Rise and Decline of the Coffee Industry in 19th-Century Batangas: Causes and Consequences

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Abstract

Coffee rose from an almost unknown plant in the mid-18th century to one of the top high-value exports in the Philippines by the end of the 19th century. The industry that coffee produced within a century led to structural changes that altered the lives and communities of farmers and traders. This research attempts to provide a social history of the coffee industry in Southern Tagalog during the Spanish colonial period. It traces the origin, growth, and decline of the coffee industry in Batangas within the context of the changing political economy and ecology and tracks the concomitant socio-economic transformation in the province during the 19th century. Batangas was the coffee center in the Spanish colonial Philippines. Archival records and key historical studies were the primary sources of data.

Keywords: Batangas, coffee, rural relations, colonial capitalism, socioeconomic change

Introduction

The Province of Batangas is commonly associated with coffee. It long enjoyed the reputation of undisputed industry leadership due to the supreme quality and immense volume of its production. Its brand of coffee, known as "*Kapeng Batangas*" (Batangas Coffee) or "*Kapeng Barako*" (Strong Coffee), was once the most sought after across the country and even overseas because of the overpowering smell and intense flavor. Batangueños became successful in various fields, including academia, politics, and arts, through their family's income from the coffee business. Towns like Lipa, Rosario, and San Jose achieved progress and prestige courtesy of the coffee industry and the other related livelihoods that thrived (Villa, 2002).

Despite the tremendous impact of coffee, written works about its history in Batangas or elsewhere in the Philippines remain scarce. Onofre Corpuz's (1997) study on Philippine economic history and Jaime Veneracion's (2001) work on Philippine agriculture during the Spanish regime mention only the colonial state's projects for coffee propagation. Praxedes Villa (2012) provides a history of coffee in Lipa, but the account is merely a section in the city's history. Bel Castro's (2003) thesis explains the history of coffee in Lipa to prove the commonly heard stories as myths. Still, the narrative will benefit from looking at the broader contexts and the more profound consequences of the coffee industry to the province and its people.

This paper constructs a social history of the coffee industry in 19th-century Batangas. It traces the rise and decline of the coffee industry and tracks the causes and consequences within the changing politics, economy, and ecology. Grounded in political economy, it argues that political and economic institutions shaped the coffee industry and that the coffee industry, in turn, shaped the distribution of power and resources within a network of socio-economic relations (Caporaso & Levine, 2005). Drawing from cultural ecology, it also argues that environmental opportunities and risks, together

with adaptive technologies, impacted the coffee industry and the socio-economic relations it engendered (Steward, 2006).

The first and second sections of the paper discuss the introduction and expansion of the industry in response to highly inviting market opportunities and government incentives. The third section recounts the decline of the industry due to ecological challenges, which political and health crises exacerbated. Each section also presents the sociocultural impact of the industry on the communities and lives of Batangueños. Data was gathered from the chronicles of religious missionaries, reports of government officials, traders, and travelers, and family documents of Batangueños which the author found from the archives and libraries in the Philippines.[1]

Pre-19th century to 1858: Introduction and formation of the coffee industry

Historians differ on the origins of coffee in Batangas. Rafael Bartolome (1962) asserted that a Franciscan brought three gantas[2] of coffee seeds from Mexico in Laguna in 1740. A servant planted these seeds in a garden and later replanted them in his father's land in Pinagtong-olan, Lipa. Bel Castro (2003) argued that Bartolome's claim might have been inaccurate since it is based only on a story published by *The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* in 1928, which in turn came from the account of Quirino B. Aguilera of the Lipa Experiment Station. Castro herself suggested that Muslim merchants might have brought along coffee seeds or seedlings from Mecca in their trading in the Philippines, the same way Muslim pilgrims and traders introduced coffee to India, Ceylon, and Sumatra. Nonetheless, she admitted that her view is untenable without any ethnographic or archaeological evidence. The scant evidence tells only that coffee remained rare in the Philippines until the early 18th century. Spaniards Valentin Marin (1901) and Manuel Sastrón (1895) stated that coffee arrived in Lipa in 1814. Marin claimed further that Elias Nebreda, an Augustinian, introduced coffee in Lipa. Local historian Jose Alex Katigbak pushed the date further back to 1784 and attributed the distribution of seeds to Gobernadorcillo Francisco Mantuano (Villa, 2012).

However, we can surmise that the coffee industry emerged in Batangas between the late 18th and the early nineteenth centuries. In 1736 and 1737, locusts attacked Taal, Tanauan, and Balayan, so much so that people ate root crops and wild fruits to overcome hunger. In 1754, Taal Volcano erupted from May to December, destroying crops and houses and forcing the residents of Tanauan, Lipa, Sala, and Taal to relocate to safer places (Medina & Hargrove, 1991). In 1759, Nicholas Norton Nichols noted that coffee was not abundant (Zaide & Zaide, 1990). In 1787, Jean Francois Galaup de la Perouse noticed that coffee grew without being cultivated. In the 1790s, global coffee supply decreased, and coffee prices rose—a trend that must have influenced the decision of the Real Compania to pursue a coffee enterprise (Castro, 2003). When Nathaniel Bowditch arrived in Manila in 1796, he observed that the locals' standard drinks were sweetmeats and water (Zaide & Zaide, 1990). In 1810, Tomas de Comyn (1969) also said that the locals used to take cacao once or twice a day in the same way the Chinese would take tea. In 1819, Henry Piddington recounted that coffee was almost entirely unknown forty years prior. Only a few plants were planted in the Botanical Gardens in Manila, and these were brought to Laguna, and perhaps to the nearby provinces, like Batangas, where the civet cat helped in propagation (Jagor, 1917).

The species of Batangas coffee was the Arabica. It is an evergreen shrub that reaches a height of four to six feet. Its trunk is erect and slender, with branches that bend downwards when old but extend in a round form when young. Its leaves are dark green, oval, shiny, and pointed, and its flowers are white and fragrant that disappear quickly to give way to small, green berries (Walsh, 2015).

The brand of Batangas coffee was "Manilla." It was priced well because the beans, pale-green, medium, and regular in form, were perfect in roast and flavor. It was set apart from "Luzon" that came from the provinces of Luzon other than Batangas and from "Zamboango" that came from the islands of Mindanao. Luzon coffee was not well appreciated because the

beans were indifferently cleaned, despite its rich and aromatic flavor. Zamboango coffee had the same reputation due to its natural characteristics: flabby, grassy, and yellowish-white (Walsh, 2015).

Coffee spread in Batangas quite slowly.[3] In 1818, it was still excluded among the produce the province brought to Manila: cotton, coconut, coconut oil, lumber, onion, dried meat, palay, *cascalote* (*Caesalpinia cacalaco*), *sibucao* (*Caesalpinia sappan*), *balate (Holuturia edulis*), *banucalag* (*Aleurites trisperma*), *guinaras* (abaca fabric), and *brea* (resin) (Corpuz, 1997). In 1837, Manuel Blanco and Tomas Oliva stated that it grew easily in Lipa, Tanauan, Bauang, and San Pablo, a town that now belongs to Laguna. In 1842, Sinibaldo de Mas (1963) cited Miguel Rodriguez of San Pablo, who planted 60,000 *pie* of coffee, but notes all farmers other than Rodriguez and Araola planted only a few hundred pie.[4] In 1846, Jean Mallat (1983) included coffee among Batangas's produce, but not among the significant articles of trade, such as wheat and rice. In 1850, Manuel Buzeta and Felipe Bravo commended coffee from Batangas, Laguna, and Tayabas; and listed 10 out of then 17 Batangas towns that grew coffee: Taal, Rosario, Sto. Tomas, Tanauan, Lipa, Batangas, Bauan, Calaca, Balayan, and San Juan de Bolboc. Nonetheless, they observed that almost all coffee farms were reduced only to more or less 200 trees.

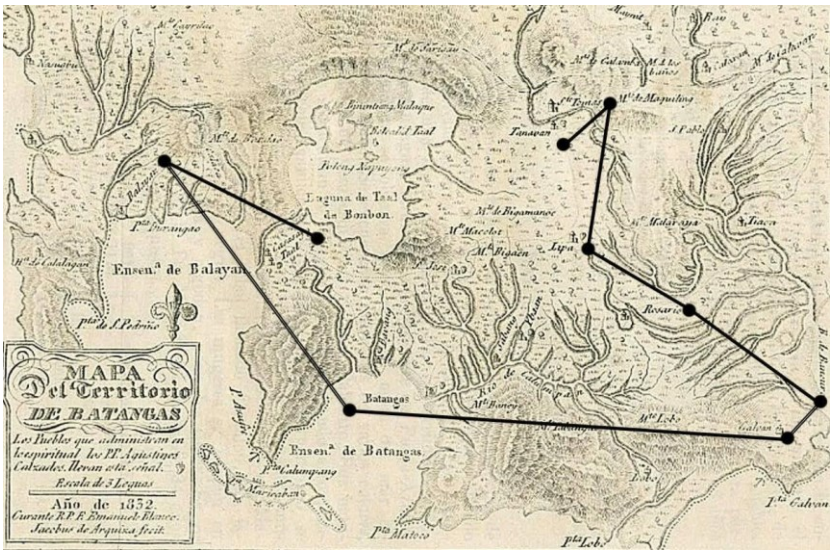

FIGURE 1. MAP OF BATANGAS (1832)

Note: From Mapa General de las Almas que Administran los PP. Agustino Calzados en estas Islas Filipinas *(p. 31) by PP. Agustinos Calzados, 1845, Manila: Imprenta de Dn. Miguel Sanchez. The dots the present author imposed over the map show the coffee producing towns by the 2nd quarter of the century.*

No record can be found on the volume of Batangas coffee in the early 19th century. Still, several chronicles did document the aggregate volume of Philippine coffee exports. In 1818, the Philippines for the first time exported 400 picos[5], which all came from wild trees, none from cultivated fields (Castro, 2003).[6] Exports continued to rise through the first half of the nineteenth century, but Buzeta and Bravo (1850) pointed out that the Philippines must have encouraged production to supply Spain in abundance. Most exports were Europe-bound, especially for England, and 10,775 shipments were sent to Europe in 1852. Next to Europe was the United States, including California and the Pacific, with 8,830 shipments dispatched in 1951.

TABLE 1. QUANTITY OF PHILIPPINE COFFEE EXPORTS, SELECTED YEARS (1813-1855)

YEAR	VOLUME (Kilos)
1818	20,000
1830	117,934
1841	299,371
1854	852,571
1855	565,399

Note: Data for 1830 is from Southeast Asian Exports since the 14th Century: Cloves, Pepper, Coffee, and Sugar *(p. 153) by David Bulbeck et al, 1998, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. Data for 1841 comes from* Informe Sobre el Estado en las Islas Filipinas en 1842 *(p. 15) by Sinibaldo de Mas, 1843, Madrid: Imprenta Sancha. The data for 1854 and 1855 are from* Census of the Philippine Islands 1903: Agriculture, Social and Industrial Statistics *(p. 7) by Bureau of the Census, 1905, Washington: United States Bureau of the Census.*

TABLE 2. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF PHILIPPINE COFFEE EXPORTS (1848-1855)

	EUROPE (Parcels)	UNITED STATES	AUSTRALIA	CALIFORNIA AND THE PACIFIC
1848	6,319	2,519	2,149	1,078
1849	6,248	2,859	2,355	3,450
1850	-	2,062	1,645	676

1851	5,526	1,248	3,350	7,582
1852	10,775	4,138	1,798	2,720
1853	1,945	1,724	6,531	4,780
1854	2,217	999	2,667	943
1855	8,869	280	2,757	-

Note: From Hong Kong to Manila and the Lakes of Luzon in the Philippine Isles in the Year 1856 (p. 188-189) by H. T. Ellis, 1859, London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

Factors that led to the introduction and formation of the coffee industry

One crucial factor for the emergence of the Batangas coffee industry was the increasing demand for coffee around the globe that started when traveling merchants introduced coffee to the West. Beginning in the 17th century, coffee became famous around Europe, as coffee houses attracted a growing number of patrons who found great interest in meeting and conversing together. In the 18th century, during the advent of the Industrial Revolution in Europe and North America, it became even more popular, especially among the working class, as more women and children joined the organized workforce and failed to prepare home-cooked meals (Pendergrast, 2010). The preference for coffee over tea became more decisive in the United States starting 1773 when the Americans launched a revolt known as the Boston Tea Party against King George III's imposition of a heavy tax on tea.

Another significant factor was the set of reforms introduced in Spain in the eighteenth century. Under French enlightenment, the Bourbons followed political theorists like Pedro Rodriguez de Campomanes and Pedro Pablo de Abarca

and economists like Geronimo de Ustariz and Antoni de Capmany (Cushner, 1971). They transformed government structures and processes to augment Spain's power and wealth, such as establishing supremacy over the Church and centralizing and unifying social institutions. In addition, they intervened extensively in the economy, particularly in agriculture, trade, and commerce, so that Spain could grow food, produce raw materials, and earn profit from trading (Payne, 2011).

Governors-general, including Simon de Anda and Jose Basco, developed a profound economic interest and exploited natural resources in the colonies for trade and commerce. They developed industries for three plant groups: spices (e.g., cinnamon and pepper), plants of industrial value (e.g., cotton, indigo, and tobacco), and plants of food value (e.g., rice, wheat, and corn). They converted ranch lands into plantations, which led to crop regionalization, such that Ilocos planted tobacco and Central Luzon produced rice. They formed chartered companies to conduct scientific explorations and technical improvements for regional and international commerce (Veneracion, 2001).

The growing global demand for coffee and the changing political economy in Spain prompted Spanish officials and foreign merchants to develop the coffee industry in the Philippines. In 1756, Francisco Leandro de Viana suggested exporting coffee to Spain through the East India Company (Legarda, Jr., 1999). A few years later, Nichols prodded King Charles III to promote coffee production (Zaide & Zaide, 1990). In 1827, Manuel Bernaldez Pizarro recommended instruction and remuneration. Finally, in 1842, Sinibaldo de Mas (1963) reiterated the awarding of prizes.

First, the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del Pais and the Real Compañia de Filipinas and later, foreign traders, realized these proposals. Jose Basco founded the Sociedad to introduce projects toward developing Philippine agriculture and commerce. He then established the Compañia de Filipinas to implement these projects, leading mainly to trading with Spain and Europe (Corpuz, 1997). Merchants, mainly from Great

Britain and the United States, continued what the Sociedad and the Compañia started, significantly when a royal decree in 1834 abolished the Compañia (Zaide & Zaide, 1990).

The Sociedad Económica offered rewards, including 8,000 pesos for each of the first two farmers who established a coffee plantation of 60,000 pie; and another prize of 6,000 pesos for each of the second two Filipino farmers who could do the same (Montero, 1887). On June 27, 1837, Pablo de Gironier received 1,000 pesos for the first coffee plantation of more than 60,000 trees in Jalajala, Laguna. The year after, on December 10, Vicente de Pino got 500 pesos for the second coffee plantation of 60,000 trees (Veneracion, 2001). In 1846, Iñigo Gonzales y Azalo was awarded 1,000 pesos and 500 pesos for his farms in Calauan, Laguna. In 1847, Antonio Ortega got 4,000 pesos and 500 pesos for his farms in Indang, Cavite (Montero, 1887).[7]

The Sociedad Económica printed manuals as well. On April 24, 1827, *Memoria Sobre el Cultivo del Café en la Isla de Cuba* was published. In 1855, books on coffee cultivation were distributed for the second time. In 1871, five thousand copies of *Cultivo del Cacao y Café* were printed, and a gold medal was awarded to the author, Santiago Patero. Unlike the first two manuals, Cultivo del Cacao y Café was translated into Filipino by Vicente Changco, reaching a wider audience. In 1874, a memoir on coffee trading was prepared (de la Matta, 1843), but the publication might not have been realized as the Sociedad faded out as an institution from 1875 to 1882.

Already referred to above, de Gironier responded among a few others to the call of Sociedad Ecónomica to propagate coffee. He was a French traveler who practiced medicine and assumed government posts in colonial Manila before he found his estate, known as Jalajala, on the northeastern shores of Laguna de Bay. First, he cleared the woods and planted rice, sugarcane, and coffee. Then, through the help of his brother, Henry, he introduced and perfected coffee cultivation. At the time he relinquished the estate, he had 90,000 coffee bushes, together with 40,000 abaca plants, nearly 20 hectares planted to sugarcane, and about 84 hectares planted to rice (Legarda, 1999).

In Batangas, gobernadorcillos helped develop the coffee industry. In 1805, Tomas de Comyn suggested growing export products, like coffee, when he toured around the province. Three years later, then Gobernadorcillo Gallo de los Reyes required the people of Lipa to plant coffee. In 1812, 1822, and 1825, his order remained in effect when de los Reyes was reelected, and in 1832, when his son, Santiago de los Reyes, was elected to the same post (Luz, 1905). Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga (1973) confirms the local leaders' role. The gobernadorcillo of Lipa compelled the people to plant coffee. He was tough, such that anyone who failed to follow the order was beaten and forced to walk around the town with an offending sign at the back.

Together with the gobernadorcillos were the missionaries, especially the Augustinians. Credited in Lipa were Elias Nebreda and Benito Baras, and in San Jose were Roman Sanchez and Benito Baras. A story from *Filipinas en su Jugo* (Pastor, 1890) indicated how friars executed the task. Here the priest from Lipa distributed seedlings and ordered parishioners to transplant them around their houses, with a stern warning in case of disobedience. After eight days, the priest and the gobernadorcillo visited the natives. The priest gave further instructions to a parishioner who transplanted the seedlings. He asked the gobernadorcillo to beat twenty-five times the other parishioner who failed to do so due to an ill wife.

1859 to 1889: Growth and expansion of the coffee industry

Beginning in 1859, the coffee industry grew and expanded in Batangas, especially in Lipa, San Jose, and Rosario (Luz, 1905).[8] Mountains and far-flung barrios were planted with coffee, including Labak, Pinagtong-olan, San Benito, San Celestino, and Sapac of Lipa; Pinagtong-olan and Salaban of San Jose; and the present town of Mataas na Kahoy. Considerable portions of barrios were allotted for drying berries. Sitio Bilaran in Aya, San Jose, and Sitios Bilaran Silangan and Bilaran Canluran in San Benito, Lipa, were named because berries were

dried on pavements in these places. During harvest season, Lipa's main streets were crowded with carts of berries pulled by cows and carabaos on their way to storage houses (Reyes, 1908).

In 1869, Batangas, together with Cavite, Laguna, and Tayabas, was considered an essential coffee-producing province (Barrantes, 1896). In 1876, it ranked first in terms of land area (20,522 hectares) planted with coffee and second to Cavite in terms of income (89,289 pesos) gained from coffee growing (de la Cavada & de Vigo, 1876). By 1872, five or six towns, or a third of all coffee plantations in the province, produced 80 to 90,000 picos a year, the value of which in 1887 was more or less two million and five hundred pesos (Sastrón, 1895). In Lipa alone, the coffee harvest was approximately 60,000 picos in 1887, 80,000 picos in 1888, and 100,000 picos in 1889 (Luz, 1905). During these years, Manuel Sastrón (1895) reports that half of the country's total coffee production came from Batangas, while John Foreman (1980) praises the province as the source of the best beans from the Philippines.

TABLE 3. COFFEE PRODUCTION IN THE PHILIPPINES, SELECTED PROVINCES (1870)

PROVINCE	AREA UNDER CULTIVATION (Hectares)	VOLUME OF PRODUCTION (Kilos)	INCOME (Pesos)
Cavite	1,590	843,076	124,204
Camarines Norte	2.26	-	-
Pangasinan	2	11,532	19
Laguna	515	65 286	2,185
Batangas	20,522	228,372	89,284

Tayabas	442	64, 232	6,926
Camarines Sur	1	312	56
Albay	-	368	112
Antique	8	13	87
Capiz	2	-	-
Iloilo	2	2, 852	95
Bohol	4.46	1,875	131
Cebu	2,406.18	1,667.8	140
Zamboanga	0.04	-	-
Cotabato	4,505	243,750	13,000

Note: From Historia Geografica, Geologica y Estadistica de Filipinas *(p. 172) by Agustin de la Cavada and Mendez de Vigo, 1876, Manila: Imp. de Ramirez y Giraudier.*

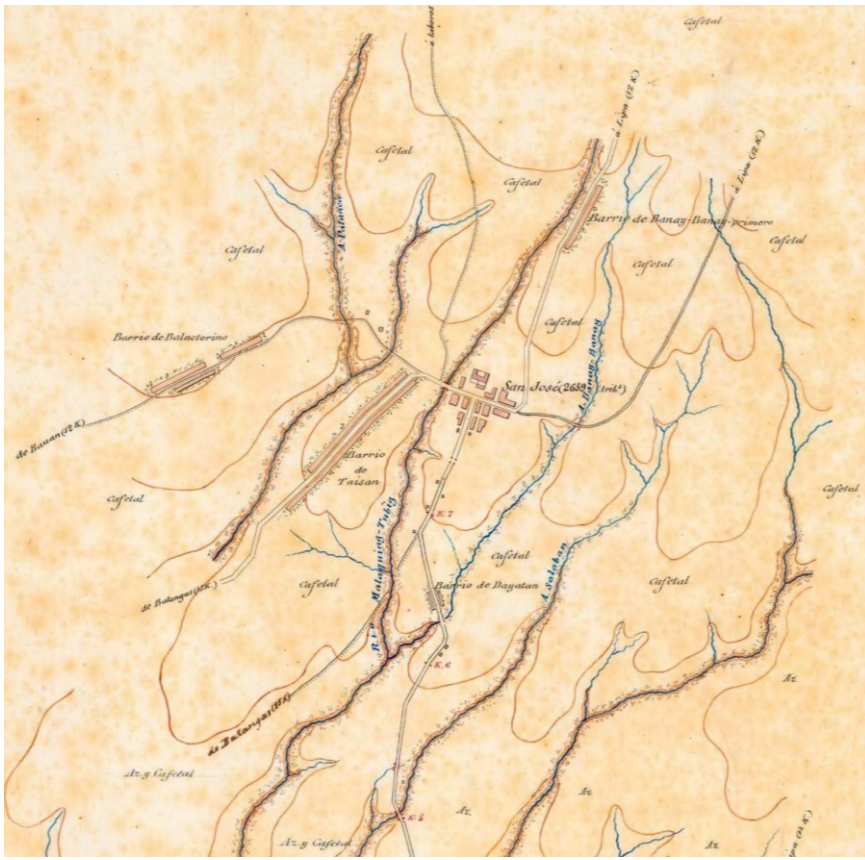

FIGURE 2. MAP OF SAN JOSE, BATANGAS (1888)
Note: Itinerarios Tofograficos (1888). Retrieved April 21, 2021, from https://bibliotecavirtual.defensa.gob.es/BVMDefensa/es/consulta_aut/registro.do?control=BMDA20200130338. The map shows the agricultural produce of San Jose, Batangas, which were mainly coffee and sugarcane.


Cafetal
Barrio de Banay-Banay primero
San José (2658 trib.)
Barrio de Taisan
Barrio de Dagatan
Az. y Cafetal
Barrio de Salaban
Rio Matainin
Barrio Matainin
Barrio del Sto. Niño
Barrio de Palindan
Rio de Ibaan
Barrio de Calios
Barrio de Bago
Ibaan (2203 tributos)
Barrio Sandalan
Barrio de Balanga
Rio de Ibaan
Az.

FIGURE 3. MAP OF LIPA, BATANGAS (1888)

Note: Itinerarios Tofograficos *(1888). Retrieved April 21, 2021, from https://bibliotecavirtual.defensa.gob.es/BVMDefensa/es/consulta_aut/registro.do?control=BMDA20200130338. The map shows the agricultural produce of Lipa, Batangas, which were mainly coffee and sugarcane.*

We can appreciate the development of the Batangas coffee industry by looking at the Philippine coffee trade, having in mind the dominant position Batangas assumed in the country's total coffee production. As shown in Figure 4, Philippine coffee exports increased from 904,863 kilos in 1860 to 5,602,941 in 1882 until the peak of 7,622,798 kilos in 1883. The value of exports rose from 181,446 pesos in 1860 to 1,354,247 pesos in 1886 until the peak of 2,093,518 pesos in 1887. The most substantial surge happened between 1887 and 1889 when the average export was around five million kilos, and the average unit value was 381.41 pesos per metric ton. Europe and Asia took most of the exports. Spain received more than two million kilos in 1887, while the value of exports into France soared to $249,668 in 1877–1886. China, Japan, and the Moluccas got 249,195 kilos in 1871 and almost twice as much in 1874 (Hitchcock, 1898). Coffee then emerged as a leading export, assuming the third rank in 1877, 1881, and 1887, and the fourth rank over the last two quarters of the century (Legarda, Jr., 1999).

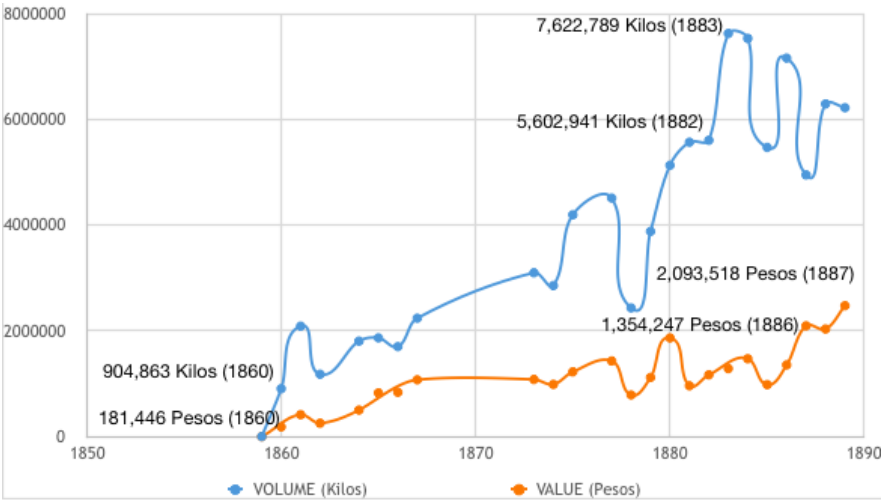

FIGURE 4. QUANTITY AND VALUE OF PHILIPPINE COFFEE EXPORTS, SELECTED YEARS (1860-1889)

Note: From Census of the Philippine Islands 1903: Agriculture, Social and Industrial Statistics *(p. 7) by Bureau of the Census, 1905, Washington: United States Bureau of the Census.*

TABLE 4. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF PHILIPPINE COFFEE EXPORTS, SELECTED YEARS (1869-1889)

	1869 (Kilos)	**1871**	**1873**	**1874**	**1888**	**1889**
EUROPE	2,066,658	2,624,921	2,562,989	1,498,601	6,477,744	5,726,884
UNITED STATES	576	90,498	2,807	81,641	-	302
CALIFORNIA AND THE PACIFIC	1,919	230,765	6,4240	133,283	6,350	12,700

SINGAPORE	113	88, 252	721, 671	731, 525	171, 711	48, 643
CHINA, JAPAN, AND MOLUCCAS	187, 918	294, 195	152, 304	417, 747	149, 485	131, 197
AUSTRALIA	139	-	-	-	-	15,241

Note: The data for 1869, 1871 and 1873 are from Manual del Viajero *(p. 218-219) by Ramon Fernandez and Federico Moreno, 1875, Manila: Establecimento Tipografico de Santo Tomas. The data for 1888 and 1889 are from* Trade of the Philippine Islands *(p. 42) by Frank Hitchcock, 1898, Washington: US Government Printing Office.*

TABLE 5. PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL PHILIPPINE COFFEE EXPORTS, SELECTED YEARS (1859-1889)

	Sugar (Percent)	**Abaca**	**Tobaco**	**Coffee**
1859	38.52	21.79	20.63	3.32
1864	31.20	25.38	17.58	4.69
1866	25.88	30.35	20.14	3.37
1867	28.42	33.91	20.85	4.87
1874	35.11	28.27	20.00	5.7
1876	49.91	27.71	8.02	7.5
1878	47.34	24.64	11.89	4.5
1880	48.65	23.37	10.56	7.95

1882	43.22	33.78	12.73	5.64
1887	31.66	42.11	8.02	8.29
1889	35.45	40.81	8.79	7.08

Note: From After the Galleons: Foreign Trade, Economic Change, and Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines *(pp. 124-125) by Benito Legarda, Jr., 1999, Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.*

Factors that Led to the Growth and Expansion of the Coffee Industry

The growth and expansion of the Batangas coffee industry resulted from the huge demand amidst the fluctuating supply of coffee in the global market in the 19th century. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the American West after the end of the Civil War in 1865 opened up the huge European and American market for Philippine produce (Tinio, Jr., 2002). The railroad and steamers that facilitated the transportation of agricultural produce and immigrant laborers and the expansion of coffee plantations reduced production costs. In addition, the US government imported tax-free coffee, as duties declined from a high of 10 centavos in 1812 to 5 centavos a pound in 1814 and free for all a decade after 1832 (Topik, 2004). Nonetheless, in the 1880s, Indonesia's production declined because of epidemic disease and labor disruption. Around the same time, Brazil's supply suffered as intensive farming depleted the soil, and slave riots broke out in farms (Castro, 2003). Hence, the price rose steadily from the late 1840s until a peak in the first half of the 1870s. It suffered from a sharp slump in the early 1880s, but it increased again in the feverish boom of the late 1880s and the early 1890s (Clarence-Smith & Topik, 2003).

The growth and expansion of the Batangas coffee industry were stimulated by the colonial government's grants and awards during annual fairs. The recognition served as the

coffee growers' incentives to produce more and better beans (Encarnacion, 2002). Celestino Solis of Lipa was hailed as the biggest producer at the 1869 Batangas fair. Norberto Catigbac of Lipa and Ramon Agoncillo of Taal presented coffee at the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. Jose Aguilera Lozada of Lipa showed five classes of coffee, together with a mortar and four mallets for de-hulling berries, at the 1887 *Exposición General de las Islas Filipinas* in Madrid. Catigbac and Lozada were granted the *Encomienda Ordinaria de la Orden de Isabel La Catolica* by Queen Regent Maria Cristina in 1887. Lipa received the highest commendation when Queen Regent Maria Cristina converted the town into a villa through a royal decree in 1887.

The unprecedented development was based on the agricultural practices that Batanguenos learned through time. Simeon Luz (1905) accounted for how coffee was grown in Batangas. Seeds of shade trees like *madre de cacao* (*Gliricidia sepium*) and *anii* (*Erythrina ovalifolia*) were sown first in rows at intervals of one step and a distance of one braza[9] between the rows. A year after the trees were grown, coffee shoots were planted between rows in parallel lines, leaving one braza between the plants. Every year, between March and August, weeds were cleared up. In the first year, shade tree branches were removed; the second year, some trunks; and the third year, entire rows. Coffee began to blossom four to seven years after planting. If rains would fall in November or December, coffee would bloom in January or February; otherwise, the first crop would not mature. Berries were collected by hand and placed in a basket hanging from the waist. A hook made of a madre de cacao twig and held down with a foot was used for upper branches. Drying was done through either of the two methods: (1) leaving the grains in small piles to ferment for 24 hours and spreading them out in a well-leveled, clay- or cement-polished enclosure, called *bilaran*; or (2) removing the outside pulpy rind of the grains, which were dried under the sun for four or five days after being carefully washed. In the first method, dried grains were cleaned using mortar and pestle, similar to what was used for palay. In the second method, dried grains were de-hulled using a wooden machine called *pipisan*. The coffee with the rind prepared through the first method was called *bayate*,

while that which was prepared through the second method was called *butil*.

The unprecedented development was based on a social organization composed of farm holders, farmworkers, and traders. Farm holders were either big, medium, and small. Farmworkers were either *aparceros* (sharecroppers) and *jornaleros* (daily wage workers). Traders were either from Batangas, especially Lipa, or from Manila.

Tenants and small farm holders who owned five hectares of land or less (Corpuz, 1997) employed cooperative systems: *sacnungan* and *suyuan*. In sacnungan, an organizer called a group of people to work on a farm in exchange for food, refreshments, and entertainment. In suyuan, also called *buliran*, a farm holder invited a group of people to work on his farm in exchange for refreshment and implied commitment to work on the farms of those he asked (Balmaceda, 1927).

Medium and big farm holders, whose landholdings were fifteen to less than fifty hectares and fifty hectares and larger, respectively, hired jornaleros and aparceros. Jornaleros' works included preparing the land; transplanting the seedlings; weeding and pruning the plants; and harvesting, drying, and storing berries. Aparceros were tenants who worked on a leased tract and received half the produce of their work (Corpuz, 1997; Lala, 1899).

Batangueño coffee traders bought coffee from sharecroppers and farm holders in Batangas and Tayabas. Together with their harvest, they sold their purchases to foreign merchants, who traveled from Manila to the markets of Batangas. Most purchases were loaded in Bauan, Taal, and Batangas City ports and brought by coastal ships to Manila. Others were sold in Calamba, Laguna, and sent by bapor to Manila via Laguna de Bay (Moriano, 1892). From Manila, coffee was shipped to various countries.

Foreign coffee traders might have provided capital to Batangueño planters and traders. In 1873, Peele, Hubbel, and

Co. granted Antonio Enriquez a loan with nine percent annual interest. Enriquez could buy 5,000 picos of coffee by advances and another 5,000 picos by immediate purchase. He could purchase coffee before the harvest season at an estimated value and during the harvest season at the prevailing price. He received a bonus of two reales for every pico of coffee he secured, but he became liable for the same amount in every case of bad debt (Legarda, 1999).

Batangueño coffee traders provided loans to sharecroppers and small farm holders. Sastrón (1895) revealed a pernicious custom most common in Rosario: *pasong*. Here farmers anticipated and sold their next harvest at half of the expected price. In effect, they took loans which they paid through the next crop. However, they usually fell short of their harvest, and they were held down by the debts they incurred, which then accumulated year on year. Foreman (1980) confirmed that traders began distributing money as advances against the next harvest among small farm holders in March. The rate for advances depended chiefly upon market competition. For example, if coffee was worth 11 dollars per pico in Manila, the next crop might be loaned between seven to eight dollars per pico.

Batangueño coffee growers provided loans to tenants. Retana says, "Rare, very rare is the tenant who is not in debt to his landlord, a debt that brings into being a type of slavery to which he is subjected" (May, 1993, p. 21). When tenants entered an estate, they took a loan. During harvest, the landowner deducted this loan from their shares. Since they gained only a little income, they continued to owe debts to the landowner.

Landlord-tenant relations varied across Batangas. On large estates where personal relationships were unlikely to develop, relations were least favorable. On small estates where frequent contact was possible, relations were more favorable. For example, when Don Gregorio Aguilera lost several buffaloes to brigandage, he beat his tenant twenty-five times (Foreman, 1980). When asked about their relations with the landowner Claro Recinto, Emilio Aguilera said all of the other few dozen

tenants felt that Recinto treated them fairly and that they accorded him due respect (May, 1993).

Consequences of the growth and expansion of the coffee industry

Through the coffee industry, the upper class[10] in Batangas, such as the principal growers and traders, accumulated wealth. From the income they gained from coffee trading and debt financing, they acquired large tracts of land, planted these with coffee and other crops, and along the way made even more immense profits. For example, Don Celestino Solis owned 991 hectares of land in Rosario, which his heirs, all females, inherited after his death. Petra and Gliceria jointly received 69 hectares, while Filomena, Justa, Bernardo, Maria, Catalina, Marcelina, and Salvadora each got a parcel of 115 hectares. Before his marriage, Don Gregorio Aguilera owned two houses (valued at 21,500 pesos); two warehouses and other buildings (valued at 20,500 pesos); and farms scattered around Lipa and the present towns of Malvar, Batangas and San Pablo, Laguna (valued at 56,673 pesos). He also owned credit from small farm holders and sharecroppers (valued at 49,533 pesos), draft animals (valued at 2,246 pesos), and various furniture (valued at 1,548 pesos). His first wife, Doña Maria Solis, owned farms in Lipa, Nasugbu, San Luis, Rosario, and Lemery (valued at 21,085 pesos) and kept her coffers an inheritance of 4,297 pesos and an income of 7,107 pesos from coffee, sugar, and palay. His second wife and Doña Maria's sister, Catalina, gained 13,535 pesos from coffee and owned farms in Lipa, Rosario, and Lemery (valued at 13,128 pesos).

The upper class established a broad network of relationships among the locals with wealth and power through intermarriage and the assumption of government offices. The Aguilas, owners of large coffee estates, were elected gobernadorcillos of San Jose: Don Camilo (1869–1970), Don Remigio (1887–1888), Don Buenaventura (1890–1891), and Don Salvador (1892–1894) (Tinio Jr., 2002). Don Celestino Solis, gobernadorcillo of Lipa for three terms (1843, 1848, and 1860),

married thrice: first to Doña Patricia de San Miguel Luz, then to Doña Jacoba Metra, and finally to Guillerma Manguiat. Doña Patricia was Don Tomas de San Miguel Luz's daughter to his second wife, Doña Juana Inciong, widow of Don Leon Africa. Doña Jacoba was a Chinese mestiza, daughter of Don Manuel Metra and Doña Clara Bernardo. Doña Maria, Don Celestino's daughter with Doña Patricia, married the Spanish mestizo Don Gregorio Aguilera; while her sister Justa married Don Norberto Catigbac. When Doña Maria died, her sister Doña Catalina married Don Gregorio Aguilera (Katigbak, 2020a).

The upper class developed an extravagant lifestyle. In Barrio Aya, San Jose, affluent families lived in beautifully arranged adobe houses, enough for the passers-by to describe the place "*kaaya-aya*" (pleasant) from where its name came. In Lipa, houses were even more massive and grander, influenced by foreign architectural styles and furnished with imported furniture and fixtures. For instance, Don Manuel Luz, brother of Don Simeon and husband of Doña Segunda Katigbak, lived in a house with furniture in the style of Louis XV, a piano imported from Spain, several Venetian mirrors, and differently fashioned chandeliers. He had at least thirteen attendants—a cook, a coachman, several nursemaids for his children, and a few young helpers for food and other errands. During the day, he spent time in Barrio Balete, overseeing the tenants working on his estates. At night, he enjoyed listening to music, his favorite past-time. During family gatherings, his children played a piece or two, as all of them learned to play at least one instrument. His family hosted impressive balls on more special occasions, where diamond-wearing ladies in fancy dress danced with fortune-seeking Spaniards (May, 1993).

Meanwhile, a new middle class emerged in Batangas. Through drive and resourcefulness, small farm holders and entrepreneurs managed to save considerable fortunes. Soon they acquired for themselves properties, invested more in farms or businesses, and sent their children to schools in Manila. They began living in houses within the población and a lifestyle similar to that found in Manila. They gained some influence as petty officials in the government and specialized professional or

occupational skills as notaries, teachers, writers, and artisans in the modern sectors of the economy, like garments, smithies, print shops, and shipping lines. They were not members of the aristocrat because their wealth was still far below those of the elite, but they were neither one of the common peasantries, as they had already managed to rid themselves of the shackles of wretched poverty (May, 1993).

Francisco Guerrero provides a case in point. His parents' names appeared in church records without any title of nobility, suggesting modest living conditions. Neither his parents nor any of his siblings assumed an elective position in Lipa and adjacent towns. He was knowledgeable in accounting and fluent in Spanish. He gained fortune from the coffee business and government positions: cabeza de barangay, a lieutenant in the military, a witness in the tribunal, and a magistrate of livestock. Perhaps these gains were enough to prove his character and to marry Doña Juliana Catigbac, a gobernadorcillo's daughter.

The lower class in Batangas remained in deplorable condition. They lived in constant privations amidst increasing debt. They worked every day with their bare backs and endured the burning sun, the discomfort of rain showers, the rigors of storms, and the excrescences from slime (Retana, 1888). They had no voice in the government, and they served only as instruments for their masters' aggrandizement. They were called for labor and contributions but ignored during banquets and balls (Caedo, 2018).

The lower class's situation was made worse by the inaccessible education and health service. On the one hand, the public education system was lacking. In 1886, out of then 22 towns, nine fell short of providing a school for girls. Out of the 1,509 boys in primary schools, only 167 learned speaking and writing in Spanish (May, 1987). On the other hand, the public health system was ineffective. Locals depended on thiamine-lacking rice. Communities lacked potable water supply. Vaccines were almost certainly inert due to mishandling. In many towns, the crude death rate jumped to more than 75 per 1,000 when cholera broke out in 1883. In most cemeteries,

corpses were piled up like sacks of coffee, one atop the other in heaps (May, 1993; Reyes, 1908).

1889 to 1892: Decline of the coffee industry

The sharp fall in coffee harvest due to pests and diseases began in 1889 until the irreversible loss in 1891 and 1892 (Sastrón, 1895). Trees in Tuy, Lipa, Rosario, San Jose, Nasugbu, Cuenca, Ibaan, and Batangas City became ill and unfruitful. Year by year, farmers uprooted the trees, leaving only a few in their gardens. Lipa lost tremendous wealth, as the jewelry shops and other businesses that rose during the coffee boom also, in turn, faltered and closed shop. San Jose and Rosario could have been exceptionally prosperous if the principal growers were not nearly reduced to small farmers. By 1892, Moriano declared, the Batangas economy was in a precarious state.

The impact can be seen in the Philippine coffee trade. As presented in Table 6, exports plummeted from 6,218,655 kilos in 1889 to 4,479,868 kilos the following year and further to 291,479 kilos only three years after. The value of exports plunged from 2,474,210 pesos in 1889 to 168,742 pesos in 1893, despite the rise of the average unit value of coffee from 397.85 pesos per metric ton in 1889 to 579.87 pesos per metric ton in 1893. On the contrary, imports increased from 69,788 kilos in 1899 to 568,231 kilos in 1905 until the peak in 1910, when they reached 1,193,874 kilos valued at 558,988 pesos (Philippine Commercial Agencies, 1920). From its astonishing emergence as a leading export during the previous quarter, coffee ceased to become a significant article of trade for the Philippines by the end of the century.

TABLE 6. QUANTITY AND VALUE OF PHILIPPINE COFFEE EXPORTS, SELECTED YEARS (1889-1902)

YEAR	VOLUME (Kilos)	VALUE (Pesos)
1889	6,218,655	2,474,210
1890	4,479,868	1,932,380
1891	2,841,530	1,232,022
1892	1,358,374	634,380
1893	291,479	168,742
1894	603,156	355,890
1895	173,270	24,420
1899	34,313	-
1900	13,529	-
1901	30,948	-
1902	7,466	-

Note: From Census of the Philippine Islands 1903: Agriculture, Social and Industrial Statistics *(p. 7) by Bureau of the Census, 1905, Washington: United States Bureau of the Census.*

TABLE 7. QUANTITY AND VALUE OF COFFEE IMPORTS, SELECTED YEARS (1899-1902)

YEAR	VOLUME (Kilos)	VALUE (Pesos)
1899	69,788	68,430
1900	11,049	5,214
1901	10,166	6,550
1902	452,774	178,534
1903	352693	123,472
1905	568,231	229,156
1908	782,940	331,590
1910	1,193,874	558,988

Note: From Economic Resources and Development of the Philippine Islands (p. 32) by the Philippine Commercial Agencies, 1920, United States of America: Philippine Commercial Agencies Publicity Department.

TABLE 8. PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL PHILIPPINE COFFEE EXPORTS, SELECTED YEARS (1890-1895)

	Sugar (Percent)	Abaca	Tobaco	Coffee
1890	33.72	34.77	11.46	7.37
1891	27.29	49.64	10.30	4.58
1892	40.54	36.03	13.23	2.27
1893	46.63	34.72	10.94	0.47
1894	33.11	43.92	9.53	1.07
1895	32.22	34.62	12.08	0.07

Note: From After the Galleons: Foreign Trade, Economic Change, and Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines *(pp. 124-125) by Benito Legarda, Jr., 1999, Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.*

Factors that caused the decline of the coffee industry

The catastrophic decline in the coffee industry occurred with a certain foreboding. In 1888, Lipeños held a grand procession during the annual fiesta. A large crowd filled the plaza. Young men showed off spirited Arabian horses. Allegorical floats paraded along the streets. Most floats carried beautiful ladies, but the float with a robust coffee plant to which prosperity was attributed took special attention. In the following year, Lipeños were shocked to see the coffee trees dying—roots dried up, branches withered away, and flowers failed to bloom. The cause was unknown, the affliction a mystery. The superstitious and religious blamed what they considered sacrilege: parading ladies in floats instead of the images of saints in carrozas, and the almost reverence accorded to coffee

(Katigbak, 1977). What happened, they thought, was a scourge to punish Lipeños (Kalaw, 1965).

Domingo Sanchez (1890) determined the causes: the pests known as *unus, bagombon*, and *dapulac*. Unus is a weevil that produces medium-size, stem- and root-feeding larvae. Bagombon is the larva of a nocturnal lepidopter that attacks leaves, forcing a tree to shed leaves prematurely and reducing its photosynthetic efficiency. Dapulac is a small hemipter that extracts plant sap from leaves, shoots, and buds (Artigas, 1916). These pests had existed in Batangas long before, but the population was small, and the damage was inappreciable. The danger became apparent only in 1889 when the pests spread widely over plantations (Sanchez, 1890).

Luz (1905) pointed to another cause: leaf rust fungus (*Hemileia vastatrix*). To him, this was the last among the plagues, the coup de grace to once-proud industry. In 1891, as if by enchantment, the pests disappeared, and new healthy branches grew. However, right at the beginning of the fructification, yellowish-red spots appeared on the leaves. When the rains fell in May and June, the spots grew to the size of Philippine peseta and formed mildew-looking dust. Leaves dried up and dropped off, leaving the branches bare in December or January until March or April.

Leaf rust fungus originated in Ethiopia and remained therein until the mid-nineteenth century. The first outbreak outside Ethiopia happened in Ceylon in 1869, from where it spread to West Java in 1884, Celebes and Borneo in 1888, and the Philippines in 1890. The life cycle begins through a tiny spore that germinates with water and air temperature between 15 and 28 degrees Celsius. The spore penetrates the leaf and sends shoots into the leaf tissue. Shoots produce buds that pierce back out through the leaf, forming circular orange pustules of powdery spores. Pustules cover the leaves, causing the leaves to fall prematurely and depriving the plant of nutrients. Branches suffer from dieback, and berries fail to develop (McCook, 2019).

Coffee plantations in Batangas were susceptible to these pests. One, Lipa's altitude at 312 meters above sea level made it warm and humid. This condition allowed the fungi to thrive and forced the trees to age faster (Castro, 2003). Two, as Luz (1905, p. 83) stated, most trees were aging, "only one-half of the plantations were bearing, the remainder of the plantations having a life of from one to six years." No single bush was attacked in plantations of one to six-year-old trees, but 60 to 75 percent of the bushes were affected in plantations of over 40-year-old trees. Three, farmers maximized the productivity of their farms too much. They planted as many trees as they could in an area, and they let grow as many branches as possible in a tree. This resulted in intense competition for nutrients and the quick spread of diseases. Four, farmers failed to follow sound agricultural practices. Cleaning was done only once or twice a year, depending on the farmer's interest. Uprooted weeds and cut branches were left on the ground, where pests could grow unhampered. During harvesting, leaves were pulled out, and branches were bent and broken, both of which strained the plant when it should have regained nutrients (Sanchez, 1890).

The epidemic was made worse by the coffee price slash. The supply finally outstripped the demand when the major coffee-producing countries like Brazil flooded the market with too many beans beginning in 1896. The coffee price then fell below 10 cents a pound in 1896 and further down to 6 cents a pound in 1901 (Pendergrast, 2010).

Intervening events posed further challenges. The revolution against Spaniards erupted in 1896 until the declaration of Philippine independence in 1898. Rinderpest ravaged cows and carabaos from the early 1890s until their almost complete decimation in 1902. Without the draft animals, the farmers failed to cultivate as much land as they did before. Untilled land that returned to scrub provided favorable breeding ground for malaria-transmitting mosquitoes. Succumbing to malnutrition and diseases, the crude death rate in Batangas jumped to slightly more than 80 per 1,000. The annual burials in Lipa increased from an average of 1,421 in 1891 to 2,476 in 1900; while in San Jose, from 301 to 833 (May, 1993).

Farmers could not muster enough courage and confidence to revive the dying trees and reinvest in the coffee business.

Consequences of the decline of the industry and responses of the coffee growers

The upper and middle classes lost their source of fortune and pride. Pura Kalaw laments, "With the extinction of the coffee plantations, wealth was extinguished, and Lipa with her pompous title of Villa was on the way to decay" (Katigbak, 2020b). There were attempts to save the plant, but all was in vain, she tells, and what remained were "only the buildings of calcined walls, the murmuring echoes of her past greatness, the sweet legend of the extinct coffee industry." Her husband Teodoro (Kalaw, 1965, p. 5) confirms he heard sneers whenever he went to Manila. Once Don Felipe Calderon asked him, "And so, you are of the class Lipendis. Do your town mates still retain their inordinate pride?" So he agrees, behind the tragic fall was the Divine Providence moving to end arrogance and ostentation. In 1899, a planter's daughter walked through the cathedral nave on bended knees, holding a coffee branch, asking God to lift the scourge. But the coffee boom ultimately was gone forever (Tinio Jr., 2002).

In response, they cleared their coffee farms and began growing other crops. In Lipa, they planted abaca, sugarcane, rice, and corn (Luz, 1905). In Rosario, they grew abaca and cotton. By 1895, Lipa and San Jose were already producing well; Lipa started exporting rice (Sastrón, 1895). These crops did not offer the same profit that coffee did at its peak, but the steady trade was just enough to sustain them amidst the passing adversity (Villa, 2012).

Others planted a different variety of coffee, Liberica (*Coffea liberica*). Resembling a tree, Liberica grows from fifteen to twenty feet. The trunk is thick with a dark-brown bark, and the branches are hard and prolific. The leaves are dark green, large, and leathery, while the flowers are few and devoid of fragrance.

The fruit is extremely large, ellipsoidal, and dull red, with thick, fibrous pulp covering the dark-brown and exceedingly strong flavor beans (Walsh 2015). These salient features are probably why it is called *barako*, which means a macho figure or a wild boar, connoting strength, vigor, and grit (Juan & Mojica, 2005).

Manuel Genato first brought Liberica from Manila to Sitio Abra, Banaybanay, San Jose, in 1891. He set out a three-hectare farm, from where he distributed seeds in Lipa, Rosario, San Pablo, Sariaya, Tiaong, and other adjoining towns (Morada, 1925). Liberica is fit for cultivation in low altitude areas, and it is quite resistant to drought and nematodes (Galang, 1928). Nonetheless, it gained interest only after a few decades, when the Bureau of Agriculture under the American colonial state introduced better variants. In 1902, only 145 hectares in the Batangas were planted to Liberica (Bureau of the Census, 1905). The tragic demise of Arabica might have caused disenchantment that planters sought security before reverting to the coffee business.

Their children engaged in other businesses or occupations. One example is Ramon, son of Manuel Genato. He studied in Manila, London, and Paris, where he secured a degree in accountancy. Upon returning to the Philippines, he helped his father manage their coffee and sugar estates. Soon he was elected member of a tax revision board and later the vice president of the *Compañía de Teléfonos de Manila*. Another example is Felipe, son of Ramon Agoncillo. He finished secondary education at the Ateneo Municipal and obtained a law degree at the University of Santo Tomas. General Emilio Aguinaldo appointed him diplomat of the Philippine Government to Europe when the Philippine Republic was inaugurated in 1898 (Reyes, 1908).

The lower class, as usual, bore the most massive brunt of the scourge. They possessed neither capital to invest in other crops or a different business, nor academic qualification to secure jobs in the poblacion or nearby cities. Their debts increased tremendously when they failed to deliver the harvest whose estimated earnings they had already loaned the year

before the pests attacked. Moriano (1892) says that loans with exorbitant interest rates ruined small farm holders as the harvest plummeted. He also notes the graver condition of aparceros, as the epidemic made more deplorable the seemingly inequitable sharing of produce between them and the landowners.

Nonetheless, they tried to be resilient. They prayed hard, kneeled in front of the church altar or the small altar at their home. They used their pick-axes and sometimes their horses to plow in the absence of cows and carabaos. They planted easy-to-grow crops. Monggo was a substitute in San Jose and Ibaan. Staples like rice and vegetables were for subsistence in Cuenca (Sastrón, 1895).

Conclusion

The coffee industry might have begun in Batangas between the late 18th and early 19th centuries when the global demand for coffee rose and the colonial state developed an economic interest. It grew in the mid-19th century when farms expanded extensively in response to the steady increase of the price of coffee and the enormous amount of capital that flowed into the market. It declined when pests and diseases originating from the nearby coffee-producing countries attacked the aging and ill-tendered trees. Within a century, it led to a social organization composed of traders, planters, farmworkers, all classified in a three-tier class system. The upper and middle classes accumulated capital that they managed to adjust themselves and survive the crisis. The lower class plummeted further into wretched poverty due to exorbitant loan rates and lack of access to social services. The coffee industry in the nineteenth century Batangas was shaped by the Batangueños' responses to the opportunities and threats of the changing global market, colonial politics, and ecology. In the end, it resulted in the meteoric rise of the elites and the deplorable fall of the poor, the boon and the bane of the capitalist system in a colonial province.

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End Notes

[1] The research benefits largely from the family documents collected by Renz Marion Katigbak. These documents include birth, marriage, death, and notarial records from Lipa, Rosario, and San Jose, Batangas.

[2] One ganta is a unit of volume roughly equivalent to 2 quarts (Castro, 2003).

[3] Praxedes Villa (2012) said coffee production in Lipa considerably increased 60 years after local officials encouraged coffee propagation in 1808. Batangueños might have recognized the economic value of coffee only during the 3rd quarter of the century when there was a significant increase in the demand for Philippine coffee and in its price in the market.

[4] One *pie* is equivalent to 0.278 meters (Francisco, 2002).

[5] A pico is a unit of weight equivalent to 60 kilograms (Castro, 2003).

[6] Castro (2003) stated that coffee exportation in the Philippines began in 1818, as reported by Henry Piddington (1828) in the "Remarks on the Philippine Islands and on their Capital Manila, 1819 to 1822." However, without mentioning his source, W. Cheong (1971) provided a different year: 1819. Perhaps Cheong used the same source but he made a mistake given the report's title.

[7] Neither one of the recipients of the award was from Batangas. The reason might be that the coffee industry in Batangas during this period was just starting quite late compared to the coffee industry in Cavite and Laguna.

[8] Simeon Luz (1905), former Governor of Batangas, stated that the large-scale coffee cultivation in Lipa and the adjoining municipalities began in 1859 when the Philippine coffee began to command a high price in the market and the farmers appreciated its economic importance. His father, Don Jose Luz, was one of Lipa's most active and

enthusiastic planters, who gave impetus to the coffee industry.

[9] One braza is equivalent to 2.794 square meter (Francisco, 2002).

[10] The three-tier social class system in Batangas that the research presents is based on Kalaw's observation on Lipa during his childhood years, 1889-1895. Kalaw noted that the families in Lipa belonged to Classes I (upper class), II (middle class), and III (lower class). Glen May and Bel Castro adopted this social classification in their pioneering research on Batangas.