hand that as it was subsidiary to rice cultivation, it was difficult to induce peasants in Sri Lanka to produce a larger quantity of coffee on a regular basis, Bandarage, *Colonialism in Sri Lanka*, pp. 70–72; cf. van den Driesen, *The Long Walk*, p. 14; also see footnote 50 below.

<sup>48</sup> During the reigns of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan some parts of Coorg fell under Mysore although later Coorg regained these parts under king Veera Rajendra.

<sup>49</sup> Richter, *Gazetteer of Coorg*, p. 418.

introduced here during the time of the Coorg kings by *Mappilas* or descendents of Arab settlers who had been given land near Nalknad, where they planted the seeds they had brought either from Mocha or from Manjarabad in Mysore. People of Coorg learnt the art of growing the crop from the *Mappilas*.<sup>50</sup> As for coffee, the growers had to pay the excise duty of four annas (1/4 of a rupee) per a maund of 28 lbs. This was changed in 1863 when the excise duty was substituted by acreage under certain conditions. Land purchased for coffee was subject to assessment only after the first four years (when the coffee was to be harvested) for Re 1 per acre till the ninth year when the amount of the tax would be doubled.<sup>51</sup> Local landowners, who initially profited from the sale of forest land and waste land, wanted their share of the coffee boom and joined the planting community. In the 1860s there was hardly a native house in Coorg that did not possess a coffee garden consisting of anything from a few trees to a few acres.<sup>52</sup> Out of the total 61,516 acres under coffee in Coorg in 1864–65, Indian owned estates covered 15,796 acres.<sup>53</sup> When the coffee production in Mysore was severely threatened after the ravage caused by three consecutive dry seasons followed by the attack of the coffee borer in the late 1860s, it was with the supply of coffee seeds from Coorg that new life was blown into the sinking coffee industry in Mysore.<sup>54</sup>

As Table 4 demonstrates, while a few of the holdings in Coorg were of considerable size, we do not know the size of an overwhelming majority covering bulk of the acreage categorized under ‘1 acre and upwards’. Since the holdings from 45 acres upwards were mentioned separately, it can be assumed however that the category concerned comprised holdings of lesser size. But here again the distinction between small-holding, peasant cultivation and plantation is blurred.<sup>55</sup> It was certainly an eye-sore

**Table 4.** Indigenous Coffee Holdings in Coorg, 1865

Size of Holding in Acres	No. of Holdings	Area Covered
Between 400–500	3	1,423
Between 200–399	6	1,421
Between 100–199	3	355
Between 45–99	5	292
1 acre and upwards	Unknown	12,305
Total	Unknown	15,796

**Source:** Hull, *Coffee: Its physiology*, pp. xxii–xxiii.

<sup>50</sup> Richter, *Gazetteer of Coorg*, pp. 94–95.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>53</sup> Bhattacharya, ‘Beginnings of Coffee in South India’.

<sup>54</sup> Rice, *A Gazetteer of the Mysore District*, Vol. 1, p. 167.

<sup>55</sup> It has been pointed out that much of the coffee-holdings in Sri Lanka were initially in the hands of peasants and smallholders and as access to large capital via British banks was difficult, the number of Sinhalese and Tamil plantation owners was limited, Meyer, ‘Enclave Plantations, Hemmed-in Villages’, pp. 199–228.

to European planters who leased or purchased vast areas of forest land and invested in clearing the land and were particular about planting the saplings in neat rows in a disciplined fashion to watch the ‘native’s threshing floor for rice filled with coffee’. While many European planters believed that introduction of better methods by them improved coffee planting by Indians considerably, details in this respect are lacking<sup>56</sup> but European planters felt no need to suppress the jealousy and bitterness at the success of their Indian counterparts:

Little however can be said in favour of these consumers of betel mixture—whether it is that the mildness of the climate and fertility of the soil render active exertion unnecessary, but these people seem to regard *sloth* as the chief luxury. Jungles have risen to an enormous price. Forest which might have been purchased 2 years ago for 1500 rupees, is now valued at least six times that amount. But the lease of these cardamom jungles expires in three years, and unless the greater portion is under proper cultivation, Government will put the same up to auction, and the highest bidder obtains. Some Coorg natives are insane enough to suppose that if they put in seed coffee on the ground, regardless of the wood or underwood being cut, that they will be in such a case entitled equally with the European planter to hold their jungles *as coffee plantations*; but surely Government won’t certainly be taken in by such a silly trick. Almost daily, exceedingly fine offers for jungles are being made by Europeans to these Coorgs, but they will accept nothing in reason. The cardamoms scarce pay their rent to Government. It is altogether a dog in the manger case...<sup>57</sup>

Before we continue with the fate of the petition, let us briefly ponder on the complaint of the European planters as to the mode of native cultivation. Coffee was often grown by clearfelling the forest, including shade trees, as practiced for example, in Brazil and Sri Lanka. What could be the possible reasons for keeping jungles for shade in Kodagu and Mysore? Was there some truth in the claim of the European planters, or was it one of the usual rhetoric used by them in order to seek undue favour from the government?

Recent researches in land use and environment suggest that the traditional coffee growing districts in Karnataka—Coorg and northern Karnataka in particular—retained a high proportion of forest shade till at least the beginning of the twentieth century (Table 5). There was a religious practice of preserving patches of forest, often as large as twenty hectares, known as *devarakadu* or ‘sacred grove’—prevailing in the Western

<sup>56</sup> Cf. ‘Complaint of Mr. Lonsdale’, pp. 9–10; also Voelcker, *Report on the Improvement of Indian Agriculture*, p. 23. In the context of Sri Lanka, Ali has pointed out that as modern techniques of coffee production were expensive and time consuming, only a few rich Sinhalese and Tamil plantation owners could permit to adopt and further develop such techniques which ordinary peasants and smallholders could not afford to, A.C.L.A. Ali, ‘Peasant Coffee in Ceylon’.

<sup>57</sup> Short, *A Handbook to Coffee Planting*, pp. 172–73; emphasis in the original. Poly-culture and smallholding were distinctive features of the coffee economy of Latin American countries. For an excellent introduction to the production, marketing and distribution of the commodity in South American countries see Roseberry et al., eds, *Coffee, Society and Power*; also, Clarence Smith and Topik, eds, *The Global Coffee Economy*, for intercropping of coffee together with other crops in a peasant economy.

**Table 5.** Loss of Forests in Coorg and Other Districts of the Western Ghats, Karnataka, 1920 (in acres)<sup>58</sup>

Name of the District	Total Area	Extent of Forest and Scrub	
		Area	Per cent to Total
Chikmagalur	7,184	5,068	71
Hassan	6,818	2,205	32
Coorg	4,098	3,622	88
Shimoga	10,556	6,330	60
Uttar Kannada	10,251	9,134	89

Ghats among other parts of India.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, there were different kinds of land tenures with varying rights on the trees growing on them. In Coorg, for example, there were seven types of land tenures (granted in return for different kinds of services rendered), five types of lease tenures and seventeen types of forest land tenures. Whereas owners of redeemed land had right to the trees on the land purchased, those of unredeemed land did not.<sup>60</sup> However, coffee was grown in some sacred groves and the process of encroachment of forest land for plantation and other purposes including conservation, exploitation of forest resources for shipbuilding, replacement of fine timber by species of high commercial value like teak and clearing of forests for laying railways begun in the nineteenth century went unabated during the course of the twentieth century, resulting in further denudation of natural species of trees and vegetation on the one hand and dislocation in the life pattern of the people living in forests on the other.

Both the Commissioner to the king of Mysore and Elliot stated that introducing the acreage in Coorg was possible because most of the planters there were European, purchasing land solely for the cultivation of coffee and a liberal assessment did not affect the return from any other produce. The situation was different in Mysore where betel nut was extensively grown in the hilly areas growing coffee. Betel nut was an article of luxury and peasants growing betel nut had to pay twice. They had to pay an excise duty in addition to the land tax. Moreover, the prevailing rates of tax on this commodity were unequal and excessively high in comparison with the excise duty on coffee and

<sup>58</sup> Based on Nanjundaiah, 'Forests, Environment and Local Community', p. 96.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*; Gadgil and Vartak, 'Sacred groves of Western Ghats', pp. 152–60; also Kalam, 'Sacred Groves in Kodagu'; Menon and Bawa, 'Deforestation in the Tropics'. The ongoing discourse on the links between global market oriented plantation crops, conservation of environment and livelihood of people dependent on cash crops has seen multidisciplinary research involving expertise on botany, geography and environment studies; see, for example, Ambinakudige, 'Differential Impacts of Commodification'; Ambinakudige and Sathish, 'Comparing Tree Diversity'; cf. Haarer observed some coffee being grown in Mysore under jungle shade where larger trees were left standing while the area was felled for planting, Haarer, *Modern Coffee Production*, p. 394.

<sup>60</sup> Nanjundaiah, 'Forests, Environment and Local Community'; Shrinidhi and Lele, 'Forest Tenure Regimes in the Karnataka'.

if any reduction in duty had to be considered, that would have to do with betel nut and not coffee.<sup>61</sup>

Mackenzie and Porter maintained separately that the planters in Mysore were at a disadvantage compared to those in the territories under the East India Company. Mackenzie admitted that the substitution of acreage for excise duty would immediately result in a considerable loss in revenue for the Government, but optimistically noted that ‘with the present enlightened and liberal policy of the Government of India and with the overflowing treasury of Mysore, I do not imagine that such a loss, even were it permanent, would be thought much of, or allowed to stand in the way’. While Mackenzie pleaded for the acreage as a reward for European capital that improved the country, Porter was however against the introduction of acreage as it implied the imposition of an equal tax on all planted lands while the yield of coffee-lands varied from estate to estate.<sup>62</sup>

The Commissioner and Mr Elliott stated however that the arguments of Mackenzie and Porter in favour of disadvantaged planter were one-sided. They pointed out that the claim of the planters of Mysore that they were paying a tax that was oppressive did not hold good since the duty of one-fourth of a rupee on a maund of 28 lbs. or Re 1 per cwt. replaced all other demands like land tax, house tax, plough tax and income tax and did not amount to more than one-twentieth of the gross produce or 5 per cent of the lowest selling price of coffee which was Rs 5 per maund.<sup>63</sup> The Commissioner wrote that going by the returns of 1863–64 even lowering the duty by one *anna* (one-sixteenth of a rupee) per *maund* would lead to a yearly loss of revenue worth Rs 27,000 or almost double the total contribution to the excise duty made by European planters annually. He would have considered this remission in order to encourage the enterprise of European planters, but with regard to the planters’ claim that the duty they paid amounted to Rs 6 per acre, the Commissioner noted that the figures regarding the total acreage under Europeans (Table 2) should not be used for calculating how much they paid as those figures did not match the figures for excise duty (Table 3), because a considerable portion of the 26,011 acres under European planters shown in the table comprised plantations not yet in bearing. Finally, it is acknowledged that coffee initially brought prosperity to the growers and to the region. That indigenous growers contributing to the ninth-tenths of the revenue on coffee in Kadur and three-fourths of that in Hassan did not protest against the excise duty, demonstrated that this system suited them. As the duty was paid only on the quantity exported, and thus could be adjusted according to the actual yield per season, this arrangement was flexible. Elliott noted that while coffee planters freely admitted that their profit ranged from 40 to 50 per cent, he had gathered from old coffee hands that if the planter was careful about the work done in the plantation and the expenditure he made, he could expect a profit of 200 per cent in Coorg. As Mysore coffee was more prized than that of Coorg and the cost of production here was lower, it was possible to realise astonishingly high returns from well managed estates there. These considerations

<sup>61</sup> ‘Complaint of Mr. Lonsdale’, pp. 2, 5, 12.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9–12.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

convinced them that the existing duty was bearable for the majority of the coffee-growers in Mysore and that the claims made by the petitioners were not valid.

## Conclusion

The discussion following from the memorandum submitted by Lonsdale and other planters reveal certain aspects of the production of coffee in Mysore. In the case of Sri Lanka, large scale participation in coffee cultivation on behalf of the indigenous population has been said to be a unique feature in the colonial history of Asia as it demonstrated that the penetration of exogenous capitalism did not lead to a total decline of indigenous economic enterprise. Plantation capitalism—together with commercial capitalism—provided the Ceylonese bourgeoisie with opportunities for upward social mobility.<sup>64</sup> The account of coffee cultivation in Mysore and Coorg above is a testimony that the same feature prevailed here too. The Secretary to the Government of India, the Commissioner to the King of Mysore and the Superintendent of Nagar—all keenly noted the important role of indigenous participation in coffee production in the region. That local agricultural entrepreneurs and peasants quickly responded to the market by acquiring plantations and growing coffee was because coffee as a cash crop was already known in the region. Europeans present in the region in the 1830s noted coffee already being cultivated and some of them were already growing some coffee themselves. In this sense large plantations set up by Europeans for growing coffee for export did not really signify a break with the past.<sup>65</sup>

The notion of a dual economy with distinct spheres of the advanced plantation agricultural sector with modern technology introduced by European planters and the backward traditional agricultural sector has long been criticised by scholars of South Asia. Focusing on Sri Lanka Ashok Bandarage, and comparing the local initiatives with regard to coffee plantations in Sri Lanka with those in South India, especially Travancore, Dick Kooiman have emphasised the multiple socio-economic links between the plantation sector and village society, the dual forces of the world economy.<sup>66</sup> Barbara Evans has meticulously studied the strong nexus between labour recruitment to plantations and various forms of debt-bonding in the rural society in South India.<sup>67</sup> The analysis of the situation with regard to coffee production by the Commissioner and other dignitaries in Mysore indeed underline the overlapping spheres of traditional agriculture and modern plantations. There is no denying the fact that European planters had better access to capital and the memorandum is an example of how they sought undue favours from their compatriots serving the Empire. Europeans owned large holdings and in Coorg the greater part of the coffee lands was in their hands. In Travancore ownership of plantations was a monopoly of the British till the end of the nineteenth century,<sup>68</sup> but in the middle decades of the

<sup>64</sup> Roberts, *Class Conflict and Elite Formation*; cf. Kooiman, 'Plantations in Southern Asia' for Travancore.

<sup>65</sup> For a similar position with regard to the plantations in Travancore see Baak, *Plantation Production and Political Power*.

<sup>66</sup> Kooiman, 'Plantations in Southern Asia'.

<sup>67</sup> Evans, 'From Agricultural Bondage to Plantation Contract', pp. 45–69.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

nineteenth century local peasants and agricultural entrepreneurs were actively involved in coffee plantation in Mysore and Coorg. Both in terms of the acreage under coffee and the contribution toward revenue from coffee, Indians dominated the scene in Mysore in the second half of the nineteenth century. In Coorg the bulk of the indigenous holdings were of small size ('1 acre and upwards') and in Mysore the average size of indigenous holdings was little more than three acres as against the European holdings measuring over seventy acres in the late nineteenth century. This clearly validates the critique of the concept of a dual economy where the output of the traditional or agricultural sector is limited to only land and labour and not conducive to the accumulation of capital.<sup>69</sup> At the same time, the performance of the small coffee estates in the late nineteenth century defied the logic of the economies of scale used by the modern, manufacturing sector explaining expansion.<sup>70</sup> It is however not possible at this stage of research to specify how much of the coffee-lands under the local entrepreneur produced only coffee as betel nut and cardamom also often grew on the same land. Coffee grown in the backyard of the peasant household was also marketed but here again we do not know how much of the excise duty on coffee was from this so-called traditional sector.

Both the government and the planters were guided by the idea of maximum turn over and in the colonial situation often the more wealthy European capitalists were able to manipulate their connections in order to have the government on their side against the 'native' entrepreneurs.<sup>71</sup> Evidence at this stage does not show the government favouring European capitalist enterprise against smallholders in Mysore. That the Commissioner did not recommend the lowering of the excise duty was not because of any favouritism toward the indigenous coffee-growers, however. For the time being it suited the government to leave the excise duty in Mysore undisturbed but the Governor General thought 'there is much to be said in favour of a modification of the present system' and accordingly, the Secretary to the Government of India also wrote Mr Bowring to find out if it would be possible to combine both the land assessment and the excise duty in such a way as to 'afford some relief to the European planter without pressing too hardly on the native'.<sup>72</sup> One complaint almost universal among European officials and planters against the excise duty on the produce was that it encouraged the 'native' to stick to the traditional mode of cultivation and go about coffee plantation as it suited him. While Eliott and Porter were against the introduction of assessment on coffee-lands, they also agreed that taxing the produce encouraged the peasant to adhere to his 'slovenly style of cultivation'. Within a decade and a half the excise duty on coffee in Mysore was replaced by land assessment in 1879.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Jorgenson, 'The Development of a Dual Economy', pp. 309–34.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> Bandarage, *Colonialism in Sri Lanka*, p. 325; Kooiman, 'Plantations in Southern Asia'; see also the two papers by Saravanan, 'Commercialisation of Forests', pp. 125–46, and 'Colonialism and Coffee Plantations', especially pp. 465–68.

<sup>72</sup> 'Complaint of Mr. Lonsdale', p. 1.

<sup>73</sup> According to Moore planters had very little influence with the government in Bengal and the change from excise duty to acreage was encouraged merely by the idea to generate higher revenues, 'Plantation Development', pp. 7, 14.

Decline of peasant coffee in Sri Lanka in the second half of the nineteenth century has been ascribed to the limited availability of financial resources to indigenous entrepreneurs. After the initial unsuccessful attempts at coffee cultivation in the plains, European planters could afford to purchase virgin forest land in the hills. While clearing of large tracts of forests had precarious results as far as natural resources were concerned, without sufficient finances ordinary peasants were left with their land of inferior quality. In the aftermath of *Hemileia Vastatrix*, the rust disease that broke out in 1869, peasant coffee disappeared from Sri Lanka. The account above shows that the case of coffee in Mysore and Coorg was different; persistence of the small producer growing coffee together with other crops helped accumulation at the local level in the face of global capitalism.<sup>74</sup>

The leaf disease sealed the fate of coffee in Sri Lanka and in many parts of Indonesia marking the switch over from coffee to tea. Even in South India many plantations—especially the larger ones in areas where extensive forests had been cleared and coffee was grown without shade—were ravaged leading to the bankruptcy of the planters while others diverted their attention to alternative cash crops like rubber and tea. In this respect the observations of Rice in the coffee growing districts of Hassan and Kadur in Mysore at the end of the nineteenth century are significant. We have seen above that especially these two hill districts had most of the coffee estates owned by indigenous agricultural entrepreneurs and peasants. As late as 1892–93, long after coffee plantations in Sri Lanka were wiped out, coffee was the most important industry in Hassan district. Coffee was grown here on 53,277 acres (48,773 acres in Manjarabad alone) next in importance only to ragi (287,458 acres) and rice (103,081 acres). This shows that the high altitude coffee-growing districts of Mysore and Coorg in the nineteenth century were less affected by the rust disease.<sup>75</sup> Table 5 above shows that this was at the cost of the forest land.<sup>76</sup> In Kadur district there were 543 European planters covering 33,943 acres and 11,953 plantations owned by Indians covering 66,406 acres producing 12 million pounds of coffee.<sup>77</sup> To put it differently, smallholders engaged in the practice of poly-culture played a more important role than European planters in the production of coffee in

<sup>74</sup> Recent researches underline this trend among merchants and artisans in the handloom industry in other parts of India in the late colonial period; see, for example, Roy, *Artisans and Industrialization*, and very recently Haynes, *Small Town Capitalism in Western India*.

<sup>75</sup> Rice, *The Gazetteer of Mysore*, Vol. 2, pp. 328–30, 339; cf. Haraar, *Modern Coffee Production*, p. 387.

<sup>76</sup> The process of deforestation increased by leaps and bounds after decolonization, Nanjundaiah, 'Forests, Environment and Local Community'. This was a part of the policy to increase the production of coffee, especially the Robusta variety in order to augment its export to the new markets in post-WWII Europe at the cost of the domestic market. See Bhattacharya 'The Indian Coffee House', forthcoming.

<sup>77</sup> Rice, *The Gazetteer of Mysore*, Vol. 2, p. 375; about 979 acres were under coffee in Shimoga and out of 250 plantations six were owned by Europeans, Rice, *The Gazetteer of Mysore*, p. 423. Steven Topic drew my attention to the fact that assuming 400 trees to the acre (which is the norm in the productive areas in Latin America) the average yield would amount to 0.25 pounds per tree, a quantity very low. It shows that in all probability there were much less than 400 trees per acre, and the indigenous planters were not lazy, but cautious while planting more foodstuffs and less coffee; e-mail communication 21 October, 2012.

Mysore and Coorg.<sup>78</sup> Till date smallholdings (below ten hectares) constitute 90 per cent of the operational holdings growing coffee in India supplying 70 per cent of the total production.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> As late as the 1930s, only 10 per cent of the land under coffee in Mysore was under British firms; see Oliver, 'The Coffee Industry in India', pp. 823–24; for persistence of smallholders' coffee elsewhere in Asia see Clarence Smith, 'The Impact of Forced Coffee Cultivation on Java', pp. 241–64 and Clarence Smith and Topik, eds, 'The Global Coffee Economy'. For the importance of poly-culture and shade in coffee in maintaining the ecological balance see van Rikxoort et al., 'The Potential of Latin American Coffee Production', pp. 655–79.

<sup>79</sup> Upendrnath, 'Coffee Conundrum'.

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