CHAPTER-IV

THE PLANTERS, LABOURERS AND THE STATE

There was increasing influence of commercial cultivation in princely Mysore during the 19th century. Many areas particularly in Malnad and Coorg were brought under commercial crops. Among the various commercial crops, coffee occupied a very important position. In the present chapter, the evolution and growth of coffee cultivation in Mysore as well as the various problems connected with it are discussed. It focusses attention on the state land policy towards the coffee plantations, the coffee cuts, the problem of coffee coolies etc. The problem of labour on plantations being a crucial one, has been given greater attention. The state had its own limitations to pursue a dynamic policy in this area because of colonial working of the professional associations of the coffee planters and role of recruiting agents. The approach became necessary in view of the fact that the working of these pressure groups had much to do with the succeeding socio-political developments in Mysore.

THE PLANTING OF COFFEE SHRUBS IN MYSORE

Coffee which accounts for 54% of the total area and contributes 69.7% of the total production in India, is mentioned for the first time in a Dutch work, "Letters from Malabar" by Jacob Vissecher, Chaplain at Cochin (1). The earliest experiment was tried in Bangalore, by Dr. Hayne, though majority of his trials failed, yet some trees planted in the fort of Bangalore in 1806 came up very well. The next energetic step was taken by Major Greig Waugh in 1816 whose plants also thrived well. No good use of these opportunities
were made by the local people. The time factor with regard to coffee plantation deterred them from staking their capital in this enterprise. But though no great enterprises were made, the speculation was not given up and coffee cultivation improved steadily but slowly and in 1823, a small quantity of seeds was sent from Mysore to Baramahal. Initially, coffee plants existed only in two taluqs of Manjarabad and Devaraynadurga and the produce was very scanty. Many years passed before the commercial cultivation attracted the special attention of Mysore commission (2). The Superintendent of Nagar division brought to the notice of the Commissioner that matters were in a very unsatisfactory state and drew the attention of the government to the fact that land policy, then existed was detrimental to successful cultivation of coffee (3)

LAND POLICY

Before the British arrived, land was never held in outright ownership as private property. After assuming the reins of the Indian Government the British were fairly "convinced that progress was dependent upon private property" (4), and they invariably awarded proprietary rights in the soil to those who had settled the land revenue like the zamindars in Bengal. In so doing, they did not intend to destroy their traditional rights of the tenancy. Lord Cornwallis, while sanctioning the permanent settlement in 1793 persisted that no ryot was to pay more than the customary fixed rates. But after its introduction, no further "efforts were made to ascertain or preserve these rights and as a result, peasantry soon found themselves reduced to the status of tenants at will" (5).
Depression of the peasantry was further accelerated by the pressure upon land due to population growth. "At this juncture, British had to decide whether they wished to protect the occupancy tenant by special legislative action" (6). This question formed the subject of bitter debate. "Those who accepted the theories of Laissez-faire, looked upon tenancy legislation as a harmful and retrograde measure. By restricting the landlord, they argued; it would stifle capital investment and perpetuate uneconomic small holdings" (7). This faith in the landlord as the agent of agrarian progress paved the way for large scale capitalist farming (8). The theories of Laissez-faire gained further reinforcement from aristocratic prejudice. The English landed Gentry saw clearly that tenancy legislation, with its restraint upon the landlord, posed a challenge to their own dominant position in society (9).

Far more, decisive in its impact on land policy was the mutiny of 1857 (10). Agrarian reform, it appeared, had failed to achieve its primary purpose - the creation of a contended peasantry (11). So, the government embarked upon a policy of conciliation, and "restoration of confidence in the tenantry took top priority" (12). The chief commissioner, Charles Wingfield, opposing the tenant's right on principle, considered it "an invasion of the right of property and a clog on enterprise and improvement, and accordingly ordered his settlement officers to ignore all claims to occupancy tenure" (13). Tenancy legislation was carefully tailored to avoid any real demage to the position of the landlord community and was rarely enacted without their consent.

Important changes in land regulations were made in India in the early sixtees to remove all disincentives to
investment of capital by European Entrepreneurs in India. In the revenue despatch of 31st December 1858, Ford Stanley, the Secretary of State for India, intimated to the Indian government that many applications had been received by the court of Directors and Secretary of State from Companies, "desirous of obtaining grants of unoccupied land for the purpose of carrying on the cultivation of cotton and other exportable products for the supply of manufacturers in this country (14).

But this question was, for a time being held up, because of the mutiny of 1857-58. In the aftermath of the mutiny, the British government was attracted by the thought "that a deliberate policy of permanent land settlement would create class of land owners politically favourable to its interests" (15). Statesmen like, Lord William Bentinck and Lord Metcalfe saw in the future increase of British settlers the only permanent prosperity of British India (16). In his celebrated minutes of the 31st December 1824, Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of the Madras Presidency then stated that - "No survey assessment of a great province can ever at once be made so correct as not to require future alteration. A trial should always be made of it for 6 or 7 years. A general revision of it should be made, wherever it might be found too high, it should be lowered and it may then, with safety to the revenue and benefit to the people, be made permanent" (17). It was argued that such permanency of land tenureship was necessary because "on the contentment of the agricultural classes, who form the bulk of the population that the security of the Government mainly depends" (18).

The report of the Indian Famine Commission in 1880 opined ".. it may also be supported on the economical ground
that in the case of these large cultivating classes security of tenure must have its usual beneficial effect and that as a rule, the cultivators with occupancy rights are better off than the tenants at will.." (19). Permanent settlement and fixed land tenures were also recommended on the basis that it would maintain order. "A large extension of the member of settlers over India would be a considerable guarantee against any future insurrection and would tend to lessen the necessity for maintaining our expensive army" (20). Thus, on March 23rd 1867, the Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Northcote, reaffirmed the decision of Her Majesty's government to introduce a permanent settlement. He wrote - "the government is prepared to sacrifice the prospect if any, increase in land revenue, in consideration of the great importance of connecting the interests of the proprietors of the land with the stability of the British government" (21). This was the land policy in general which the colonial settlers in India pursued.

BRITISH COLONIALISM AND THE GROWTH OF PLANTATIONS

The wooing of the European capitalist, to invest his capital in Indian Agriculture, directly called for the settlement of Europeans in India. The Liverpool East India Committee stated before the parliamentary select committee "we would, suggest that encouragement be given to men of talents, particularly acquainted with best modes of raising and improving the different products of India, that encouragement and protection be given to men of capital to invest their property in land by grants in perpetuity on easy terms" (22). The Glasgow chamber of commerce similarly desired that "every encouragement and facility consistent with the safety and tranquility of India will be granted to
British subjects going there, from whose skill and capital enterprise most beneficial results may follow" (23). Accordingly, Manchester Chamber of Commerce opined "the obvious measure to increase the products and trade of India permitted British subjects to hold land" (24). The restrictions regarding residence settlement of Europeans in the interior of the country was removed in 1824, and in the following years, vigorous attempts were made to woo British nationals, to invest their capital. Land was offered to them either as freehold or on long leases of 60 years for purposes of cultivation and the establishment of plantation industries. Transit duties on the inland trade were withdrawn and the whole trade and industry of India were thrown open to foreign enterprise. Many of the members of Parliament, court of directors, and various other private companies, urged for a change in land policy, so as to profitably invest their capital. They naturally demanded 1. Freehold tenure and 2. Perpetual settlement of land revenue to those willing to invest in plantations. The court of directors urged the government of India "the alienation in perpetuity to any, person of substance and respectability of land belonging to the government upon condition of the application of certain amount of capital to the cultivation of the most valuable products of soil" (25). The Indigo Planter’s Association, the Tea Planters and Coffee Planters of South India were in a memorandum, urging on the government the necessity of offering free hold tenure and perpetual settlement of revenue demand in order to attract European capital (26). The final decision of the Government of India in October 1861, to grant waste lands, in fee-simple and to allow redemption of land revenue was hailed by these memorialists (27). The Indian famine commission reporting on the cultivators "rights" in 1880 stated - "It is only under
such tenures, which convey permanancy of holding, protection from arbitrary enhancement of rent and security for improvements that we can expect to see property accumulated, credit grow up, and improvements effected in the system of cultivation" (28).

WASTE LAND TENURE POLICY IN MYSORE

When the grant of land for growing coffee in Mysore were first assigned, it rested with the superintendents to make the allotments and regulate their extent. No limit was fixed and the grants comprised areas varying from 10 to 10,000 acres. The small parcels were held usually by local planters. No restriction was placed on the authority of the superintendents to make allotments and the sanction of the Commission was not considered necessary.

The theory with regard to sale of waste land was laid down according to the modified provisions of the government Act of 1862 October which had fixed a uniform price throughout India of Rs. 2 1/2 per acre for uncleared land and Rs. 5/- per acre of Jungle Land. Later, it was ordered that several governments should fix a minimum price suited to the circumstances of the various descriptions of land at their disposal. Para 30 of the act was also modified to provide for the sale of land by auction in the event of more purchasers than one to buy the same tract. It was again modified that in every case the land should be put up to auction at an upset price and sold to the highest bidder and every land applied for must be surveyed and boundaries marked out before it was advertised for sale (29). This was purely a measure of profit because government thought that such a measure would save time and the applicant may be induced to buy the land without any unjust delay.
Then, the government issued an order which read "...in order to obtain permanently good results from these measures, not only that no violence be done to the long existing rights which sometimes in a rude and sometimes in a complicated form are possessed by many of the humblest occupants of the soil of India but, these rights are nowhere slighted or even overlooked. Scrupulous respect for them is one of the most solemn duties of the government of India..." (30).

Government thought that any discrepancy in the old landed rights would result in quarrels and bloodshed which would lead to the necessity of employing an armed force for their suppression (31). The Secretary of State Mr. C.Wood wrote, "The necessity of according protection to such scattered Europeans as might settle on them would render their occupation by British subjects a source in a political sense, rather than a weakness. A source of strength to the Indian government and would certainly involve an amount of expenditure far out weighing any advantages. Greatest caution should be exercised in allowing grants of land" (32).

But the objection to the measure of waste land sale was much stronger when applied to ryotwari areas, because here, land tax was fixed. Even a land left uncultivated for 5-6 years where government had absolute power to dispose of the waste lands, a new provisions had to be promulgated. Government decided that where lands were at the absolute disposal of the government, such lands should be sold as unassessed waste lands, the price should be 20 years purchase cost of the total assessment. By such a provision, government observed, "claimants without number will springs up possessing rights over lands. On different tenure systems, causing a most serious amount of embarrassment to the
local government" (33). Thus, the question was too delicate and required mature consideration of the government.

Therefore, the colonial government had to contemplate two important subjects:

1) The sale of waste lands in perpetuity discharged from all prospective demand on account of Land Revenue and

2) Permission to reduce the existing Land Revenue by the immediate payment of one sum equal in value to the revenue redeemed.

There was much diversity of opinion as to the extent to which either measure was likely to operate and as to the rules under which acquisition on waste lands in perpetuity and the redemption of the Land Revenue should be allowed. The government stand was best explained by a resolution, "as regards the sale of waste lands, there can be no question of the substantial benefits both to India and to England which must follow the establishment of settlers who will introduce profitable and judicious cultivation into districts hitherto unreclaimed" (34). Another important element which necessitated the introduction of the element of perpetuity was that colonial government wanted to create a group of local elites. The Secretary of State stated "It is also most desirable that facilities should be given for the gradual growth of a middle class connected with the land without dispossessing the peasant proprietors and occupiers" (35). Even government order stated ".....that increased security of fixed property and comparative freedom from the interference of the fiscal officers of the government will tend to create a class which, although composed of various
races and creeds, will be peculiarly bound to the British rule, while under proper regulations, the measure will conduce materially to the improvement of the general resources of the empire" (36).

Thus, it was laid down that as to the sale of unassessed waste lands, in which no right of proprietorship was known to exist, application for such lands was granted in perpetuity as a heritable and transferable property, subject to no enhancement of land revenue assessment. Except under very special circumstances, the grant of such land also conveyed all rights of forest, pasturage, mines, fisheries etc. In Eastern India, the maximum benefit for such a grant was fixed at 3000 acres. And where the land was unsurveyed waste, the survey assessment charges were collected at a fixed rate before hand. The rates fixed would last for 5 years and then it was subjected to revision. But, price to be paid was fixed at 20 years purchase of the existing assessment. The tenure was heritable, transferable property held in perpetuity free from all demands on account of land revenue.

These measures were generally advocated with the object of promoting the settlement of Europeans in India. C.Wood in his letter to Governor General wrote "... I am most anxious that every facility should be given to persons desirous of settling in India with that object in view" (37).

The despatch of the Secretary of State of 1861, laid down conditions under which the public servants could hold land in India. Under these orders, regimental military officers were allowed to hold lands in any part of India, on the understanding that they would be disqualified for
temporary civil employment in the district where the land was situated. Military officers in permanent civil employment were put in the same footing as covenanted civilians, who were allowed to hold lands anywhere out of their own presidency, but were absolutely prohibited from holding lands within their own presidency. By a despatch of Nov. 1861, these rules were changed and civil officers were permitted to hold lands in Bengal while serving in North-Western provinces. Again by despatch No.22 of Nov. 1862, all officers were forbidden to hold lands in native states except Mysore (38).

This Act referred only to Mysore where a large number of military officers from all over India acquired land in Princely Mysore, because in Mysore, land was never held in proprietary ownership (39). The prohibitory orders of 1862 November were not officially published till January 1863. The delay was deliberate and Major Taylor, the Military Officer, acquired nearly 115 acres of land at a Government auction just for Rs 2/-. Finally, the government decided to allow the officers to retain their acquired lands (40). That was the beginning. Many military and civil officers began to acquire lands in Mysore without any ceiling of these holdings. A person was even awarded 10,000 acres (41).

Thus, when an application for land for coffee cultivation was received, a patta was granted to the applicant according to the terms of which he was exempted from paying land assessment, but the produce raised on such land was subject to a halat or excise duty of 4 annas per mound. Along with this, two more conditions were added to patta: (a) that no other crop should be raised on land assigned for coffee; and (b) that within a period of 5 years after the land was first acquired, every acre of it should
be planted by not less than 500 coffee trees and in default, the extent left unplanted would be liable to be taken away by government. With regard to cardamom, jungles were leased out annually and a tax of Rs 2/- per mound was levied on the produce.

A brief history of coffee taxation

During 1830s, coffee was a subject of the "Warudu" system of taxation. As all forest lands were state property, coffee produced on all such lands was shared equally between the grower and the state. However, arbitrary this mode of taxation was, it suited the native idea, "because it did not involve any fixed money payment as tax on a capricious forest cultivation" (42). This rule applied even to those cases where coffee was grown like the banks of paddy fields, in arecanut gardens and in the like places which were already assessed. Thus, virtually subjecting it to a double assessment in most cases which embarrassed the planters, native and European. Besides, the excise duty was also collected regularly on quantities of coffee exported in addition to other local cesses. Under these disadvantageous and exacting taxation system, no discernible improvement was made in the cultivation and hence trade and revenue were almost stationary.

In January 1823, however, a contract was agreed to with M/s Parryware & Co., of Madras by the Mysore Durbar and this Company was made to pay Rs 4,270/- per annum for 10 years to government as the sircar share of the produce. By 1840, the revenue from this branch of agriculture nearly trebled. But this contract affected the coffee cultivators to an extent that this firm enjoyed sole monopoly and it never allowed
individual cultivators to dispose their share in the manner they wanted. They were induced to agree to renters' own terms by creating obligation. This led to a lot of confusion among planters. The Division Superintendent of Nagar and Astemgram brought this to the notice of the government. They were of the opinion that contract system is not favourable to government and the trade should be thrown open and a moderate rate should be fixed on all coffee lender by the government only. Thus in 1838, a halat or excise tax of Rs 1/- per mound was introduced in lieu of share system. But this rate was viewed as high and obnoxious by planters. Due to increasing protests from planters, government reduced the halat tax to 8 annas per mound in 1843 and subsequently to 4 annas in 1849. In 1864, on the representations of the Mysore Planters Association, the halat was reduced to 3 annas per mound. By 1875, there were many statesmen in Mysore upholding acreage tax on coffee. They firmly believed that by the establishment of permanency of proprietorship, larger capital would be invested (43).

Financially, the halat system brought more profits. In Nagar, an acre of coffee yielded 25 mounds, which paid a halat of 6-4-0. Even if so low a rate as Re 1/- per mound would be a heavy land tax. So if acreage assessment was adopted, government lost Rs 5-4-0 on every acre of coffee plants. Thus, it was evident that as a financial measure, the alteration of the system would be a dead loss. Politically also, it was admitted that it was superior to acreage. The greatest number that will have to be benefited by either system are the native of India (44). It was also thought that the disadvantage of continuance of halat was that "it may deter Europeans from coming to the country" (45).
But a change to a direct system of taxation was seen with good results. First of all it was thought, a land tax would affect the local planters. F.D. Meppen wrote "...In voting for a land tax, the change will affect the interests of some 1000s of native coffee growers to a greater extent that it will be for the European planter" (46). In defence of the argument, he stated "...under the present indirect system of taxing the coffee lands by levying a duty on produce, natives do not care to cultivate their holdings. Therefore, to them the change to a direct taxation of coffee lands will involve vital consequences. The only remedy is direct taxation of the land. Its introduction should be a moderate cess per acre, arranged on a gradual rising scale. This will afford the natives ample time to cultivate their neglected holdings and arising scale if assessment will not press upon them" (47).

It was also argued that natives would take up lands, if land tax was commuted as direct. Mr W.A. Allandue wrote "...Because we know that in the district, a great number of coffee jungles are held by people who leave them almost entirely uncultivated and we believe if a land tax was substituted for the halat, the owners of these jungles would either begin to cultivate them, which would benefit the revenue or put them in the market, which would benefit us and others who were able and willing to cultivate them" (48). One more argument placed in abolishing the halat was the evasion of the duty by native planters. Commissioner of Nandidrug wrote "...there was extensive and systematic evasion of the halat leviable on coffee, especially on the part of the native coffee growers. The Europeans as a rule, are forced to pay halat because the despatch of this crop is of necessity, more public in its character" (49).
stated that acreage should be light and so levied as not to deter men from investing capital in opening up the country" (50).

But Government of India in its decision stated "...permanent cess is wrong in principle. It accounts to alienation of the states proprietary right in the land and to a permanent surrender of the revenue heritable and transferable title to all that is necessary. Such permanent cess cannot be conceded in British territories, much less in Mysore, which is thus trust property, and therefore proposed permanent assessment cannot be sanctioned" (51). Even Planter's Association moved towards a direct land tax. The Secretary of the Manjarabad Planter's Association wrote "...the sum of Rs 1/- on all old estates under cultivation is considered as a fair equitable substitute for halat tax" (52).

Mr Stokes, Superintendent of Nagar stated that the halat system would press less upon the coffee growers and consequently afford more encouragement to the cultivators, by which equal revenue could be raised. He considered the extension of commercial crops as of permanent importance, not as a distinct source of revenue, but as the means of adding to the wealth and comfort of the ryots, and promoting the general prosperity of the country (53).

One more point of objection raised by Mr Stokes was the application of acreage assessment on different parts of lands in which coffee was grown. Coffee was grown on thick jungles, in ravines and on the side of hills where it would be very difficult to measure the land. Much of coffee was also grown in backyards and gardens which had never been (hittals) subject to a separate assessment. One more reason
for upholding the halat was that most of jungle tracts in Astagram division was held by European planters as coffee tracts. Thus, the halat system was continuously upheld in preference to an acreage assessment on land. But though this put an end to all sorts of suggestions in substitution to the halat, yet the loud cries against the heaviness of this excise were not entirely subsided till 1867. The Mysore Coffee Planter's Association memorialised successively to the Commissioner, the Government of India and to the Secretary of State for India complaining against the existing rate of excise. Mr Bowring, Commissioner, reduced the halat tax from 4 to 3 annas per mound. The Government of India expressed their approval of the measure provided an acreage was instituted to make up for the loss consequent on the reduction. This, they remarked would give some relief to the European planters who were only the complainants and it would not weigh heavily on the natives who formed the majority.

The European planters admitted that in the present state of feeling of the native cultivator, who were by far the more numerous body and consequently paid a very large proportion of excise duty, the substitution of a land tax for the present excise was not to be looked for and they strongly objected to a suggestion of the Government of India for imposing a moderate acreage duty and making an equivalent reduction in the rate of excise. By 1879, measurement of coffee lands was completed. Detailed survey of lands was made. The modified terms for settlement of coffee lands were as follows: (a) Permanent assessment of Rs 1.5 per acre or an assessment of Rs 1/- per acre for 30 years; and (b) Newly acquired lands should be free of assessment for 1st three years (54).
After much discussions and deliberations, the above terms of 8.7.1879 including the permanent assessment were adopted. The permanent assessment was to apply to such of the planters who would apply to it at once. The lands would continue to pay the established local cesses. His Highness the Maharaja on assuming the Government of Mysore in 1881, readily ordered for the necessary steps to be taken to effect a permanent settlement of coffee lands. The halat duty on coffee was abolished. The Maharaja concurred with the views of Sir James Gordon, who modified the terms that the interests of the state as well as the planters were best consulted by effecting permanent assessment.

As the Rendition approached, the British authorities were busy protecting their interests in the state. The Governor General of India, Lytton wrote to Viscount Cranbrook, Secretary of State for India, as follows: "The coffee industry, in part of the province is very important and much capital has been invested upon the various holdings. In consequence of the representations of the planters in 1877, they were assured that "in the event of the transfer of the administration of the State of Mysore to native authority, a guarantee will be previously obtained from the native government that all leases of land for the purpose of coffee cultivation to British subjects, whether European or native, granted under British administration, will be scrupulously respected. But the holders of the coffee estates submitted that this assurance was too vague and indefinite and they desired the institution of an acreage rate of assessments on lands for the present halat of excise duty upon the produce. At the same time, to secure themselves against any subsequent enhancement of the state’s demand, they wished that the acreage duty to be fixed, should
be constituted a permanent assessment. "But for many reasons, it was not desirable to fix the perfectivity, any portion of the revenue of a state which was so soon to be transferred from our administration and there was not sufficient reason for thus curtailing irrevocably the rights of the Maharaja or restricting the power of subsequently enhancing the rates" (55).

It was thus of considerable importance that from the very beginning, government was bent upon protecting the small body of European planters. Acreage cess was discarded only because European planters had more acreage of coffee lands than local planters amounting even to ten thousand acres. After acreage tax issue, it was the issue of labour which preoccupied the imperial region.

The labour conditions in Mysore coffee estates

The 2nd half of the 19th century saw a new class of labour due to the development of modern factories. This modern industrialism accompanied by the capitalist system made the labour reel under ruthless exploitation like long hours of work, low wages, inadequate rest periods, employment of children and adolescents (56). The majority of labourers on plantations drawn from rural areas, were illiterate and as the nature of their employment was purely temporary. Harsh methods were always meted out to treat them. Indian national leadership which opposed any legislative measures relating to factory legislation as it would affect the growing textile and other industries, changed their attitude when it came to the question of plantation labourers. They voiced their wrath against labour conditions in South Indian plantations. The Madras Labour Act of 1903, was more a planter's Act than
a labourer's Act. Newspapers and press (82) expressed their severe anger at the enactment. The conditions of workers in plantations was much more appalling than in modern textile mills of Bombay. But the pro-labour sympathies of the Indian national leadership were aroused in the case of plantation labour primarily because of the foreign character of the capitalist enterprise (57) involved and the same sympathy was not extended to the labourers of Indian owned enterprises. Labour conditions in the plantations of the South India differed very considerably from those of North India. The South was distributed over a very wide area comprising the territorial boundaries of five different political units, each free of initiate and administer labour policies and legislation in its own way. The labourers were also divided in to regional variations and crop variations. Each region specified itself in more than two crops. In North Western India, while tea alone was grown, in Southern India coffee, tea, rubber, cardamom etc., were grown simultaneously. While in North India, harvesting for tea was done only in one part of the year, whereas in South India the harvesting was done all the year round. Moreover, the South Indian plantations were characterized with annual termination of labour contracts, pre-employment advances, annual payments of wages system etc., which were peculiar to North India.

As the plantations were scattered along with the sparsely populated, hilly and marshy, forest areas, the problem of securing labour was a menace. The political void between each planting division, with its native traditional labour enactments, made it difficult for the employers to seek an uniform labour legislation. Moreover, each estate was a complete productive and administrative unit within itself with a complement of technical, managerial, clerical
and manual personnel. But by and large, the labour conditions in plantations have been very uneven, uncoordinated and largely unregulated, since labour conditions differed from one plantation to another and from one planting district to another district. In the absence of basic amenities like housing, adequate food and medical care, labourers found it difficult to stay for a longer period on estates.

Securing labour for plantations has been a problem for the planter since the time he set up an estate, because a coffee plantation depended mainly on a variety of hand labour, all the year-round. Unlike other agro-operations, a coffee estate required a mass of skilled labour residing permanently on estates and withstanding hard work conditions. When the planters in Mysore began to look for labour, towards the end of the 19th century, recruiting for places such as Ceylon, Malaya, Fiji, Mauritius etc., was in full swing. So the coffee planters were finding it difficult to secure labour. Only a few could go individually to villages and "tempt" a handful of them to work in estates, by awarding handsome cash advances. It was only after 1890, that native labour got accustomed to work in coffee estates nearer home, than joining professional recruit houses and work in far-off places. Coffee needed labour throughout the year and plucking season needed more labour. As estates swelled in number, the need for labour also increased and native labour fell short of demand and importation of labour from far-off places within South India began on a large scale.

Sources of Labour Supply

The whole of the labour employed in the coffee plantations came from South India only. A certain amount of
local labour from the adjoining villages was also employed in Mysore. They came to work on estates each day. People from South Canara, Nagamangala and Mangalore also came to work in plantations (58). The coffee plantations of Chickmangalur, Koppa and Mudgere taluks commanded the immigration of Konkani speaking Indian Christian males and workmen from South Canara (59). The initial availability of labour from maidan parts gradually ceased by 1940s, because of the developmental activities in maidan parts (60). During 1890s, the trend of employing temporary labour had come down, due to unfavourable state of coffee industry (61). The committee on plantation labour in its enquiry report stated that, "many of the Canarese labourers from Mysore are small land holders, who seek to work to relieve pressure on their heavily encumbered properties (62). But this was not wholly true, for most of the estate labourers were drawn from the landless agricultural working classes (63). A Mysore population study Report stated that all the 3 Malnad districts drew a considerable part of their labour force from the neighbouring states of Bombay, Coorg and Madras (64).

ORGANISATION AND MOBILISATION OF PLANTERS

Several problems associated with the labour procurement prompted planters to form an association to represent and unify the interests of all planters in South India. But for many years after the UPASI came into being, there was nothing in the way of special organization to look after labour matters in particular. The labour department of the UPASI was established by the UPASI as a separate department voluntarily subscribed by South Indian Planters in 1913 (65).
The objects in starting the department were to regulate recruiting labour, settle inter-estate disputes to put a stop to crimping (66), and to carry on propaganda work for new labour (67).

The chairman of UPASI, while summing up the objectives for the establishment of an institution for labour matters stated as follows: "The present competition for labour has become more disastrous than it should be and if it continues will prove disastrous. The tendency everywhere is towards higher advances and increased wages.... The farmer is a menace, it is an uncontrolled item in the cost of production which as far as possible should be eliminated" (68).

Its first director A.F. Martin, set up an office at Bangalore and organized work in Mysore, South Canara, Coimbatore and Salem. The list of objects for which the department should work included (a) assistance in regulating internal competition, (b) active propaganda against unfair competition, (c) active search for new connections, (d) active suppression of professional recruiters, and (e) restriction of advances. A large staff of European Superintendents was appointed for this purpose and a great deal was accomplished during the first five years.

During the war, the demand for unskilled labour rose to an unprecedented height. The Imperial Government began to engage plantation labourers on defence projects. Recruitment through contractors was resorted to in various states. Planter's Associations were requested to release continuous numbers to defence assignments. A labour supply unit was appointed for this purpose (69). Besides, as army began to recruit enormous numbers of labourers, as labours batallions
to serve in Assam and elsewhere, there was a general scramble for labour of all kinds (127). As a necessary measure, an additional divisional office was opened at Mysore. This brought "kangany" into the limelight again (71). It was looked as a boon even then, Summarising the advantages of kangany system, UPASI stated."...kangany at his best is a 1st class welfare worker for he realizes that his whole career depends on his ability to maintain a good reputation with the families he recruits" (72).

The contract labour had no binding legislative measures. Planters had a tough time, retaining the labour thus brought by the kangany. For this, their engagements had to be recognized by law, rendered binding so as to protect their employers against desertion. It was desirable for the labourers himself "that the exact tenure of his relations towards the planter should be clearly defined by the legislature" (73). The crux of the problem was that "planters had no satisfactory legal means of recovering advances made to kanganis" (74). The planters, being well organized could easily press the government to enact some laws, penalizing desertion, absenteeism etc. But poor labourers being illiterate and unorganized were elbowed out.

The Act XIII of 1859, proposed to regulate the relation between employer and worker in respect of the performance of contracts. This was called the workmen's breach of contract Act. It provided for the punishment of breaches of contract by artificers, workmen and labourers. The magistrate of police was given the powers to look into such breaches of contract. UPASI was not satisfied with this law because "the Act was more suited to urban conditions and was seen as inapplicable and unsuitable to estates" (75).
So, UPASI presented a memorandum to the Imperial government in order to secure redressal of their problems with labour and to seek some legislative action which would enable planters to recover the large outstanding advances. The imperial government instead of taking up the issue, dismissed the petition of UPASI "airily as a letter from 'certain planters of South India'" (76), who 'complained of difficulties of their own creation' (77) and refused to take any action.

Mr. Digby, T. Brett, a Mysore coffee planter, called a conference of all coffee planters in 1893, and resolved that government should be made to reconsider its approach. As a result, the government of India appointed a committee to conduct "an enquiry into certain matters forming the subject of the representation" (78). Consequently, planter's labour Act was passed by the government of Fort St. George Madras. But this was an act to regulate conditions of labour in the planting districts of Madras Presidency only. It stated that labour contracts (a) will generally be in writing, (b) the contracts will be for a period of two months, signed in the presence of two witnesses, (c) power to magistrate to look into the contracts, (d) no contract shall be made for a period exceeding one year, (e) no contract with women is enforceable, (f) every planter should keep a register of all labourers employed, and (g) failing labourer will be punishable with an imprisonment or Rs.20/- fine and a planter failing will have to pay Rs. 200/-.

Still there was an element of reluctance, because on the labour conditions had changed considerably since 1893, the demand for labour had fallen off, commodity prices had considerably declined, and labourers liked to work in the
near vicinity than working in far off Malnad. Moreover, the Act included provisions for inspection of standards of living, water supply and medical care which planters scarcely wanted to provide.

Finally, the Act was remodelled so as to concern not only imported labour but also local labour, which was frequently very casual in its attendance at work and lived in its own dwellings, which hardly satisfied the standards set by the Act. The Act was applied to Nilgiris and Wynad in 1904, and it continued in force for many years. Various amendments were made, in the wake of numerous representations, but the Act never satisfied planters. Government steadily refused a number of changes generally agreed upon by the UPASI. There was a lack of cohesion between coffee industry and government. The Act was not applied to any other planting district.

UPASI never again did approach government with proposals to initiate labour legislation (79). Labour department of UPASI managed labour affairs separately after 1913; the reluctance on the part of the planters to initiate a governmental interference was also preceded by planter's reluctance in providing basic amenities to coolie labour, like housing, sanitation, drinking water etc. By 1910, only two estates had provided for coolie lines.

In addition to kanganis, there were sub-kanganis called "Kela maistrees". They did not receive any commission from the estate owner directly. But any commission he received was purely a matter of arrangement between him and the head kangany. The commission payment system always enabled kangany to resort to use force against the labourers.
Workers were often beaten to drive them out for work. Another abuse of the kangany system was that the kangany often employed women and children and executed more labour from them by making them work for longer hours and without interval. This was a direct breach of contract because the kangany received his commission only after agreeing to bring able-bodied men labourers. Kanganis often made labourers depend upon them for sundry borrowings (80). At the time of annual settlement, every labourer owed money to the kangany who quite often met their sundry expenses.

In certain estates, the kanganis were given the authority to settle wages. While doing so, the kanganis, by and large, embezzled accounts. He was also given the power to allot quarters to labourers who often showed favouritism. For labourers also, the kangany was essential, for without him, they could not obtain cash advances, which was so essential to meet their sundry expenses, and sometimes their unforeseen expenses also.

Planters were also keen on retaining the kangany system for they would be left helpless in finding suitable labour supply in his absence. But there was no adequate ground for this fear of the planters, for statistics showed that the percentage of the workers returning to the same estate year after year was from 60-90% and was still on the increase without the persuasion of a kangany. The Rege Commission on labour opined that the continuation of the kangany system would mean the continuation also of the rut in which plantation labour has been living for last 50 years (81). Planter in Mysore never realized that amenities and facilities on plantations if increased, labourers would naturally come to estate for work.
Another reason why the planters wanted to retain the kangany system was that, they thought that they could fix the responsibility for the pre-employment advance given to labourers, to the kangany and recover it from him later safely. INTUC suggested the following measures to Madras Provincial Advisory Board regarding the kangany system. (a) The evils inherent in the kangany system should be eliminated and (b) The 10th month settlement system devised by planters to keep labour always temporary should go. The repealed planter’s Act of 1929, put a stop to advancing of large sums of money as pre-employment advances. A labourer was generally recruited for a 10-month period. But this was a general understanding. There was no written contract between the labourer and the employers. But certain estate owners got a written contract with the company stipulating that the labourers supplied by him should work for a minimum period of 10 months. Certain owners sought to hold the labour by making certain emoluments contingent on the completion of a specified number of day’s work, which was normally 200. Kangani tried their best to keep their gang of labourers intact and retain the good-will of their gang. This also safeguarded their commission. The labourers were free to leave the estates and seek employment elsewhere provided no arrears was due from them.

There was competition among kanganis to retain their labour gang intact for labourers were lured by a promise of higher wages. This was also called crimpling. A labourer working in one estate was wooed to defect to another neighbouring estate. Sometimes, kangani were also lured with higher commission promises. Usually there were district-wise arrangements among the planters to prevent this. Planters of each district were made to settle the matters among
themselves regarding rates of pay, advances, wages etc. The measure was instrumental in bringing to existence of District Coffee Associations.

UPASI passed a regulation as regards this "....any member or a labour supplier of a member, who employs or advances or proved to be indebted to or under contract with any other member or his labour supplier, shall on demand either cease to employ him forthwith or pay up the debt as proved to the satisfaction of the executive committee, if the member with prior claim is willing to accept it, provided in the case of labour (82).

The main reasons put forth by the managements who engaged contracted labour were as follows:-

1) The contract labour was more economical,
2) It needed, no direct supervision by the management,
3) It saved administrative work, as no records were maintained relating to employment of contract labour.
4) During picking seasons, contract labour was very necessary to finish the work in the stipulated time.

Summarising the advantage of the kangany system, UPASI stated, "A number of families hailing from one village to other need an experienced plantation employee to guide them in their choice of estates.... they need a man who is prepared to assist them in their petty difficulties... They need a man to guide them in their work and a man to
represent their requests and grievances to their proper quarters and a man to help them in sickness or distress. These are the very needs and requirements which are the foundations of the kangany system...

UPASI was of the opinion that gradual reduction of advances and growth of consciousness among labourers have helped in curtailing the kangany's opportunities for malpractices. The Rege Committee felt that the above needs and requirements which were the foundations of the kangany system, were surely based on an insecure foundation, for these were based on the wish of the employers, to escape responsibility to provide for them.

Besides, with the reduction in the advances by the estates, there was an increase in the personal advances of the kanganis. Kangany system continued more because of labourers ignorance and illiteracy. The need of education was stressed as a point for the abolition of the system. The Rege Committee pointed out clearly that in South and Central Travancore where the labourers were more educated, there was a consensus regarding the abolition of the kangany system. Even an order of the Madras Government stressed that "...labour should be gradually educated to stand on its legs".

The introduction of weekly or fortnightly payment system would be one of the major links in the abolition of the kangany system, which would also help in getting labourers educated. The planter's fear that without a kangany, they would find it difficult to recruit is also baseless. The powers and functions of the labour department of UPASI which assist the recruitment of labourers, if
enlarged, would go a long way in helping the planters. Moreover it was felt that kangany system had seen the direct result of the termination of labourers annually (88). So if this system was stopped, then kanganis would naturally lose their importance.

THE BREACH OF CONTRACT ACT—AN INSTRUMENT OF COLONIAL CONTROL

An act to provide for the punishment of breaches of contract by artificers, workmen and labourers was passed in the year 1859. By this act, a Magistrate or police was given powers to look into breaches of contracts. This Act was liable to be extended to any Presidency or place by the executive government. In due course of time, this act was found inadequate and a Committee was appointed in 1896, by the government of India to enquire into certain representations made by the planters of South India with regard to the inadequate protection afforded to them by the existing law against fraudulent default by their maistrees and labourers. The committee found that the development of plantation enterprise was seriously hampered by the difficulties with which it had to contend and recommended legislation for the benefit of not only planters but also labourers (89). The planter’s association submitted a memorandum to government demanding increased protection against the loss from the wilful breach of contract and dishonesty with regard to advances made to coolies and maistrees (90).

The operation of the Act 1859 was made extendable to Coorg and Mysore under section 5 of the Act. In 1877, while Mysore was directly held under the British administration, the Wynad planters who were drawing 4/5 of their labour from
Mysore province represented in a memorandum to the Viceroy that much loss and inconvenience to their industry (91), were caused by the cumbrous, formalities attendant upon the extradition of criminals from Mysore to Wynad (92). In consequence of this memorandum, the Government of India instructed the Chief Commissioner of Mysore to issue an executive order in Mysore directing that processes issued by Wynad courts and claims for the surrender of accused persons to Wynad magistrates shall be treated and respected by the Magistrates and the Police of Mysore and Coorg just as claims made by Magistrates of a neighbouring Mysore district. On this, the government of India issued an order for the observance by all Magistrates and police officers in Mysore of processes issued by all British Criminal Courts in 1878. This notification promulgated under the authority of His Excellency, the Viceroy and Governor General had the force of law and in view of the impending restoration of Mysore country to the native rule, the Wynad planters prayed in 1880, that the privileges granted to them as regards the execution in Mysore of processes from courts in British India might not be withdrawn. At first, government of India thought that it was difficult to yield to such a demand and later resolved that the then existing procedure could not be made to be affected by the setting up of a native rule in Mysore. When this resolution was communicated to the Wynad Planter’s Association, they repeated their request and pleaded that enormous interests were at stake and that they had made their engagements and risked their capital in the full faith and belief that whatever changes might occur in the Government of Mysore, their interests would be protected by their own governments (93). In the end, government of India had to yield to the Wynad Planter’s Association’s demands. Thus, the planters in the Madras Presidency along
with the right to demand extradition from Mysore of the persons accused under Act XIII of 1859, received the same security with regard to the performance of contracts entered into with Mysore labourers as with labourers from Madras Presidency.

But this was altogether outside the extradition Act XXI of 1879, because breaches of contract cognizable under Act XIII of 1859 were not offences, included in the schedule to the extradition on Travancore or Cochin. When I.P.C. was adopted by the Mysore government at the Rendition, no change was made in the wordings of the section 492, and Mysore labourers were, therefore, liable to be prosecuted under its terms for breaches of contract to serve at places within British India though they were not liable to be served inside Mysore territory. Thus, it was open to planters in Madras Presidency to take any action under Section 492 of the I.P.C. not only against labourers belonging to British India but also of Mysore.

Section 492 of the I.P.C. which was one of the enactments included in the schedule attached to the Instrument of Rendition of 1881, applied to contracts for work to be done at places within British India and not to contracts for work to be done within Mysore territory. Only laws of which Mysore planters could avail themselves for the purpose of securing performance of contracts were the Act of XIII of 1859, which was also one of the schedule enactments and section 12 of the Madras Act V of 1866.

Many Planter's associations in South India had represented earlier about the necessity of repealing the 1859 Act (94). They argued that their difficulties arose from the
fact that as local labour was practically unobtainable, they were forced to import labour from other provinces and that system of heavy advances was necessary for collecting such labourers. The planters sought to justify their demands for protective legislation by referring to the fact that such legislation had been found necessary for importers of Indian labourers into Ceylon, Mauritius and other British Colonies which showed that if such a legislation was necessary in countries beyond the seas, a greater necessity existed in planting districts of South India, where the facilities for absconding were much greater. According to planters, breaches of contract increased to an alarming extent concurrently with the increase in coffee cultivation and very large sums were annually lost in advances. Besides, the Act of 1859 operated as a release from the terms of a contract and "so far as that Act was concerned many an employee of coffee estates would not hesitate to undergo imprisonment" (95).

Mysore Planter's Association had made a representation with regard to hardship entailed on them in consequence of their being unable to have processes issued by Mysore courts executed in British India, as early as 1878 itself. But this representation received no remarks from government. In 1890, North Mysore Planter's Association moved the collector of South Canara district from where they drew the bulk of their coolies, to pass an order similar to the Mysore order sanctioning the voluntary registration of maistrees. The collector of South Canara Mr. Brodie explained the difficulties thus "As Act XIII of 1859 does not apply to contracts to perform labour in Mysore and the Extradition Act does not apply to breaches of contracts when entered into in Mysore and the defaulter escapes into British India
territory, unlike the Coorg planter, the Mysore planter was only a civil remedy against coolie maistrees contracting to supply labour from this districts" (96).

When the demand for the amended labour law failed, all the planting districts and their associations submitted a memorandum in 1892 to His Excellency, the Viceroy on the subject of the administration of Act XIII of 1859. When Government of India expressed its inability to pass the amendment, the planters assembled at Bangalore and decided to submit a memorandum to His Excellency, the Governor General in Council in 1893 (97). Here, they resolved to bring the following to the kind consideration. "That the laws which control the relations between employer and labourer in British India have been adopted by the Native states concerned that as most of the offences which involve the necessity of legal action are not extraditable and planters in Native States are involved in considerable difficulty in securing themselves against loss from breach of contract and dishonesty with regard to advances" (98). They demanded that certain special magistrates should be appointed in the native states of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin.

United Planter’s Association in their letter dated 15-10-1889 admitted the justice and necessity of a penal class prohibiting the employment of unregistered maistrees and stated that such a legislation would act as a deterrent to defaulting maistrees, it would materially improve the status of those, who deserved the assistance which a well-regulated system of licences would confer on them.

Hence, the result of the orders which has been passed from 1877 to 1895 was that while planters in British India
have for nearly 20 years were able to obtain the extradition from Mysore of labourers accused under Act XIII of 1859, there was no reciprocity of procedure in the case of defaulters from Mysore estates and Mysore planters were, therefore, disabled from making any use from the Act against any labourers who were recruited from, or take refuge in places beyond Mysore territory. Processes issued by the courts in Mysore, Travancore and Cochin under Act XIII of 1859, had no force in British Indian territory and planters in native states had no remedy against defaulting labourers who escaped into British territory.

When government of India delayed the introduction of this law, planters in Mysore demanded that Act VIII of 1878 be extended to those districts only where coffee is cultivated and not to the whole of the province. Mr. T.C. Plowden, Under Secretary to the Government of India in one of his letters defending such a partial application of the Act, "...I do not think that there would be any objection on the part of the native ruler to maintaining such a law after his accession unless its turns out to be far more oppressive than we at present anticipate" (99).

Mr. Gordon, C.C. of Mysore in his reply opined that the Act should be introduced into Mysore in its integrity and that C.C. should be left to exercise his discretion as to what parts of Mysore should be brought under its operation by notification (100). He pointed out that circumstances may alter the limits within which it will be necessary to extend the Act. It was proposed to confine the operations of the Act, to the coffee growing tracts of Hassan, Kadur and Shimoga. As the proposal of the Chief Commissioner appeared unobjectionable and the extension of the Act to Mysore was sanctioned.
The Government of India stated that it will be more convenient that the notification should be issued not from the Chief Commissioner but by the government of India, because the "Chief Commissioner would disappear in about 18 months and within this period the Chief Commissioner can hardly extend it beyond its present limits" (101). Besides, as the act was of a regulative type, its working by a native magistracy would naturally make a difference and if it was necessary to maintain any supervision over the operation of these special laws under the native government, it ought to be facilitated by retaining the power of extension in the hands of the Government of India (102).

Dewan of Mysore K. Sheshadri Iyer stated in the assembly that labourer in South India does not require contemplated legislative protection. ".....the prevailing conditions in Southern India do not call for such a law" (161). He was of the opinion that as coffee industry was long been established, the labourer was not totally dependent upon the employer for his food supply. So any law of that type would be "looked upon with suspicion by the ordinary labourer and might induce him to seek free employment in other fields" (104). More than this, he doubted that such a law would directly hit the planters in securing labourers. ".....the result would be an undesirable curtailment of the labour supply" (105).

But the demand of the coffee planters for a special legislation against coolies raised many remarks from press and people alike. Vritanta Chintamani, a Mysore-based paper stated "coffee planters in Mysore are very loud in their demands for special legislation against coolies and on what ground they ask that they should be put on a better footing
than the natives of the country" (106). Suryoudaya, another paper wrote bluntly "...Europeans possess large plantations and there they are their own masters, they can punish the coolies with impurity..." (107). Even Dewan Rangacharlu could not overlook the atrocities committed on natives. He said, "...the cultivation of coffee affords a premium for careless and slovenly cultivation, proves burdensome to the industrious and is open to all corrupting influence of fraud" (108).

But none of these protesting voices could deter the English Masters from continuing this law till 1926 and in this year this exacting law was finally abolished. Though slavery was statutorily abolished in 1843 and it was provided in the India Act that the courts shall not enforce any contract arising out of slavery. But the system was continued in workman's breach of contract Act of 1859. This Act was executed solely to protect the European planting interests. These planters were the pioneers of capitalist farming with a mode of exploitation largely characteristic of slavery and thus introduced capitalism into Indian agriculture. This slavery was not only characteristic of South India Coffee Plantations but was also used by Indigo Planters in Bihar and tea planters in Eastern India. Plantations were in need of forced labour because free labour was scarce. The British rulers found that the subjugation of the landless castes to the debt slavery of moneylenders produced scarcity in the labour market but at the same time they themselves were in need of some sort of non-economic compulsion to divert cheap labour away from the money lender's grip towards the big plantations.
The Madras planter’s Act was then repealed to suit the conditions in 1929. The force that kept this pre-capitalist institution in existence despite the monetization of rural economy, was the lack of corresponding growth of capitalist farming or industrialization. The fact that the extension of modern banking facilities into the traditional fabric of rural economy was also instrumental in this.

But at the same time a growing system of commodity exchange and expanding monetization of the rural economy acted as an automatic check on the transformation of bond slavery into a predominant mode of appropriation of the agricultural surplus. The rapid increase in the alienation of land from peasants to non-cultivating land holders and the phenomenal rise in the number on landless labourers constituted the background of this few relations. Besides, the pressure of over population made the slave labour unprofitable after 1930. Another reason why the bond slavery did not expand to the extent that was possible under conditions of feudal land relations was the existence of petty mode of production and the absence of large landed estates. But, economically there was a very thin line of demarcation between the bonded labourer and the unemployed or semi-employed rural workers who came to dominate the rural scene largely after 1930. This explains why slavery did not take root in the way it did in European countries.

**Marketing and trade**

The area grown with coffee though fluctuated, did not materially increase during the year 1914-25 and 1929-30. In 1930-31, there had been a decrease of about 1.5% in common with the rest of the coffee growing areas in India.
Similarly, the output also varied. The slump in coffee was not due to over production or even less consumption, but was due mainly to a reduced demand in the falling market. Exports to all markets fell appreciably in 1928-29 and 1929-30. The Special Enquiry Committee appointed to look into matters in 1927, recommended the creation of a coffee bank (109) to formulate proposals for financing coffee crops in Malnad. The Committee’s recommendations did not receive government’s sanction.

The introduction of coffee control in 1940 brought in its wake, a change in the pattern of marketing of coffee, viz., centralised marketing by the Coffee Board in place of free market which existed earlier. Its main aim was to help the growers in the disposal of their surplus which was then a serious problem, necessitated by the closure of customary markets for Indian coffee in Europe during the World War II. In the Coffee Act, a provision was made for the grant of internal sale quotas to estates so that growers might themselves dispose off those quantities internally, leaving to the Board the responsibility of the disposal of the remainder. Grant of internal sale quotas did not actually prove beneficial to growers as they generally disposed off the produce in their possession within the first few months of the season at low prices. To make control measures more effective, the internal sale quotas were reduced to 10% in 1942-43. In 1930s, when the great depression brought about a fall in commodity prices, coffee prices also slumped. To help the industry by stimulating internal demand, the government of India enacted in 1935, the Indiana Coffee Cess Act, under which a propaganda Board was set up for increasing internal demand for coffee.
In 1939, when World War II blocked the exports of coffee to the continents of Europe, a coffee conference was called by the government, the outcome of which was the establishment of the coffee board to deal with the marketing of coffee.

The area of coffee in spite of all encouragement, went on decreasing as shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Area in acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1923-24</td>
<td>97,085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-31</td>
<td>98,547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934-35</td>
<td>103,495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-41</td>
<td>99,019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-42</td>
<td>97,711</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Mysore Coffee Market Expansion Act was introduced in 1941, which provided for the regulation of the export of coffee from and the sale of coffee in Mysore. The same Act in 1944, penalised a dealer who sold coffee at price, or prices higher than the price or prices fixed by the Government in the same manner as a registered owner or a licenced curer was liable to punishment of a similar offence.

As a result of war, the European markets which absorbed about half of the total quantity of coffee produced in India, became practically closed for the export of India coffee. It was feared that the whole crop would be unloaded on the Indian market and consequently the price considerably reduced, a substantial portion remaining unabsorbed, persons
interested in the industry therefore commenced to explore the possibility of controlling the marketing of coffee. Mysore which accounted for half of the coffee produced in India, was also interested in the solution of the problem. In September 1940, the Honourable Commerce Member of the Government of India convened a conference at Madras for the purpose of considering the question. The representative of the government of Madras, Mysore, Coorg and Travancore, attended this conference and the following tentative conclusions (110) were reached.

1) that all estates exceeding a certain acreage should be registered:

2) that the owners of the registered estates should be allotted a quota for the sale of coffee in the Indian market depending on the anticipated demand;

3) that coffee produced in excess of the quota should be handed over to a common pool and that such coffee should be exported or, if found more profitable released for internal sale;

4) that the money realized by sales from the pool should be distributed among those who have contributed to the pool in proportion to their contributions;

5) that the Indian coffee cess committee should be enlarged and invested with requisite powers to function as a control board.

As its results proved beneficial to the industry, it was to extended till 1942. As the prices were fixed, the
merchants could not do profiteering and that gave a security to consumers.

The betelnut, coffee, tea Act of 1944, provided for the levy of excise duties at the rate of 2 annas per pound on all betelnut cured, coffee cured and the tea manufactured in Mysore. ".....based on a corresponding measure enacted in British India" (111). Though government had sanctioned the opening of a central land mortgage bank at Bangalore in 1928, its operations though confined to Malnad taluks, it was of no help to the Malnad planters. Limited areas of marketing hit the planters as usual, even after 1945.

Thus the commercial agriculture in Mysore till the 1st World War was mainly-export oriented. The fluctuation of world prices for agricultural raw materials always influenced the area under such crops. The 1st World War period saw an increase in world prices whereas the 2nd decade showed a steady trend till 1946-47. This resulted in the decrease of cash crop area during 1947-48 in general. The mounting competition between the development states in the world had a negative effect on the export of coffee. The state had to come to the aid of coffee producers and thus the coffee board took its birth. Thus, the drop in the prices of agricultural raw materials was accompanied by changes in the organization of their sale. On the one hand, there emerged control through the trade boards and on the other, co-operatives began to grow in number which acted as agents for these organizations. The conversion of cooperatives into a purchasing agent was a clear sign of the breakdown of the colonial system of purchasing agricultural raw materials on the basis of a trade monopoly and through usury capital.
Establishment of Coffee Board

This Board, in addition to carrying on the work of the Indian coffee cess committee, was empowered to collect and market the estimated coffee crop of the year under controlled conditions. The ordinance which was originally terminable on 31-8-1941 was extended up to 30-6-1942 by the coffee market expansion ordinance (112) and was then replaced by the C.M.E.A. 1942 (113) on 2nd March 1942, extending its life to cover the entire period of the war (114). The state of Mysore also enacted a similar ordinance. Under the ordinance of 1940, the control was applied to estates of 25 acres and above, the 60% of their crop, then estimated as exportable surplus. This 60% had to be delivered to the pool and the remaining 40% treated as internal sale quota which the grower was permitted to sell in the internal market.

Under the C.M.E. ordinance of 1941, control was extended to estates of 10 acres and above. The C.M.E.A of 1942 which replaced the ordinance, brought within its purview all estates of 5 acres and above and reduced the sale quota to 10% of the crop in 1942-43. Thereafter, the Act (115) was extended to every estate irrespective of acreage. No interval sale quota was declared after 1943 and every planter was obliged to deliver his entire crop to the common pool, except such quantities as were permitted by the Board to be retained for his domestic use and seed purposes.

The Act came to be placed as a permanent measure on the statute book only on the 11-3-1947 in pursuance of Act 10 of 1947. Which was enacted in accordance with the unanimous recommendations of the fourth coffee control conference convened by the government of India in April 1946. The
magnitude of the problems facing the industry were such particularly in relation to the post war control of coffee that the government felt it necessary to reconstitute the Board to enable it to tackle the problems effectively. This was done also to help further development of the coffee industry, to bring about redistribution and expansion of several interests represented on the Board and also to providing for the development of the coffee industry under the control of the union. The coffee Act of 1942 was amended in 1954 and the reconstituted board was brought into effect from 1-8-1955. On this date, a full time chairman came to the appointed by the government of India as the chief executive of the board.

Wages

At the beginning of the 19th century the wages of both casual and attached labourers were paid in kind. By 1870s, few employers began to pay their workers in cash. The general wage rate was 4 annas to a male worker and 2 annas to a female worker per day. Robert H. Elliot in his book, state that system of paying labourers with grain was existent side by side (116). Lt. Col. the Sire de Courpalay a Coffee planter from Chickmagalur stated that he paid his male labourer 4 annas and to a female labourer, 2 annas daily but was gradually made to increase it to 6 and 4 annas respectively (117).

Generally, in all plantations in South India the time rate system and piece rate system (118a) prevailed. In Mysore, majority of the planters paid their labourers on piece rate basis during harvesting season. For paying on time-rates, the task the labourer has put was taken for
consideration. A labourer had to finish off a stipulated task, fixed by the employer, for earning the daily rate of wages. For example, in spraying coffee, the task was fixed and the work over and above was paid by additional wages. It was customary for a labourer to work for 8 hrs daily.

While the time-rate wages were generally uniform in all plantations and there was a general agreement on rates by the District Associations, the UPASI notified that, "no member other than a coffee member shall raise the pay of coolies without giving two months' notice of his intention to the Secretary of the UPASI, for the circulation of other members" (119).

As the payment of Wages Act excluded plantations and mines, the wages in plantations were left to the arbitrariness of planters. A meeting of labour ministers held in 1946 was organised to discuss the labour problems and to formulate a coordinated and uniform labour policy. The conference recommended the institution of an inquiry into the earnings of all agricultural labour and the elimination of all types of contract labour and setting up of wage boards (120). Consequently, a state labour ministers meeting was held which pleaded for a uniform labour policy and opinion on plantations said, ".. they cannot afford to follow a separate labour policy and be indifferent to labour conditions" (121).

Settlement of wages

There were 3 systems of settlement of wages in plantations.
1. **The Annual settlement system** was the most common in all plantations of South India. Under this system, the labourer was credited with his weekly earnings, debited with the cost of rice and sundry expense advances and his balance was carried forward for disbursement after clearing his dues to the maistry at the end of 10 months which was generally the employment period. But, planters claimed that labourers were free to draw from their balances any time. This practice gave rise to the much serious anamolies as kangany embezzled accounts quite often.

The supplementary system called modified settlement system was followed in certain estates, under which the balance in favour of the worker was struck in the ordinary way at the end of each month and was read out over to him in the presence of an European Superintendent. The labourer was free to take his whole dues or leave a portion with the estate. But this was rarely seen in coffee estates of Mysore.

2. **Monthly settlement system** was one under which a settlement was done monthly. But this was very rare.

3. In **Weekly settlement system** (122), only a few estates in Mysore paid their labour in weekly instalments. Even in such cases, a day's wages was generally kept back for payment of debt due to the kangany, at the end of the season.

The annual settlement system encouraged thrift. The UPASI stated in defence "...at present there is no other way that commends itself to the labourer for securing his savings." The estate labour trusts the estate and this trust is an asset which the industry has been at great pains
to preserve (123). This acted as a catalyst to retain the labourer to a estate permanently and it was the only system which acted as a means of ensuring labourers a lumpsum money.

It was further argued that this system of annual payment acted as a bank. "...labour varies considerably in its ability to manage its income, but a high proportion fails to visualise their needs and locks the knowledge of how to save or where to put their savings" (124).

As a result, the income was wasted or was spent on sundry expenses and for major items, the expenditure was met by borrowing. A labourer thus was heavily indebted to the kangany, at the time of settlement. The Whitely Commission summarising the defects of the annual settlement system stated "...it tends to tie the worker to a particular estate for life and to put an unnatural brake on that gradual adjustment of the plantation worker to a higher standard of living which the industry itself realised to be one of its greatest needs" (125).

Even labourers preferred the annual settlement. Rege Committee recommended that a simple savings institution, with branches in all important centres was the sole solution (126). But wages by and large were small. There were minor skirmishes on the part of the labourers to demand higher wages (127). But very few planters realised that efficiency of labour depended on contentment of labour, which, in turn, depended on "vision, imagination and the humanity of the employers" (128). The essence of problems and labour difficulties was attributed to the spread of communist ideologies (129). For the rubber estates, owners in Travancore and Cochin offered higher wages compared to Mysore (130).
Issues of identity cards

As majority of the labourers were illiterate and ignorant about their earnings and balances, it was thought that the labourers, share of earnings should be clearly kept. UPASI recommended the issue of slips called "Saluvali Cheeti" (balance payable) for the benefit of workers. It was suggested that every labourer whose name appears in the check roll should be issued, each month with a printed account form showing his/her position in the check-roll as at the end of the preceding month. It was also suggested that such slips should be in vernacular and should disclose separately all debits and credits (131). UPASI further suggested that such printed slips should be issued individually by the planter himself and not through the kangany (132).

But the effect of these suggestions and recommendations was totally nil, for the labourers still reeled under the grip of borrowings. Only a few well settled estates took the measures seriously. But, by and large the labourer was not helped much.

Hours of work

It ranged between 8-9 hours per day. The work started by 8 in the morning and finished by 6 in the evening (200). The labourers who were assigned a set pattern of work could leave the field after the work was over, irrespective of the hours worked. All the labourers were made to attend the morning and evening musters where a Superintendent marked them present (134). But labourers were generally made to work longer than stipulated. Those labourers who worked on maistry's contracts invariably worked for longer hours (135).
Only an interval of one hour was given in the afternoon. Despite the recommendations of the Rege Committee that hours of work in the field should be regulated and an hours' intervals should be enforced strictly, there was no remarkable change in the estate, for a labourer worked for long hours, without adequate food. No plantation labourer was given off other than a shandy day (contractors treated the labourers in a healthy manner).

**Housing, sanitation and medical aid**

As coffee plantations needed labour who resided permanently on estates, a planter had to provide them accommodation. But very few planters took such a risk and labourers were faced with severe problems on coming to estates. Cooly huts were created formerly near the stream which was responsible for incidence of malaria among the labour classes. The Rege Committee found that "labourers were housed worse than cattle" (136). In most cases, it was a single room which housed 4-5 workers and even more.

It was only later that the cooly huts were begun to be built in higher elevation and with ventilation. "Housing standards ranged from mud and bamboo hovels to semi-detached cottages" (137). Kanganis were better placed even here. They were always allotted a living room plus a kitchen. No planter realised that as the recruitment was on a family basis, each family should have an independent quarters of their own. The Rege Committee bemoaned the planters' attitude regarding this - "It is a pity that the planters in Mysore and Coorg still think that the houses for the workers were still good enough" (138).
The planters' point of argument regarding non-provision of tenements to labourers was the scarcity of building material and high cost of labour. The Government of India showed its deep concern over the absence of any real progress in the matter of housing for plantation labour (139).

The Indian Planter’s Association, in its reply to a letter from Ministry of Labour, New Delhi, dated 30-6-1949, communicated a resolution to the effect that outright grants might be given to the planters utilising half the amount realised by the excise duty on coffee for providing housing accommodation (140).

The II Session of the TIC recommended investing provincial government with power to set up housing boards and suitable areas for the construction of workers, houses (141). The estate coolies in Mysore were required to pay mohatarfa house tax. This was another bane because the labourers' earnings were hardly sufficient for their livelihood (142). In 1887, it was ordered that cooly huts situated in coffee estates must not be taxed mohatarfa.

The expenditure on medical benefits was poor (143). "Thinly stocked dispensaries and served by unqualified hands (144) was the regular view. In 1944-45, when LIC conducted an enquiry into the plantation industry, it found that planters were under no obligations to provide medical facilities to their workers. The Committee reported that only a very few coffee estates had hospitals or dispensaries (145).

Even the report of the sub-committee on labour recommended "legislation to ensure improvement in the
conditions of health and hygiene on plantation should be immediately undertaken" (146). Mr Bashyam, Minister for Law and Labour who visited Chickmagalur in 1949 after visiting plantation cooly lines opined that housing and hygiene conditions were miserable in the coffee plantations" (147).

As malaria claimed a heavy toll, the labourers found it difficult to adjust themselves to climate and environment of the hills. Poverty, squalor and ill-health being the common lot of the village labourer, the medical benefits on estates too were very poor. The Royal Commission had mentioned the existence of planters' District Health Officer, in the neighbouring Presidency of Madras, but nothing came out of it (148). So, the Plantation Labour Act of 1951 required every plantation employing 1000 or more labourers to own a garden hospital.

The Rege Committee recommended that every estate with a labour force of 500 each should have a dispensary in charge of a qualified doctor, with a midwife to assist him (149). But the status remained without being enforced. The malarial environment gave rise to high spleen and other diseases. The spleen rates among children were so high as 60% (150).

Though estates in Madras Presidency had provided medical facilities to their labourers, Mysore had no such measures. The planters quiet in medical benefits. They were always of the opinion that generally healthy people came to work in plantations.

Besides inadequate medical aid, sanitary conditions on plantation were miserable. A survey result revealed that only one percent of coffee estates had provided for their
labourers latrine facilities in the work places. The main reason offered for not providing conservancy arrangements according to Plantation Act was the practical difficulties of arrangements (151).

The Royal Commission even went to the extent of remarking that death and infantile mortality rates of plantation populations were considerably lower than the corresponding rates in respective provinces as a whole (152). Water supply to the labour lines were hardly found (153) and labourers mainly depended on wells and springs. Even where there was the facility of wells, it was situated far from their quarters. Even pure drinking water was not always available to labourers though UPASI recommended that pure water should be provided within 150 yards of each set of lines in the form of a protected well with a pump, by pipes or taps (154). Very little came out of this recommendations (155).

For women labourers, there was no labour security as the plantations never enforced the legislation of maternity benefits. The Royal Commission recommended that maternity benefits should be provided by legislation in plantations. Several estates paid maternity bonus of varying extents (156). Arguing that coffee is a seasonal industry, planters hesitated to provide this incentive to their women workers. It was also surprising that sufficient attention was not paid to pre-natal and post-natal care of infants born in estates especially as the children born of plantation workers would be one great source of labour in the future.
Absenteeism

On the whole, the absenteeism among plantation workers was very striking, because the average outturn for workers was seldom above 80 percent of the total labour force. The main reason afforded for the absence was the sickness and fever. But the planters took little care of the sick labourers and sick-patients were turned down outright. Climate being malarial and labourers inhabiting from distant areas, the sick rate was, by and large, remarkable. But planters always accused the labourers that out of sheer idleness, they turn away from work. Some of planters from Madras even went to the extent of quoting absent percentage of workers' outlook of life and stressed that absenteeism had increased along with the increase in the wages (157).

The harsh treatments meted out to labourers, the change in diet and food, the malarial climate, the congestion of accommodation (158), etc, were the factors which deterred the labourers from absenting the work (159). But planters heeded very little to this. Sometimes, subsidiary occupations of the garden labourers also acted as a cause to absenteeism. The most important was the private cultivation, but household duties in agricultural surroundings, such as the purchase of weekly supplies from the market, the collection of firewood, the grazing of cattle,threshing of corn, etc, made a considerable demand on the worker's time and particularly on that of women. "So absenteeism to some extent was inevitable" (160). Adequate wages, good working conditions, etc, were not the remedies for absenteeism. What was required was total effort at the social reconditioning of the worker and instilling in him a sense of belongingness to the working place (161).
During war, as there was shortage of food supplies, planters found it more difficult to retain their labourers (162).

Establishment of Wage Boards

The plantation industry very badly needed a suitable wage fixing machinery, because planters were highly organised, while labourers were illiterate, unorganised, preponderantly oboriginal and immune from outside influences. As there were no effective trade unions, there was no protection for labourers. In the absence of such organisations, it was the duty of the government to see that these labourers were protected against exploitation of their employers (163).

During the debate in the Central Legislative Assembly, on the bill to amend the Indian Tea Control Act, 1938, Dr B.R. Ambedkar, Labour Member of the Government of India, stated "... at present the condition of plantations is such that they can bear the weight of such wage standards as a board may impose upon them (164).

But when it came to the question of establishing a wage board, the Planter’s Association had a different view. UPASI considered that no single wage-board could deal satisfactorily with the whole industry, as plantation industry in South India comprised coffee, tea, rubber, etc. So it suggested that it was necessary in the initial stages to form district boards and if possible crop boards, subject to a general coordination. It stated that the wage fixing should be combined with that of the general machinery for dealing with plantation labour problems. Since the question
of wages could not be considered apart from other problems of labour, welfare and a multiplicity of boards and inspectorates was not in the best interests of the efficient conduct of the industry (165).

When the condition in the neighbouring planting district (166) was towards setting up a wage fixing machinery, in Mysore there was lull. The planter's Association never tried to join hands with development taking place elsewhere in India.

The establishment of wage boards were initially undermined arguing that work in the plantations was of an agricultural nature. UPASI and ITA though were not opposed to the establishment of wage boards in principles, "if the term wage boards signifies the kind of wage board envisaged by the Royal Commission for the plantation labour in North-East India" (167).

The Royal Commission on labour recommended the application of the payment of Wages Act to the plantations. But UPASI was not in favour of applying the Act though most striking irregularities existed in South Indian plantations. Observing on this point, Whitley Commission said ".. the recommendations relating to the regular and prompt payment of wages should be of special value in South Indian plantations in improving the independence, economic position and bargaining power of the workers (168). The Rege Committee recommended that the Act should be extended to all plantations as there existed the annual settlement system which could be abolished by this Act (169).
UPASI argued in favour of a Bipartite machinery that is the Government and the employer in dealing with the problems of plantation labour. It refused to include the labour element as it considered labour unable to take its own place on the body (170). But the Rege Committee thought that a tripartite machinery "is a recognised method of resolving troubles and misunderstandings between the employers and the employees with the assistance of government representatives (171). It was thought that the difficult of securing proper labour representatives on the body could be solved by establishing wage boards. But if a wage board was made to work properly there was no urgent necessity of a separate tripartite machinery. But ITA and UPASI strongly objected to such an arrangement.

The government of Mysore conducted an inquiry into the general conditions of the family, budgets of labour in coffee plantations in October 1947. Subsequently at the tripartite conference held at Bangalore, 27-29th April 1948, the subject of improvement of the conditions of plantation labour was thoroughly considered (172) and a Committee was constituted for recommending the lines on which Legislative and administrative action might be taken in Mysore. Thus according to the recommendations of the Committee, a plantation subdivision was formed in 1948.

During War, planters had to devise several methods to induce labourers to turn to work, by giving attendance bonus of eight annas per week for 6 days continuous attendance, etc. Some planters also resorted to some indirect methods to prevent absenteeism. This included holding back a part of the rice and ration, withholding kumbli (blanket) bonus, sundry expenses, advance, etc. But despite all this, there was no decrease in the absenteeism.
UPASI argued in favour of a bipartite machinery that the government and the employer in dealing with the problems of plantation labour. It refused to include the labour element as it considered labour unable to take its own place on the body (170). But the Rege Committee thought that a tripartite machinery "is a recognised method of resolving troubles and misunderstandings between the employers and the employees with the assistance of government representatives" (171). It was thought that the difficulty of securing proper labour representatives on the body could be solved by establishing wage boards. But if a wage board was made to work properly, there was no urgent necessity of a separate tripartite machinery. But ITA and UPASI strongly objected to such an arrangement.

The Government of Mysore conducted an inquiry into the general conditions of the family, budgets of labour in coffee plantations in October 1947. Subsequently, at the tripartite conference held at Bangalore on 27-29 April 1948, the subject of improvement of the conditions of plantation labour was thoroughly considered (172) and a Committee was constituted for recommending the lines on which the legislative and administrative action might be taken in Mysore. Thus according to the recommendations of this Committee, plantation sub-division was formed in 1948.

CONCLUSIONS

Coffee proved a good investment for European planters because the introduction of commercial agriculture entailed the abolition of regional restriction and soothing way for their smooth production and transactions. Further, the introduction of commercial agriculture was again a measure of
political expediency. The proprietary rights over land was deliberately established in order to woo the European capitalist to invest his capital on a soil which never produced cash crops purely for export. But the introduction of a market-oriented cash nexus economy into Mysore which was traditionally a subsistence economy involving a legislative action which called for a permanent settlement of Europeans in this soil. Hence, waste land tenure policy in Mysore legalised the settlement of European investors. The element of "foreign" settlers in Mysore was a natural corollary for further impending legislation protecting their interests. The planters in their new role of feudal notoriety fitted the despotic system of colonial administration so well that the colonialists deliberately established it in those regions where it did not exist earlier. In this way, colonial rule helped not only to preserve but also to expand the feudal-state relations. The development of commercial agriculture in a situation where non-agricultural sources of livelihood were limited, enhanced the peasantry's dependence on planters and gradually this dependence became indispensable. And this did not get destroyed by the emerging migrant labour system. These planters acted as the representatives of the state, collecting certain taxes in kind, imposing some in cash, etc. But the incorporation of the institution of feudal notoriety in the guise of planters was a political manoeuvre to hold the local people to submission. Gradually, they began to control the levers of political power in their jurisdictions. They formed a different economic structure etching out from a colonial economic formation, subordinating the whole economy and all its sectors to their whims. It was the coexistence of traditionalism and modernisation of the rural world. This colonial enslavement largely determined the subsequent socio-economic developments in Mysore. The invasion of foreign
capital to a small extent undermined the traditional means by which the economy was run and promoted the development of the social division of labour. This prompted the opening up of western Mysore into the outskirts of world capitalist market. The development of colonial capitalism, surrounded by a host of pre-capitalist survivals, also explains why capitalist mode of production did not develop in princely Mysore to any conspicuous level despite the introduction of Government sponsored and supported commercial agriculture.
REFERENCES

1. R.H Elliot, "The experiences of a planter in the jungles of Mysore" Vol, P.70

2. Ibid

3. Method of Commerical Cultivition in Mysore and coorg, File No.3 1872, Sl.No 1-13 agri. 1872 KSA (B)


5. Ibid P.75

6. Thomas E Metcalf "Eaissez-faise..." P.75

7. Ibid, P.76

8. Ibid, P.76

9. Ibid, P.76


11. Metealf "Laissez-faire..." P.78

12. Ibid. P.78


18. Ibid. P.628


22. Select Committee Report Volume II, Part II, 578

23. Ibid


25. Ibid P.580

26. Coffee Planters of Coorg & their memorandom dt.28th June 1862

27. Ibid


29 'Land Rules' Mysore Foreign Political, 'a' july 1864 para 4.NA9

30 G.O. dtd 1863. Foreign Political 1863. 'B'.Para 15, NA9

31. Wood's despatches, foreign political, 1864, I-B, para 1-12, NA9

32. Ibid

33. Ibid. Paras 13x14

34. Ibid
35. Ibid
36. Ibid Paras 14, 15x16
37. Ibid
38. Despatch dtd 1861, 'Land Rules' foreign political I-B, para 12, 13-15x16
39. Captain Rention's Lands in Mysore. foreign political, I-B No 21, para 4
40. Ibid
41. Ibid
42. Acreage of Mysore Coffee plantations, No 283, Sl.No.22-24, L.R 1906 KSA (B)
43. This included the maharaja, the future Devan Mr. Rangailaru also
44. H.M. Elliot, Superintendent of Nagar divisions to Secretary to the C.C dated 8.8.1864. Introduction of acreage cess on coffee 11 of 1874, Sl.No.1-42, L.R 1874, KSA (B)
45. Ibid
46. From F.D Moppen Esq. to the Pfkg. D.C Kadur dated 13.3.1875 papers regarding the abolition of Hatat on Coffee, KSA (B)
47. Ibid
48. A letter from W.A Allandice Esq. to the Offg. D.C Kadur, District. dated 20.2.1875, papers regarding the abolition of Halat on Coffee, KSA (B)
49. From Nandidroog Division Commissioner Office to the Secretary to the C.C. dated 22.10.1874. Introduction of acreage cess on Coffee Plants 11 of 1874, Sl.No. 1-42, L.R 1874-5
50. From Nandidroog Division, Commissioner's Office to the Secretary to the C.C. dated 22.10.1874. Introduction of acreage cess on Coffee Plants - 11 of 1874, Sl.No. 142, L.R. 1874, KSA (B)
51. Decision of the Government of India, dated 18.11.1879
Permanent cess on Coffee lands in Mysore, L.R 1878-9,
File No. 36, Sl.No. 1-8 KSA (B)

52. Ibid

53. Stocke's Letter dated 22.10.1837, Method of Coffee
Cultivation in Mysore and Coorg, 3 of 1872, No. 1-13,
Agari. 1872, KSA (B)

54. Gordon's Notification dated 8.7.1979

55. Memorandum of Planters, 1879, file No.36, Sl.No 1-8 Lr
1879 KSA (B)

56. Following publications deal with plantation labor in
general
(a) S.K Bose "Capital & Labour in the Indian Tea
Industry"
(b) Chamanlal, D. "Coolie - the story of labour & capital
in India"
(c) Das, R.K "Plantation Labour in India"
(d) Guha, A "From Planters raj to Swaraj"

57. It was quoted as 'Commercial and Capitalistic
Exploitation'. Madras Standard, Madras, 28.5.1901, NNPR,
1901, TNSA (M)

58. Revenue Survey Settlement of Manjarabad Taluk, file No.
29 of 1923, Sl.No. 1-13, L.S 1923, K.S.A (B)

59. Census Report, Mysore Part I, 1891

60. Report of the Malnad Development Committee, 1946, Part
III. P.84

61. Statistics for the Coffee cultivation for the year 1901,
L.R 1901, 148 of 1902, Sl.No. 1-10, K.S.A (B)


63. Census Report 1901 (Mysore) & 1911, Part I, V.I

64. The Mysore Population Study-Population Study series,
No.34 New York, 1961, P.175

65. Crimping means enticing of labour already working in
other estates, this was done either by offering higher
wages or by during the Kanganies with a higher late of
commission.
67. UPASI, Year Book, 1943, P.143
69. Editorial The Eastern Economist, Vol. II, No.15, April 14, 1944, pp. 594-95
70. "There is reason for us to be on guard and to keep our eyes open to prevent further interference and reduction of our labour forces, which are now seriously depleted". Year Book UPASI, 1945, TNSA (M), P.4
71. During the South Indian famine of 1870s, planters had enforced greater responsibility on Kanganies. Because a labourer preferred to work in estate in his native place
74. speer, S.G. Op. Cit., P.4
75. See table No.11
76. Speer, S.G Op. Cit.,'P.6
77. Ibid See table No.12
78. Ibid
79. "It was unlikely that we should be left free to settle relations between ourselves and our labour forces, without government intervention at fairly frequent intervals, even though, labour might gain more by direct dealings with us than by government intervention". Year Book, UPASI 1946, Op. Cit., P.46
80. "He was their banker...", Roberts. Indian Estate Labour Op. Cit., P.117
82. UPASI Year Book P.127
85. See table No.13

86. G.O. Development Department No. 108 dated 12.1.1939, TNSA (M)

87. "The first decisive blow against the kangany system has been struck by the extension of the application of the payment of wages by the Madras Presidency in 1947, which regulated recovery of advances, prohibited unauthorized appropriations". O.I Chacko, Op. Cit., P.23


89. The Committee of 1896 recommendations

90. memorandum by UPASI dtd 1896, Planter's Year Book OP.Cit P.110

91. Involving both Coffee & Rubber


93. Ibid P.P 98-102

94. This included the South Mysore Planters Association, Coorg Coffee Planters Association, Wynaad Plantation Association etc,

95. Memorandum of NMPA dtd 12th August 1875, file No.236, Sl.No 1-22 KSA (B)

96. Mr. Wood's Despatches, Foreign Polotical, 1864,1-B, Para 1-12, NAI(D)

97. Memorandum of N.M.P.A 1894, Bangalore, File No.15, Sl.No 1-20, KSA(B)

98. Ibid

99. Land rules, Mysore, Foreign Political, 1879, July Para 1-12, NAI (D)

100. The Acrege of Coffee in Mysore, No.283, Sl. No. 1-22, L.R 1906, KSA (B)

101. Ibid
102. Ibid
103. Address of the Dewan, PMRA, 1897, PP.119-127
104. Ibid
105. Ibid
106. Vrittanta Chintamani, Mysore, dtd July 12th 1898, NNPR TNSA (M)
109. The Committee had recommended the establishment of a Coffee Bank on joint-stock basis, financed by Government Separately
110. PMRA, Dasara Session, 1941, P.107
111. MAR, 1944-45, P.10
112. Second Amendement VII of 1941 Act
113. Act VII of 1942
114. World War II
115. Notification No.59 -(4) I.P 43
116. R.H Elliot, Op. Cit P.29, also see table No.14
118. See Table No.15
119. UPASI Year-Book, 1943, TNSA (M), P.192, also see table No.16
122. The Weekly System existed only in rubber estates where casual and local labour was employed for general work on a large scale
"While there was a deliberation in progress regarding the wage adjustments of estate workers, a number of them involved in a spontaneous strike. There was some evidence of communist activity in the area. When a trade union organizer asked them why they are striking, the answer was 'our tummies'." Year Book of UPASI, 1947, p.19
142. Levy of Mahatarfa Tax on the Coolies opf Coffee estates. 50,1883, Sl.No. 1-13, L.R. 1883 KSA (B)

143. The expenditure per head on medical benefits was only Rs 3/-

144. Eastern Economist, Editorial, V.10. No6, Feb 1948, P.307

145. Some estates kept a stock of quinine and tinctures for first aid. The dispensing was done either by the Manager himself or staff

146. Report of Labour Sub-Committee 1947, P.100

147. Mysore Labour Gazettee, March 1949, Vol.1 No.6 P.59

148. This post was abolished in 1931 as a measure of retrenchment.


150. This was as recorded in 1924. Ibid,P.166

151. Ibid P.167

152. Ibid P.405

153. Ibid P.406

154. UPASI Year Book, 1943, P.124


156. Ibid P.412


158. "The workers were being forced to live in localities almost akin to slums". The Report. Op. Cit., P.380

159. The apathy of the employers in not providing adequate housing accommodation to ensure descency of human living was a major cause of labourer deserting his work. Ibid

160. Ibid., P.388

161. Mysore Labour Gazettee,, Vol.1 No.4 January 1949, P.1
162. "With the reduction in the basic rations and the difficulty of getting it accustomed to new foods, planters had a very bad time". UPASI Year Book, 1946, TNSA (M)

163. 'A tour of estates in Mysore, showed that majority of the labourers' chronicle, 1.4.1947, P.47

164. Central Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol.II, No.8, P.1372

165. Recommendations of UPASI, Planting Directory, 1951, P.143

166. The Government of Travancore was the first state to enact Trade-boards Bill applying to plantations labourers as well


168. The Report, 1931, P.402


170. Ibid., P.181

171. Ibid