Evolution of Plantations, Migration, and Population Growth in Nilgiris and Coorg (South India)

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Evolution of Plantations, Migration, and Population Growth in Nilgiris and Coorg (South India)

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Abstract

Coorg and Nilgiris are among the most important plantation districts of South India. The similarities and differences between the two regarding the evolution of plantations, in-migration, and population growth and composition are described. A map of plantations – just a hundred years old – by Clements R. Markham *is examined in detail. The emphasis is put on the relationship between plantation development and population growth since about 1850. The long periods of continued in-migration have transformed Nilgiris and Coorg into miniature plural societies.*

INTRODUCTION

The districts of Nilgiris and Coorg, studied in this paper, are thoroughly atypical in the Indian context. Situated in the western part of South India (see fig. 1), each of the dictricts stands out markedly against the surrounding areas. *Krebs* (1939) and *Spate* (1957) give brief general descriptions of both.

Coorg (properly: Kodagu) is part of the Western Ghats, and most of the district has a rugged topography. To the west it is separated by the Ghats scarp from the coastal plains of Malabar and South Kanara. The eastern part of the district, however, forms a continuation of the Mysore plateau. The elevation ranges mostly from 800 to 1200 metres. With an area of just 4,106 km² Coorg was a separate state until the administrative reorganization in 1956, when it was included as a district under the new, enlarged Mysore State. Its separateness is not only a matter of history; the individuality of

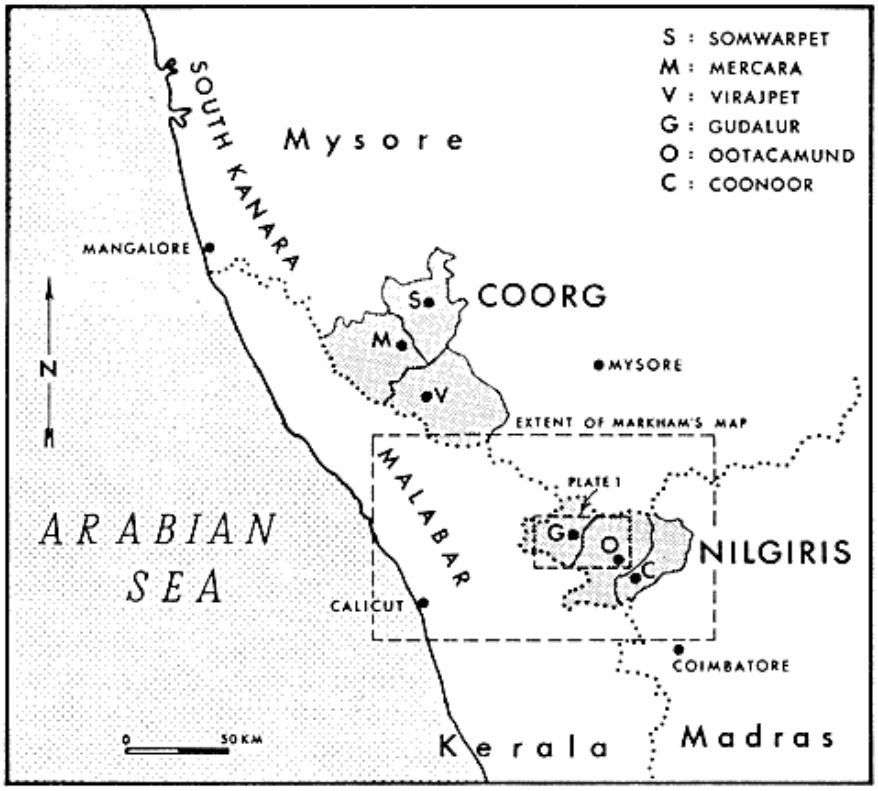

Fig. 1. Sketch map showing the situation of the two districts under study. In either district the taluks are indicated as well as the names of the headquarters. Further the map shows the extent of Clements R. Markham's map from 1866, and of the section reproduced on full scale as plate 1 (inside the back cover).

Fig. 1. Oversigtskort, der viser de to undersøgte distrikters lokalisering. I hvert distrikt er talukgrænserne anført tillige med navnet på talukcentret. Kortet viser endvidere udstrækningen af Clements R. Markham's kort fra 1866 og det udsnit, der er reproduceret i original målestok som planche 1 (bagi heftet).

the Coorgs (fig. 2) and the peculiarity of their culture are stressed by all authors, notably *Srinivas* (1952).

The Nilgiris are a series of ridges with the general character of a rolling plateau at an average altitude of 1500–2400 metres. The plateau is bounded in all directions by a steep precipice, isolating it from the adjoining Mysore and Coimbatore plateaus. A number of physical features are discussed by *Krebs* (1933). The Nilgiris District (2,548 km²) comprises the true Nilgiris – meaning "Blue Mountains" – as well as a portion of the Mysore-plateau known as Nilgiri-Wynaad (almost co-extensive with Gudalur taluk, cf. fig. 1) with an average elevation of 900–1200 metres. It belongs to the Madras State, but differs greatly from the other districts of the state in regard to population, history, and economy.

The two districts have one feature in common, the importance of plantations. All the major plantation crops of India, tea, coffee, and rubber, are cultivated in both districts, rubber, however, only to a limited extent. Coorg has a quarter of the Indian coffee acreage and a third of the output of coffee. Nilgiris has more than a quarter of South India's tea acreage and -production as well as a considerable area under coffee. A broad survey of the plantation economy in South India by *Dupuis* (1957) contains much interesting, if somewhat disjointed, information on Nilgiris and Coorg.

With all the differences between the two districts, the predominance in both of the plantation economy, with its geographical conditions and consequences, makes a comparison challenging. Moreover the small size of both districts, their proximity (just 50 km apart), and the comparatively well-defined geographical limitation of each against the surrounding areas, make the two districts suited for a comparative regional study. A further incentive was the fact that neither Coorg nor the Nilgiris had previously been subjected to any comprehensive geographical study.

An investigation of this type, accomplished in 1963–64, resulted in an unpublished dissertation, mentioned in an earlier paper (*Folke*, 1965), which outlined the methodological approach and general scope of the study. The present paper treats the history of plantation development and population growth, closely interrelated in both Nilgiris and Coorg. While it is not in line with the analytical framework propounded in the paper mentioned above, it is an offspring of the investigation and provides a historical perspective on the situation to be analysed in forthcoming papers.

EVOLUTION OF PLANTATIONS

The population growth of Nilgiris and Coorg is closely connected to the evolution of plantations and vice versa. The starting point, however, was very different in the two districts and the development of plantations followed courses which had little in common. Natural and cultural factors alike have been responsible for the differences. Altitude and climate (not dealt with in this paper) have certainly been determinants of first order. But population may be the most interesting differential factor. The population comprises entrepreneurs as well as labourers and is itself greatly influenced by the plantation economy. The historical perspective here presented emphasizes the human factor.

Fig. 2. Coorgs in the traditional dress worn at all festive occasions. The Coorgs, regarding themselves as Kshatriyas, speak a dialect of their own, Kodagi (Coorgi), and have a peculiar culture. (Mercara, Coorg, 16.4.1964).

Fig. 2. Coorgs i deres traditionelle klædedragt, som bæres ved festlige lejligheder. Coorgs betragter sig som Kshatriyas (krigerkasten), taler deres egen dialekt, Kodagi (Coorgi), og har en særpræget kultur.

Coorg

The Introduction and Spread of Coffee

The history of plantations in Coorg started in mid-19th century. Coffee is generally believed to have been introduced into India from Arabia by a muslim pilgrim Baba Budan some time in the 17th century. The first large-scale coffee plantations in South India were established around 1830 in the mountains named Bababudangiri after him and situated just north of Coorg, and in Wynaad just south of Coorg. *Buchanan* (1807) reports on a visit in 1801 to a plantation in Malabar where coffee is grown, but this much-quoted instance of early coffee cultivation, like its predecessors, appears to have been on a very small scale.

A decline of production in the West Indies furthered development in South India. The natural conditions for coffee cultivation seemed favourable, as against those of Bengal, which by 1832 had some 4,000 acres under coffee (*Royle,* 1840), later abandoned. According to several authors (e.g. *Muthanna,* 1953, who presents a list of some

of the pioneer planters) the first coffee estate in Coorg was established in 1854 near Mercara by an English planter. Other Europeans followed his example, but also Coorgs were among the pioneers. According to settlement records coffee output was more than 500 tons already in 1857. *Markham* (1862) stated the then number of European plantations as "more than a dozen" with an aggregate coffee acreage of "several thousand". An account of the early coffee planting in Coorg is given by *Elliot* (1894).

The cultivation of coffee, that is *Coffea arabica,* spread rapidly in the sixties and seventies. Many authors readily give exact acreage figures, but these must be taken with a grain of salt. The distinction between lands designated for coffee and plots actually planted is by no means certain. Thus *Bidie* (1869) puts the total area cleared of forest "to make way for coffee" at about 20,000 acres, while "Coorg District Gazetteer" (new edition, used in manuscript) states the "acreage under coffee" in 1870 as 76,275. The discrepancy is obvious. The table quoted in "Coorg District Gazetteer" is grossly misleading since the early figures – reaching their maximum, 83,048 acres, in 1878 – undoubtedly include areas designated for coffee, but not planted, whereas later figures pertain to the planted area only. In view of this – but conversely to a widely held notion – it is highly probable that the coffee acreage of Coorg has never been greater than today. The most reliable coffee acreage statistics used to be those compiled by the revenue authorities whom *Muthanna* (1953) quotes for the following table:

Table 1. Coffee in Coorg, 1875–76

	Area planted	Area unplanted	Area assessed
Europeans	24,669 acres	24,006 acres	48,675 acres
Indians	18,481 „	13,879 „	32,360 „
Total	43,150 „	37,885 „	81,035 „

The table is interesting because it shows that Indians, largely Coorgs, at an early date played the rôle of entrepreneurs in coffee planting. This is a notable exception in the plantation history of Europeans colonies.

Coffee Decline and Revival

In the years from 1878 to 1883 coffee industry flourished in Coorg. In 1884, however, large quantities of Brazilian coffee were thrown on the world market with a resulting decline in prices. The situation

changed several times in the following decades. Attacks by the white coffee stem borer *(Xylotrechus quadripes)* and the leaf fungus *(Hemileia vastatrix)* became prevalent and after the turn of the century numerous plantations were abandoned because of financial difficulties, pests etc. The small planters with limited resources were hardest hit.

The decline is to some extent reflected in a reduction of the coffee acreage. According to the Census of India, 1911, the area under mature coffee went down from 58,393 acres in 1901 to 43,636 acres in 1910. It was further reduced in the following decade and in 1921 the census reported that "coffee is now worked only by Europeans and a handful of well-to-do Indian planters". This period, however, saw an important innovation, namely the introduction of the Hemileia-resistant Robusta *(Coffea canephora)*, which later became dominant in South Coorg.

Nevertheless, during the next twenty years the coffee acreage remained almost constant. In 1940 the "Indian Coffee Market Expansion Board" (later "Coffee Board") was established and since then the situation has greatly improved. After Independence most European estates were taken over by Indians, only a very few remaining on European private or company hands. The coffee acreage again increased from 42,985 acres in 1950–51 ("Handbook of Coorg Census, 1951") to 65,982 acres in 1958–59 ("Indian Coffee Statistics 1958–59"). The latter figure corresponds to 24 % of the total Indian coffee acreage. The production of coffee reached 15,695 tons in the same year, which is 34 % of the Indian total.

Other Plantation Crops

At the time of crisis around the turn of the century experiments were made with various other tree crops, but without much success. Many estates replaced some of the coffee with tea and rubber *(Hevea brasiliensis)*, but the climate appeared to be unsuitable for both. The failure is proved by their relative insignificance today, rubber: 3,385 acres (mainly on the lower western slopes of the district) and tea: 440 acres (1963–64). Even cinchona has been tried out near Mercara *(Markham,* 1880), but unsuccessfully.

A "plantation" crop which has been important for centuries is cardamom *(Elettaria cardamomum)*. Some details of the quantity and quality of Coorg cardamom are provided by *Buchanan* (1807). "Coorg District Gazetteer" gives the present area under this crop as 14,419 acres, but this is very uncertain. Part of it is spread in

the forests and under a very extensive type of cultivation amounting to little more than collecting the fruits. Cardamom is mostly grown by small peasants, rarely as the major crop in plantations. The same is true with oranges *(Citrus reticulata)* and pepper *(Piper nigrum)*, which are common as subsidiary crops in the coffee estates.

Nilgiris

The Introduction of Tea, Coffee, and Cinchona

In the Nilgiris plantation history has been quite different from that of Coorg. As a matter of fact it resembles much more the history of plantation development in Ceylon (cf. *McCune*, 1949). It started in the 1830's soon after the mountains had been discovered by the British, but subsequent development was slower than in Coorg. When in 1833 the *East India Company* lost its monopoly of the China tea trade, experiments with tea cultivation were carried out both in North and South India. *Royle* (1840) gives a detailed and interesting account of the reflections and decisions behind these first attempts at cultivation. Experiments in the Nilgiris were moderately successful, but tea-growing on a commercial scale was not taken up until much later.

According to several authors the first coffee estate in the Nilgiris was established in 1838 near Coonoor by an Englishman. (It should be noted that a coincidence of particulars furnished by different authors cannot be taken as a proof of facts because of the widespread habit of copying each other's writings and especially the gazetteers). Captain *John Ouchterlony's* survey report from 1847 stated that "Numerous plantations of coffee trees are scattered about the Hills, principally situated on the slopes descending to the plains, where the elevation suitable for the growth of this shrub can be obtained" (here quoted from *Francis*, 1908). The area under coffee in the Nilgiris was estimated "not to exceed 280 acres on the eastern side, and 300 acres on the western". The report points out that the elevation, often more than 1500 metres, is a problem for the cultivation, and directs the planters' attenion to the lower lying area, which is now known as Nilgiri-Wynaad (Gudalur taluk).

In 1845 *James Ouchterlony*, brother of the Captain, began opening up this virgin land, which soon became of paramount importance. A vivid description of the difficulties encountered by the pioneers and their successors is given by *Wilkes* (1953). By 1866–67 the coffee acreage was returned as 13,500 (*Francis*, 1908), a figure that must be viewed with the usual reservation.

In 1861 a third plantation crop had been introduced into the Nilgiris, namely cinchona. The first seeds (largely of *Cinchona calisaya)* transferred from the Peruvian Andes to India via England were planted in January 1861 at Dodabetta near Ootacamund (*Markham,* 1862). Due to travel delays and other adverse circumstances all the plants died. Subsequent consignments (mainly of *C. succirubra* and *C. officinalis)* which arrived in 1861–62, however, came out more successfully and yielded material for the propagation. By 1866 the area under cinchona may have been around 507 acres (*Swamy,* 1953), but *Francis* (1908) warns that official figures were conflicting and unreliable.

Markham's Map of Plantations, 1866

A unique source of information about the extent and location at that time of plantations in the Nilgiris and adjoining areas owes its existence to the zeal of *Clements Robert Markham,* who brought the first cinchona seeds from Peru to Ootacamund. Detailed accounts of the considerations behind the transfer and of the travels to South America and India are found in *Markham* (1862 and 1880). The rôle of Markham (who was for long Secretary and later President of the *Royal Geographical Society)* in this venture has been aptly studied by *Williams* (1963). In this context Markham's observations in the area under investigation are of greater interest. They resulted in an outstanding, but hitherto unnoticed, map, *"Map of the Neilgherries, Koondahs and Wynaad to illustrate the progress of Chinchona Cultivation up to July, 1866, by Clements R. Markham"*. A section of this map, just a hundred years old, has been reproduced on full scale (plate 1 inside the back cover) by permission of the Royal Geographical Society, London. The extent of the whole map and that of the section reproduced are shown on fig. 1.

The map contains a wealth of information. It has signs for roads, teak plantations, coffee plantations, and chinchona (authentic spelling!) plantations. By the latter sign are also indicated "Coffee or Tea estates with Chinchona plants growing on them". But Markham further comments on a number of features which are not in the reference. The section reproduced shows many interesting details.

The cinchona plantations are largely confined to the Nilgiri Hills. Near Ootacamund is the pioneer Dodabetta plantation (southeastern corner). Close to Neddiwattam (Naduvattam) Bungalow (centre) is a huge cinchona plantation, the extent of which must be grossly

exaggerated or at least can be only partly planted up. A section of this is called *Markham Plantation* since Markham himself selected this plot for the cultivation (*Markham,* 1862). Curiously enough a jail is marked on the plantation as well as on the second Dodabetta Plantation. This hints at the labour problem; some of the work was done by convicts (*Markham,* 1880). These plantations and Wood Plantation were all run by the Government, but several private cinchona plantations can be seen on the map with the owner's name attached. This incidentally discredits *Francis* (1908), who dates the first privately owned plantations to 1867.

Much more numerous are the coffee plantations, all situated on the lower lying plateau. Very prominent are the earlier mentioned *Ouchterlony Valley Estates.* A huge (45 sq.miles), rectangular chunk of land is shown as granted to Mr. Ouchterlony by the Nelemboor (Nilambur) Rajah. *Wilkes* (1953) provides some interesting remarks on the terms of this grant and the disputes between Mr. Ouchterlony and his neighbour, Captain Godfrey, owner of the only plantation with cinchona shown on the plateau. One company, the *Moyaar Coffee Company* owned a number of estates, but the remainder appear to have belonged to individual proprietors. The majority are easily identified by their British names, but also a few "native" estates are indicated.

Two tea plantations are found in the hill area, "Mr. Rae's Tea Estate" (sign for coffee!) east of the "Markham Plantation" and "Captn. Jennings (Chincona & Tea)" adjoining the Dodabetta plantations. Apart from these two there is only one more tea plantation on Markham's map, namely "Captain Mann's Tea Estate" near Coonoor (outside the reproduced section). It would be interesting to know if these were actually the only ones of any significance then existing. *Francis* (1908) has Mr. Mann and Mr. Rae as the pioneers, but mentions a couple of apparently smaller tea plantations existing by 1863. However, the total area under tea by 1869 is given as barely "some 200 or 300 acres".

Negative inference from the map may on the whole be rather unsafe. Evidently the particulars furnished are greatly influenced by Markham's travel routes, described in great detail in *Markham* (1862 and 1880). The condition of many roads and bridges is stated. The number of details, however, varies from one part to another. An amusing instance of his observations is found in the northern part of the section reproduced, next to Tippoo-cardoo (a name that explains today's obscure "Teppekadu" as derived from the name of

Tippu Sultan). Here are suddenly indicated twelve small streams crossing the road he has passed along. Similar river densities are naturally found elsewhere, but just not marked on the map.

The information given about estates shown on the map seems on the other hand quite reliable, even if their location is not exact. Many of the old plantations still exist, some yielding the same crop and some even carrying the same name. This applies to the reminiscenses of the Government cinchona plantations at Dodabetta and Naduvattam. Mr. Rae's tea estate, now known as "Dunsandle", is still under tea. Most of the estates in Ouchterlony Valley are now owned by a company of that name and partly under coffee, partly under tea (cf. figs. 3 & 4 in *Folke,* 1965). The majority of coffee estates around Devalacotta (western margin) have been turned into tea, but "Glenrock" is a rubber estate under the same name. While changes of crop and ownership have been numerous, a certain locational inertia has prevailed.

Cinchona and Gold: Boom and Collapse

During the 1870's the coffee acreage expanded and reached 25,000 acres in 1879 according to *Francis* (1908), while *Markham* (1880) has 19,600 acres "and 8,961 more taken up". The output was 4,600 tons (all Arabica) in that year. As in Coorg the recession started in the early eighties and partly for the same reasons, pest, disease, and competition from Brazil. Two additional factors, however, contributed to the decline and were responsible for the complete ruin of a large number of coffee estates. One is the cinchona boom and the other the discovery of gold in Nilgiri-Wynaad.

Whereas the Government's cinchona cultivation expanded only slowly, the private plantations developed at a much faster rate. Thus by 1880 the cinchona acreage in the Government plantations was just 848 (*Markham,* 1880). The wholesale price of quinine had then soared to £9.12.0 per pound and private planters rushed into cinchona cultivation. A number of coffee estates in the Nilgiri Hills were converted into cinchona plantations. Acreage and production figures are conflicting; *Francis* (1908) gives the area of private cinchona plantations by 1884 as 4,000 acres with an output of bark put at 243,000 lbs. against 116,000 lbs. in the Government plantations. But the cinchona boom was of short duration. The market was glutted by over-production in Java and Ceylon and by 1888 the price had dropped to £1.12.0 per pound. Many trees never reached the productive age, and in the following decades most private cin-

chona plantations were abandoned or turned into tea estates. The Government plantations, however, survived and today (1964) cover an area of 528 acres.

Equally fatal for the coffee cultivation were the discoveries of gold in the Devala area of Nilgiri-Wynaad (cf. Markham's map, western margin). *Francis* (1908) describes the farcical gold boom which followed. Prospecting started in 1874 and a moderately optimistic report from 1875 paved the way for another, which in 1879 uncritically anticipated a lucrative development. This released a feverish speculation in England. 1879–1881 saw the establishment of no less than 41 mining companies with a total (nominal) capital of over £4 million. Numerous coffee estates in Nilgiri-Wynaad were taken over by the mining companies, prices ranging from £70 to £2,600 per acre. Among the plantations shown on Markham's map at least Cherambody, Wentworth, Glenrock, Harewood, Maryland, Strathern, and Balcarras shared this fate (these are all mentioned by *Wilkes,* 1953). A virtual Klondyke atmosphere developed:

"Nearly every planter in the Wynaad began to look up the reefs on his estate, mining experts abounded (one of these was a quondam baker and another a retired circus clown) who reported on properties which sometimes they had never seen, and one at least of which did not exist. From little clusters of native huts, Devala and Pandalur blossomed suddenly into busy mining centres with rows of substantial buildings, post and telegraph offices, a hotel, a store for the valuable quartz that was to be extracted, a saloon and a well attended race meeting on the course laid out round the paddy flat at Pandalur". (*Wilkes,* 1953).

The collapse came after July 1881, when a crushing revealed that the gold content was far below the limit which could be profitably exploited. Immediately shares dropped several hundred per cent and in the next years the mining companies went into liquidation. But the coffee estates never revived.

Twentieth Century: The Dominance of Tea

As in Ceylon the decline of the coffee and cinchona industries in the Nilgiris induced the planters to try new crops, first of all tea and to a small extent rubber. But unlike Ceylon where coffee was virtually extinguished Nilgiris remained a coffee-growing district. The collapse in Nilgiri-Wynaad was counterbalanced by new plantings in the southern parts of the Nilgiris. Indeed, the area under coffee by 1907 is given – with the usual warning – by *Francis* (1908) as 26,000

acres, which is an increase of 1,000 acres over 1879. One fourth of this was in Gudalur taluk, 5,000 acres alone in Ouchterlony Valley, at that time consolidated in one huge privately owned plantation (according to "Settlement – Resettlement, The Nilgiri and Malabar Wynaad", 1926). But coffee never regained its pre-eminence in the Nilgiris. Today the coffee acreage is almost the same as 50 or 75 years ago, namely 25,010 acres or 9 % of the total coffee acreage in India ("Indian Coffee Statistics 1958–59"). The production was 1,930 tons in the same year, only 4 % of the Indian total.

The vicissitudes of a particular plantation industry are only to some extent reflected in variations in the acreage figures. Though often not to be relied upon they are in general more readily available, complete, and reliable than production figures which would better indicate the short-term fluctuations. A third set of data that may be used are employment figures. Such are available in the censuses, but not generally comparable. However, they can be applied to show the change of emphasis from coffee to tea in the Nilgiris.

The development of tea plantations on a large scale commenced in the 1890's. Numerous cinchona plantations in the Nilgiris and former coffee plantations mainly in Nilgiri-Wynaad were converted into tea estates. Besides, new areas were cleared for tea planting. Companies played an important rôle in this development, while hitherto private planters had been predominant. Around 1900 the area under tea was about 6,000 acres, out of which 2,000 acres in Nilgiri-Wynaad.

In the first decades of the twentieth century tea replaced coffee as the primary plantation crop of the district. The planters realized that altitude, rainfall, and soil in the greater part of Nilgiris were favourable for the cultivation of tea. This significantly contrasts with the experiences of Coorg planters. Hence the acreage under tea steadily increased: 1920, 13,000; 1930, 20,000; 1940, 27,000; 1953, 40,000 (approximate figures, various sources). But census employment figures in 1901 and 1931 are more revealing, though they must be interpreted with caution:

Table 2. Employment in Nilgiris in:

	Coffee cultivation	Tea cultivation	Coffee & tea cultiv.
1901	15,503	2,712	–
1931	4,014	20,698	1,632

The tendency is quite clear and valid enough, though casual factors such as the slump and the seasonal character of coffee labour (cf. below) may have abnormally deflated the 1931 figure for coffee employment. No doubt, the district's suitability for tea cultivation is an important factor behind the stagnation of coffee growing, and the tendency to substitute tea for coffee has continued until the present day. In 1962 the area under tea was double the coffee acreage, namely 51,613 acres ("Tea Statistics", 1963), and production in the same year was 23,253 tons. Both acreage and production correspond to 28 % of the total for South India.

Rubber cultivation, which was introduced on the southern slopes of the district in the beginning of this century, remains relatively insignificant. The area under *Hevea* is only 605 acres (1963–64).

Entrepreneurs

The history of plantations in the Nilgiris differs from that of Coorg in one important respect already touched upon. Right from the beginning Indians played an important rôle as entrepreneurs in the development of plantations in Coorg. In Nilgiris on the other hand the entrepreneurs were almost exclusively Europeans. There were exceptions as for instance the "native estates" on Markham's map. But the indigenous population consisting of tribes like the Badagas, Irulas, Kurumbas, and Paniyans (cf. below) were – unlike the Coorgs – not in a position to provide the financial, organizational, and technical foundation essential for the establishment of plantations.

Today, however, the Badagas (fig. 3) do participate in the cultivation of both tea and coffee, although on a very small scale. This development which started around 1920 can be taken as evidence of the important function of the plantations as innovation centres. Similarly in Coorg there are large numbers of coffee small growers. The vital distinction between plantation and small grower will be discussed in a forthcoming paper. Suffice it to note that the distinction has not generally been employed in this paper, as unfortunately the statistics of acreage, production, and occupation do not usually make any such distinction.

Until the Second World War European (largely British) individuals and companies entirely dominated the plantation economy of the Nilgiris. Since Independence, however, Indian capital has gained momentum. The number of European proprietary estates is now negligible and the majority of company-owned estates are on

Fig. 3. Badagas, three generations. The old people wear their usual dress. Their culture differs in many ways from the hindu norm. They carry on a specialized agriculture, the women doing most of the field work. Their language is classified as a separate dialect. Generally considered tribal, they are not among the Scheduled Tribes of the Indian Constitution, nor are they materially backward. (Kilkundah, Nilgiris, 5.5.1964).

Fig. 3. Badagas, tre generationer. De ældre bærer den sædvanlige klædedragt. Deres kultur afviger på mange områder fra den hinduistiske norm. De driver et specialiseret agerbrug, hvor kvinderne udfører størsteparten af markarbejdet. Deres sprog er en særlig dialekt. Sædvanligvis regnes de for stammefolk, men de er ikke materielt tilbagestående.

Indian hands. Nevertheless, European capital still is much more important in Nilgiris than in Coorg. This is a consequence of the differences in history and crops. European interests have always been greater in tea than in coffee (cf. *Buchanan,* 1934), but on the whole they are smaller in Nilgiris than in other important tea districts of South India.

POPULATION GROWTH AND COMPOSITION

The population factor is in two ways related to the evolution of plantations in Coorg and Nilgiris. Large-scale migration and rapid population growth have been fundamental preconditions for the plantation development. Conversely, the evolution of plantations is the most important factor underlying the population growth, and its cumulative repercussions go a long way to explain the present composition of both districts' populations. It is in this perspective the population features have been studied here, and it may be wise to premise a remark to the effect that possibly the particular

point of view has resulted in a slight exaggeration of those relationships which have been investigated.

The present study deals with population growth, occupation, and in-migration as reflected in statistics of birthplace and mother tongue. Further the age and sex structures are touched upon. In all matters Coorg and Nilgiris differ considerably from the surrounding districts. In some respects they are alike, but there are significant differences between the two.

The source material was obtained almost exclusively from the decennial Census of India. In the preface to his Standard Geography on India *Spate* (1957) exclaimed: "... anyone who has ever dealt with the statistics of the sub-continent will know the malign influence of the three Bad Fairies, Not Available, Not Comparable, Not Reliable". This certainly applies to dealings with the Indian censuses, and it was felt as a problem in this investigation. Nevertheless, it must be conceded that the quantity and quality of census data have been steadily improving from decade to decade (excepting possibly the 1941 census), and the census of 1961 is in all respects a magnificent achievement.

Coorg: Stagnation and Growth

Coorg has been inhabited for centuries, perhaps millenniums by a rice-cultivating people. It came under British rule in 1834. Early population figures are furnished by *Muthanna* (1953) who puts the total at 125,000 in 1851 and 128,352 in 1861, whereas *Markham* (1862) had 119,160. These are probably all underestimates, though Muthanna's figures may not be far from the correct ones. In any case the decade 1861–1871, associated with expansion of coffee planting, witnessed rapid population growth. At the time of the First Imperial Census in 1871 (generally considered of doubtful reliability) the number of inhabitants was 168,312, which corresponded to 41 per km². This figure remained almost stationary for the following seventy years. Fig. 4 shows the populations of Coorg 1871–1961, of the two main, although very small, towns Mercara and Virajpet 1881–1961, and of the two taluks North and South Coorg 1901–51. In 1953 the three present taluks (cf. fig. 1) were created out of the two, so figures from 1961 are not comparable to those of earlier years. The taluk break-up only shows that development has been remarkably parallel in the North and South. The only discrepancy, 1931–1941, is nominal, resulting from an administrative transfer in 1938 between North and South Coorg.

As mentioned earlier, coffee planting reached a provisional peak around 1880. The stagnation and decline of the following several decades can indirectly be ascribed to the state of the coffee industry. In the half-century 1881–1931 (examined by *Geddes,* 1941 and 1942) in which the population of India rose by 39 %, the number of inhabitants in Coorg declined by 8 %. Of course other factors have been more directly operative, notably malaria, which was effectively controlled only after the Second World War (*Muthanna,* 1953). But the Census Reports again and again stress the connection between the vicissitudes of coffee planting and population increase or decrease.

In the decade 1871–81, when the coffee industry flourished, the number of inhabitants increased by 10,000. The minute fluctuations from the general trend of stagnation during the following decades can be largely ascribed to casual factors. A great problem in all censuses of the *de facto* type is the seasonal migrant labour, present only for a few months when the coffee is picked. Thus, the 1881–91 decline was due to the coffee harvest being late in the former and early in the latter year. Because of this difference the majority of migrant labourers were enumerated in Coorg in 1881 and in their home districts in 1891. Again in 1901 the coffee harvest was late, hence the slight increase 1891–1901. It is interesting to note that the poor state of coffee planting was reflected even stronger in the towns than in the district as a whole. In Mercara and Virajpet the population decreased considerably from 1881 to 1921. The steep fall in Mercara between 1881 and 1891, however, was due to the withdrawal of a garrison.

Not until around 1941 begins the rapid population expansion, as revealed by the sharp bends on all curves (fig. 4). Parenthetically it may be noted that the census of 1941 was the first census to use a modified *de jure* method. In the whole of India the period 1941–61 has witnessed a rapid population growth, the over-all increase being 38 %. In Coorg, however, the increase was 91 %, and the only possible explanation lies in large-scale migration (analysed in detail below). As mentioned earlier the coffee planting has had a revival after 1940, and the migration has mainly been directed towards the coffee estates.

It may be emphasized that urban growth accounts for only an insignificant part of the total. The aggregate urban population of Coorg in 1961 ("Urban (2)" on fig. 4) was just 42,689. This included the two main towns, Mercara and Virajpet ("Urban (1)") as well

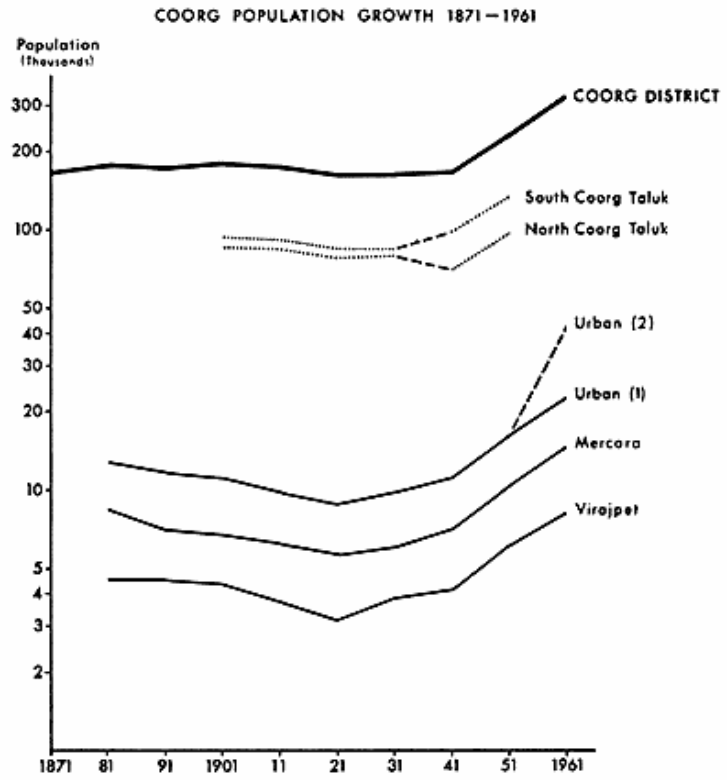

Fig. 4. Population growth in Coorg 1871-1961. Semi-logarithmic scale. The two taluks were reorganized into three (fig. 1) after 1951. By "Urban (1)" is indicated the population aggregate of the two main towns Mercara and Virajpet. "Urban (2)" includes all the ten settlements classified as urban in the 1961 census. Dashed lines indicate incomparability due to inter-censal administrative changes. Source: Census of India.

Fig. 4. Folketallet i Coorg 1871-1961. Semi-logaritmisk skala. De to taluks blev reorganiseret til de tre nuværende (fig. 1) efter 1951. „Urban (1)" markerer folketallet for de to største byer Mercara og Virajpet. „Urban (2)" omfatter alle de ti bebyggelser, der blev klassificeret som „urban" i folketællingen 1961. Hvor administrative ændringer gør folketællingerne usammenlignelige, er dette vist med stiplede linjer. Kilde: Census of India.

as eight small "Notified Areas" (included in "Urban (2)") classified as rural in the census of 1951, but as urban in that of 1961.

Nilgiris: Steady Growth

The colonization of the Nilgiris started late. The map of *Buchanan* (1807) is devoid of place names in the area occupied by the present district. He reports, nevertheless, on a visit he paid on the 25th October 1800 to a small village in the hills near "Dan' Nayakana Cotay", a fort close to the confluence of the Bhavani and Moyar rivers. The village is clearly in Nilgiris, and Buchanan gives an interesting description of its inhabitants, the "Eriligaru" (Irulas). But it was not until 1812 that the first Englishmen reached the top of

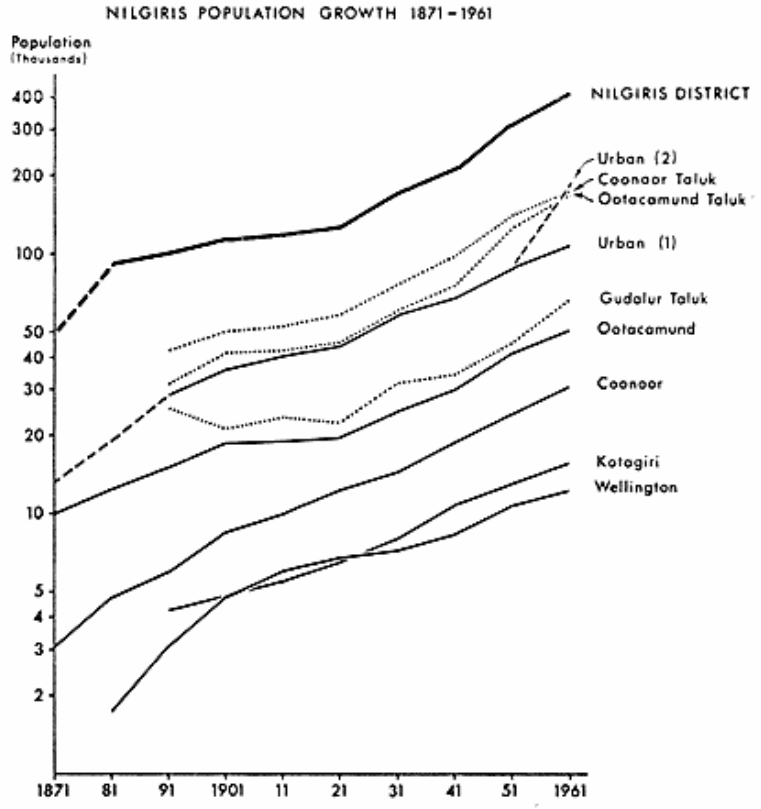

Fig. 5. Population growth in Nilgiris 1871-1961. Semi-logarithmic scale. By "Urban (1)" is indicated the population aggregate of the main towns, i.e. Ootacamund, Coonoor, Kotagiri, and Wellington (all four only from 1891). "Urban (2)" includes the population of all the thirteen areas classified as urban in the 1961 census. Administrative or classificatory changes are indicated by dashed lines. Source: Census of India.

Fig. 5. Folketallet i Nilgiris 1871-1961. Semi-logaritmisk skala. „Urban (1)" markerer folketallet i de største byer Ootacamund, Coonoor, Kotagiri og Wellington (alle fire kun fra 1891). „Urban (2)" omfatter alle de tretten områder, der blev klassificeret som „urban" i 1961. Administrative eller klassifikatoriske ændringer er vist med stiplede linjer. Kilde: Census of India.

the Nilgiris. Ten years later the first European, Mr. Sullivan, settled down in "Wotokymund" (Ootacamund).

At that time the Nilgiris were sparsely populated indeed. Scattered in the forests and grasslands lived various backward tribes, Toda, Kota, Irula, Kurumba, and Badaga. It is beyond the scope of this paper to describe these interesting tribes which have attracted the attention of numerous ethnographers. *Thurston* (1909) compiled a huge amount of descriptive material. Among the tribes mentioned above the first four are regarded as the aborigines of the Nilgiris, while the Badagas are said to have in-migrated from Mysore some time between the 12th and 16th centuries (*Francis*, 1908).

Grigg (1880) gives some early population figures for the Nilgiris.

An enumeration in 1821 reached a total of just 4,353 inhabitants. Though this is likely to be an underestimate it does throw in relief the subsequent population growth, so intimately related to the development of plantations already described. In 1847 the population of the district exceeded 17,000 out of whom more than half were migrants and their descendants.

Fig. 5 shows the population growth of Nilgiris 1871–1961 (in 1871 only the mountainous part of the present district), of the four main towns, Ootacamund, Coonoor, Kotagiri, and Wellington, and of the three taluks 1891–1961 (the taluks are indicated in fig. 1). The First Imperial Census in 1871 recorded a population total of 49,501, including 19,476 Badagas and 3,888 Todas, Kotas, Irulas and Kurumbas, while the rest belonged to groups in-migrated after 1821.

In 1873 Ouchterlony Valley and in 1877 South East Wynaad (cf. Markham's map), together known as Nilgiri-Wynaad, were added to the Nilgiris district. Hence figures for 1871 and 1881 are not comparable. However, a deduction can be made, and the decennial increase in the old part of the district comes out at 33 %. This compares with a population decline 1871–81 in the entire Madras Presidency due to the famine in 1877–78, which did not affect the Nilgiris, except that this district exerted an extra pull on the starving people pushed off from the plains. With booming coffee and cinchona industries Nilgiris could easily absorb the population increase.

The following decade 1881–91 saw the collapse of the coffee, gold, and cinchona booms. The population, however, did not cease to grow, but the decennial growth rate was reduced to 10 %. Significantly, Gudalur taluk experienced a decrease from 1891 to 1901 consequent upon the fatal gold adventure and the ruin of coffee planting. The following several decades were marked by the gradual change from coffee to tea planting. Unlike in Coorg the population increase continued, although at a moderate rate. By 1921 the population density stood at 50 per km² for the whole district.

From 1921 to 1931 the population of Nilgiris rose by 34 % against 11 % for India as a whole. The district attracted large numbers of migrants from the overpopulated plains. Besides the plantations the great hydro-electric construction works absorbed considerable quantities. As in Coorg the population growth has been very rapid from around 1941; the increase 1941–61 amounted to 95 %.

It is remarkable that only a comparatively small share of this development has been urban. In relative as well as in absolute terms the rural increase has exceeded the urban. The curve (in fig. 5)

marked "Urban (1)" represents the growth of the four old towns, Ootacamund, Coonoor, Wellington and Kotagiri. Their growth corresponds to the normal pattern, the two bigger towns developing fastest. But their aggregate has increased much more slowly than the district population. In the last decade, however, new town-like settlements have emerged, especially by satellite growth in the Coonoor area. By "Urban (2)" is indicated the total population classified as urban in 1961. It includes nine settlements which were declared as rural in the 1951 census.

The principles of urban classification in the 1961 census deserve a few comments as the results are likely to be misleading in the case of Nilgiris. All municipalities, cantonments and townships were defined as towns. To qualify as urban other areas were required to fulfil three conditions: 1. a population of 5,000; 2. a density of 1,000 per sq.mile; 3. 75 % of the male population depending on non-agricultural resources for their livelihood. However, a loophole was left open for the State Superintendents of Census Operations to declare as urban any area which fulfilled two of the three conditions, if in the District Collector's opinion it had "urban characteristics".

In Nilgiris this has led to the classification of extensive plantation areas as "towns". This applies to at least five of the nine newly classified towns. None of them has a density of 1,000 per sq.mile, but they do fulfil the other two conditions, as occupation in plantations is considered non-agricultural. They would certainly not fulfil criteria of settlement contiguity or urban morphology. The areas of these "towns" vary from 37 km² to no less than 240 km², the populations from 5,915 to 13,547. The most populous among them is Ouchterlony Valley, the settlement pattern of which is shown in fig. 4 in *Folke* (1965). Being predominantly plantation areas, they do have certain "urban" amenities, and from a socio-economic point of view it may be quite reasonable to classify them as urban areas.

All this goes to emphasize that the rural/urban split-up of the 1961 census must be employed with great care, since plantation areas of considerable similarity are found in both categories. Suffice it to note that the greater part of the recent population increase has been rural and to a great extent due to the plantation development. Of course other factors have contributed, notably the huge hydro-electric projects in various phases. Fig. 5 shows Gudalur taluk as lagging behind the fast growing Ootacamund and Coonoor taluks.

Occupation: Peasants and Plantations

The censuses of 1951 and 1961 followed different principles in the enumeration and tabulation of occupational structure. Hence a direct comparison is impossible. The most important difference concerns the fundamental classification. In 1951 the entire population was distributed according to livelihood classes, whereas in 1961 only the occupation of workers (economically active persons) was specified. Further the industrial categories were not identical, and at the time of investigation only the nine main categories of workers were available from the 1961 census. Of special interest is the subdivision "Plantation Industries" of the 1951 census, which comprises all self-supporting persons in this sector classified with reference to their own activity. The broad occupational structure has probably undergone only minor changes from 1951 to 1961, and here the data provided by the two censuses are used to supplement each other.

Coorg and Nilgiris show certain similarities regarding occupation, and both differ markedly from the other districts of the Mysore and Madras States to which they belong. Fig. 6 gives the percentages of workers by main livelihood categories according to the census of 1961. Coorg resembles the average Indian district in that agriculture is clearly the most important economic activity in terms of employment. The cultivation is of the usual type, rice being the prevailing crop. In Nilgiris agriculture occupies less than one third of the working population. Because of the altitude rice cannot be grown over most of the district. The agriculture is of a specialized nature with potato as the main crop. In both Nilgiris and Coorg manufacturing (in its widest sense) is of little significance. In Coorg the service sector occupies 18 %, but in Nilgiris no less than 34 % of the economically active persons. This difference naturally is a corollary of the differential urban development.

In one respect Coorg and Nilgiris are alike: in either 30 % of the workers are occupied in "Plantations etc.". The full title of this category is "Workers in Mining, Quarrying, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting and Plantations, Orchards and Allied Activities". In Mysore as well as Madras it comprises only 3 % of the working population and in no other district of the two states the figure comes anywhere near 30 %. It can safely be assumed that plantations account for at least the 25 % in both Nilgiris and Coorg. Among the other activities included in the category only forestry is of some importance in Coorg.

The pre-eminence of the plantation industries is explicitly docu-

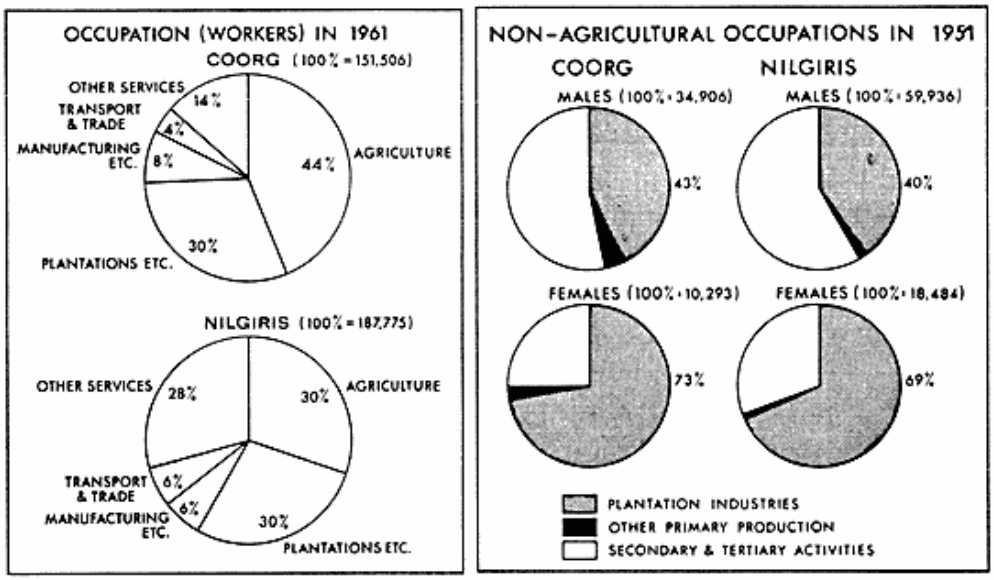

Fig. 6. Occupation of economically active persons (workers) in 1961. The category "Plantation etc." is explained in the text. Source: Census of India, 1961.

Fig. 6. Erhvervsfordeling (erhvervsaktive), 1961. Kategorien „Plantations etc." forklares i teksten. Kilde: Census of India, 1961.

Fig. 7. Non-agricultural activities in 1951. All self-supporting persons have been classified with reference to their own activity. Source: Census of India, 1951.

Fig. 7. Erhvervsfordeling i 1951, undtagen landbrug. De beskæftigede er klassificeret med hensyn til deres egen aktivitet. Kilde: Census of India, 1951.

mented by the figures for non-agricultural occupations in the census of 1951 (fig. 7). The category "Other Primary Production" comprising the above-mentioned activities is negligible. It is most important (4 %) in the case of males in Coorg due to the forest work. Plantation industries on the other hand account for a large proportion of the non-agricultural occupation in both Coorg and Nilgiris. It is remarkable that 73 % and 69 % respectively of the females were in this category, even if in absolute terms they were greatly outnumbered by men. Out of the persons occupied in plantation industries in Coorg 1 % were employers, 97 % employees, and 2 % independent workers. The corresponding figures for Nilgiris were 1 %, 98 %, and 1 %. From this subdivision it is evident that the category comprises almost exclusively what may reasonably be called plantations. The numerous small growers of plantation crops like tea and coffee have not been included. Generally their coffee- or tea-growing is in addition to rice or potato cultivation, and they have apparently been classified as ordinary peasants under agriculture.

Migrant Plantation Labour

The greatest problem in the development of most plantation areas of the world has been that of labour. The extensive nature of the cultivation demanded large areas and a large labour force. Obviously these two requirements could not as a general rule be met with in the same place, and consequently – land being fixed – labour had to be moved. This also applies to the evolution of plantations in Nilgiris and Coorg. Certainly, both areas were inhabited, Nilgiris only sparsely though, when the spread of plantations made headway. But the indigenous population of peasants – mainly Badagas and Coorgs respectively – was not interested in the work on plantations, and hence these had to rely upon labour from outside. The migrations brought about by plantation development may be suitably classified in three ways, according to motivation, distance, and duration. These aspects are examined in the following.

Until the Second World War the migrations were mainly of a temporary nature. The plantation system was built up around a labour force which stayed on the estates only part of the year. Depending upon the crop the stay was usually of 6–10 months' duration, shortest on coffee estates, longer on rubber and tea estates. But the seasonal character of the work always implied that the labourers were dismissed for some months during which they generally returned to their home villages.

The system of recruitment became known, and indeed disreputed, as the Kangany-system, named after the recruiting agents whom the plantations employed to supply the required labour. The Kanganies travelled round in the villages traditionally supplying the bulk of labour and paid advances to labourers willing to enroll for a season in a particular plantation. There existed no direct relationship between the estate management and the labour force; all communications were by way of the Kanganies. The system was liable to abuse, and frequently the Kanganies acquired such a strong hold over the labourers that eventually it amounted to indenture. The "Report on .... Labour in Coffee Plantations in Mysore" (1948) bears sufficient testimony thereof.

However, it was not only the labourers who felt the drawbacks of the system. Even vis-a-vis the management the Kanganies often gained a strong position, because the supply of labour and hence the function of the estate entirely depended upon them. After the Second World War the Kangany-system was gradually abolished and the plantation system was completely reorganized. It was now

built up around a permanent, residential labour force. Consequently the migrations changed from seasonal to mainly permanent or definitive. At the same time the labourers' conditions were improved, particularly after the enforcement of "The Plantations' Labour Act, 1951". (Cf. also "Basic Problems of Plantation Labour", 1950, and "Plantation Labour in India", 1960).

Loganathan (1931) outlined the migration in South India at that time and stressed its temporary nature. The seasonal migration generated by plantations was examined in much greater detail in a special labour census taken on estates under "United Planters' Association of Southern India" (UPASI) on the 15th December 1930. Some of the results were published in the Census of India, 1931 (Vol. XIV, Madras, Part I, Report). The UPASI census estimated that the number of labourers at the time of the population census in February 1931 would be four fifths of the December 1930 figure. This serves as quantitative evidence of a problem already touched upon several times, that of enumerating seasonal migrant labour.

According to the UPASI census the main areas of labour recruitment were the densely populated coastal plains, particularly in South Kanara and Malabar (cf. fig. 1), the central portion of Tamilnad, and to a smaller extent some districts on the Mysore plateau. Nearly half of the plantation labour of Coorg came from South Kanara, whereas the most important recruiting areas for the plantations in the Nilgiris were Coimbatore, Salem, and Malabar districts.

Aspects of the In-migration 1901–1961

The Census of India has all along provided data for migrations, derived from the classification of birthplace. By "migrants" is generally understood persons born outside a particular state or district. Hence the figures do not represent the actual migrations. But the difference between a classification according to the place of birth and one based on the place of last residence is much smaller in India than it would be in economically more advanced countries. On the whole the geographical mobility is low and stop-over at intermediate stations is less common than in societies of greater mobility.

The censuses do not distinguish between temporary and permanent migrations. This especially is a problem in the case of those based on *de facto* enumeration, i.e. all but the censuses of 1941, 1951, and 1961. In Nilgiris there has been a continued influx of migrants ever since the colonization of the district. Up to the Second World

War the figures for persons born outside the district comprise seasonal migrant labour as well as migrations of a more permanent character. The population stagnation of Coorg until 1941 indicates that seasonal migrants have been predominant among those classified as born outside the district. The change from mainly temporary to mainly permanent migrations described above has coincided with the change in enumeration method, since 1941 of a modified *de jure* type. The rapid population growth in both districts after 1948 has been connected with large-scale in-migration of a permanent or definitive nature. The 1961 census for the first time estimated the duration of migrations by indicating the period of stay for persons born outside the district (cf. below).

Table 3. Migrants 1901–1961 (born outside the district)

	Coorg		Nilgiris	
	Population	Born outside	Population	Born outside
1901	180,607	31 %	112,882	41 %
1921	163,838	20 %	126,519	32 %
1931	163,327	24 %	169,330	43 %
1951	229,405	29 %	311,729	45 %
1961	322,829	31 %	409,308	40 %

Table 3 shows the proportion of migrants in Coorg and Nilgiris at selected censuses. In Coorg the percentage was around 30 in 1901, 1951, and 1961. The poor state of the coffee industry is reflected in the low percentages for 1921 and 1931. The sharp decline from 1901 to 1921 went hand in hand with a reduction of the population, and the 1921 Census Report explicitly stated that the decrease in the number of persons born outside Coorg was almost wholly responsible for the population decrease 1911–21. In Nilgiris the proportion of migrants has been remarkably stable around 40–45 % with the exception of 1921. Part of the explanation of the low 1921 figure may lie in the influenza epidemics of 1918–19, which took a heavy toll in the source areas of migration to the Nilgiris. Both Nilgiris and Coorg are of course quite exceptional among predominantly rural districts of India in having such high proportions of migrants. It must be remembered, though, that the figures are somewhat inflated by the small size of either district.

Table 4. Sex proportions 1901–1961 (females per 1000 males)

	Coorg	Nilgiris	Madras State
1901	801	840	1,044
1911	799	868	1,042
1921	831	888	1,029
1931	803	842	1,027
1941	827	858	1,012
1951	830	902	1,007
1961	862	914	992

One of the consequences of the migration has been distorted sex proportions. It is a universal experience that men dominate among migrants, and table 4 indicates that Coorg and Nilgiris are no exceptions to this rule. Sex proportions in both are extraordinarily low; the corresponding figures for Madras have been entered for comparison. Whereas the sex proportion of Madras has undergone a steady decline from 1901 to 1961, in which year it was for the first time below parity, the trend in Nilgiris and Coorg has been the reverse, but more irregular. This is clearly associated with the extent and nature of the migrations.

In both districts 1921 was anomalous due to the falling off in the number of migrants in the preceding decade (cf. table 3). The relatively high sex proportions of 1921 brought about a drop from 1921 to 1931, contrary to the secular trend.

The general tendency towards a higher proportion of females over the sixty years is related to the change from temporary to permanent migrations. Though the recruitment of entire families for estate work was common in the days of seasonal migrant labour, frequently only the men migrated, leaving behind their families. The figures reveal that the preponderance of men has been most pronounced in Coorg; the malarious nature of this district (until 1951) and the shorter season in coffee plantations (compared to the tea plantations of Nilgiris) have combined to make it more tolerable for the men to part with their families. But in Coorg as well as in Nilgiris the females are catching up, because the family is almost invariably the mobile unit in the more permanent contemporary migrations.

One might think that the age structure of Coorg and Nilgiris would be abnormal on account of the in-migration. Apparently this is not the case. The 1961 census was the first census to present

age returns on full count, but these were not available at the time of this investigation. Instead the 1951 figures by decennial age groups were analysed. They are based on a ten per cent sample and are further subject to the uncertainty of enumeration in a largely illiterate population. However, there is no reason to believe that the 1961 figures will be substantially different.

It is remarkable that only little difference was found between age distribution (1951) in Nilgiris and Coorg and for instance Madras State. Obviously, age pyramids would illustrate the distorted sex proportions already discussed. But for the sexes combined, deviations in the districts under study from the Madras average were only marginal and difficult to explain. Subsequent analysis of age distribution in the livelihood category "Production other than cultivation" – in Coorg and Nilgiris entirely dominated by plantations – did not change the picture in any significant way. It is not worth-while to present the detailed age distributions. Suffice it to note that the percentage in the age category 15–34 years, usually associated with migration, was a little higher in Coorg (37 %) and Nilgiris (32 %) than in Madras State (30 %). However, the main conclusion is that the cumulative effect of continued in-migration over many decades has brought about an age structure in Coorg and Nilgiris not very different from the norm in South India.

Migration by 1961: Origin and Duration

It has already been noted (table 3) that in 1961 31 % of the population in Coorg and 40 % in Nilgiris were born outside the district. To this may be added the internal migration entered in the category "Born elsewhere in the district of enumeration". This amounted to 9 % in Nilgiris and 18 % in Coorg, so that the total number of migrants (by birthplace) in either district constituted as much as 49 % of the population.

However, the internal (i.e. intra-district) migration thus classified is not really comparable from one district to another, because it is greatly influenced by the size of the primary census units. Hence the conspicuous difference between Nilgiris and Coorg is probably nominal, due to the (administrative) villages being of much greater extent in the former. (Nilgiris has only 38 villages and 13 towns as against 288 and 10 in Coorg). Females significantly dominate among the intra-district migrants (by birthplace) in both Coorg and Nilgiris (table 5). This is probably due to the migration caused by marriage.

Table 5. Population by birthplace, 1961

Coorg	*Males*	%	*Females*	%	*Total*	%
Mysore, excl. Coorg	21,549	12	24,687	16	46,236	14
Kerala	24,053	14	11,486	8	35,539	11
Madras	9,175	5	8,049	5	17,224	5
Rest of India	292	0.2	156	0.1	448	0.1
Foreign countries	66	0.04	28	0.02	94	0.03
Total outside Coorg	55,135	32	44,406	30	99,541	31
Elsewhere in Coorg	26,252	15	32,440	22	58,692	18
Place of enumerat.	91,875	53	72,609	48	164,484	51
Birthplace unclass.	76	0.04	36	0.02	112	0.03
Total population	173,338	100	149,491	100	322,829	100

Nilgiris	*Males*	%	*Females*	%	*Total*	%
Madras, excl. Nilg.	53,053	25	45,220	23	98,273	24
Kerala	26,132	12	18,084	9	44,216	11
Mysore	7,546	4	6,979	4	14,525	4
Rest of India	1,687	0.8	1,462	0.7	3,149	0.8
Foreign countries	804	0.4	848	0.4	1,652	0.4
Total outs. Nilgiris	89,222	42	72,593	37	161,815	40
Elsewhere in Nilg.	14,628	7	22,791	12	37,419	9
Place of enumerat.	109,807	51	99,942	51	209,749	51
Birthplace unclass.	176	0.1	149	0.1	325	0.1
Total population	213,833	100	195,475	100	409,308	100

The 1961 census attempted a district-wise classification of the birthplace of migrants. The results, however, cannot be utilized for the districts under investigation, because the category "Born in district not specified" frequently comprises three fourths of the migrants or even more. Table 5 and fig. 8 give a rough picture of the distribution according to birthplace of the entire population and of the in-migrants in Coorg and Nilgiris.

The migrations are seen to be largely confined to the three South Indian states of Kerala, Madras, and Mysore. This is not surprising in view of the situation of Nilgiris and Coorg close to the conjunction of these states. In Coorg Mysore stands first and Madras third among

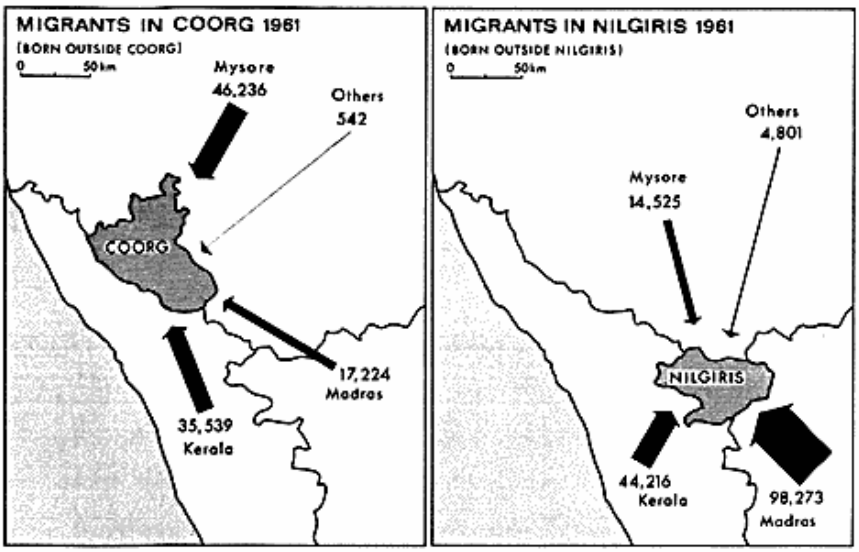

Fig. 8. Migrants (i.e. persons born outside the district) in Coorg and Nilgiris, 1961. The width of the arrows is proportional to the number of persons born in a particular state. All persons born outside the three South Indian states are shown as "Others". Source: Census of India, 1961.

Fig. 8. Migration til Coorg og Nilgiris. Pilenes bredde er proportional med antallet (i 1961) af personer, som er født i en af de omliggende stater eller i resten af India eller udlandet, tilsammen angivet som „Others". Kilde: Census of India, 1961.

states of origin of the population, while in Nilgiris the order is reversed. Kerala occupies the second place in both. This is only what might be expected on account of the respective distances. Though the census figures do not present themselves for any detailed regional examination, it can safely be assumed that a large majority of the migrants are born within two hundred kilometres from the district boundaries of Nilgiris and Coorg. Thus the majority of those born in Kerala hail from Malabar. The reluctance of the Malabar women to leave their homes, a subject treated at some length by *Thurston* (1909), is an important factor behind the extraordinary sex disproportion among migrants from Kerala to both Nilgiris and Coorg.

In comparison with the in-migration from the three southern states the rest is a mere trickle. Nevertheless, Coorg and Nilgiris are remarkably different with respect to this long-distance migration. Whereas in Coorg it accounts for only 0.5 % of the total in-migration, in Nilgiris 2 % of those born outside come from the rest of India and 1 % from foreign countries. This is due to the higher degree of urbanization in Nilgiris (most of these migrants live in urban areas) as well as several other features distinguishing

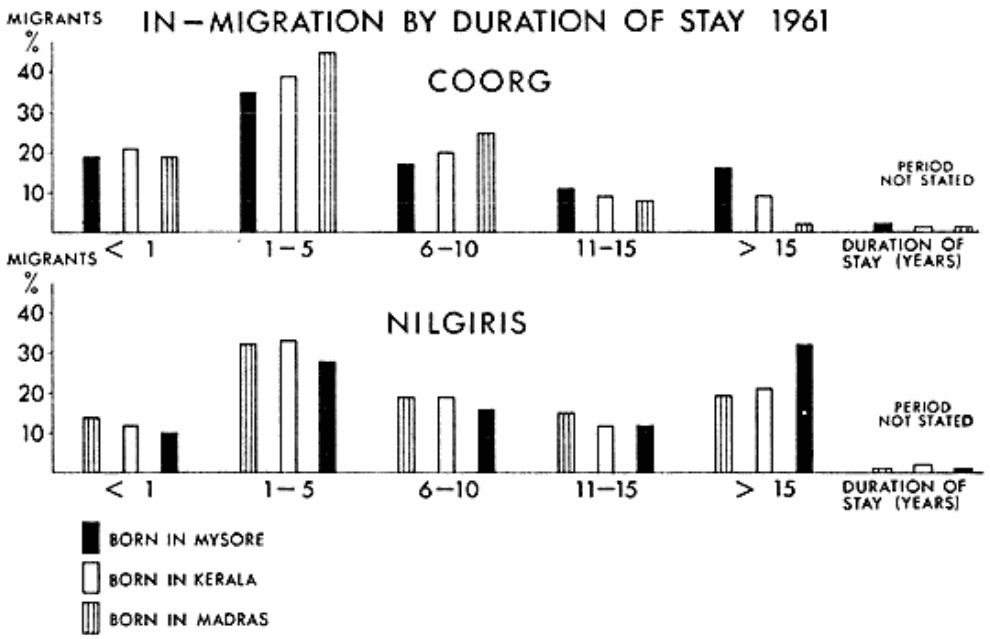

Fig. 9. In-migration according to duration of stay at the place of enumeration by 1961. The graph includes only the migrants born in Mysore, Kerala, or Madras. For either district the total number of migrants born in a particular state is shown as 100 %, split up into the various categories of duration. Coorg: Born in Mysore, 46,236 (100 %); born in Kerala, 35.539 (100 %); born in Madras, 17,224 (100 %). Nilgiris: Born in Madras, 98,273 (100 %); born in Kerala, 44,216 (100 %); born in Mysore, 14,525 (100 %). Source: Census of India, 1961.

Fig. 9. Migration til Coorg og Nilgiris fordelt efter varigheden af opholdet på tællingsstedet, 1961. Diagrammet omfatter kun de personer, der er født i Mysore, Kerala eller Madras. For hvert distrikt angives antallet af personer født i en bestemt stat som 100 %, fordelt på kategorier af varighed (se tallenene ovenfor). Kilde: Census of India, 1961.

that much-favoured district: an attractive scenery and a salubrious climate, a comparatively well developed and diversified economy, and numerous special – military, educational, and religious – establishments. Some spatial aspects of the differential development of Coorg and Nilgiris will be analysed in a forthcoming paper.

Some indication of the relatively permanent character of the contemporary migrations may be had from the 1961 census, which was the first census to furnish particulars regarding the duration of stay. Fig. 9 shows the migrants (by birthplace) in Coorg and Nilgiris from the three main states of origin classified according to the duration of stay at the place of enumeration. Periods of temporary absence like holidays have not been taken into account. The states are given in order of importance in each district (cf. table 5).

For the three states combined, the frequency distribution according to duration of stay is quite similar in Nilgiris and Coorg. In

relative terms, that is considering the number of years included in each category, evidently there is a tapering off in the number of migrants with increasing duration of stay. But the shorter durations (0–5 years, and particularly < 1 year) are much more frequent in Coorg than in Nilgiris, while the longer durations (> 10 years, and particularly > 15 years) are much more frequent in Nilgiris than in Coorg.

A factor contributing to this situation is the difference between tea plantations (predominant in Nilgiris) and coffee plantations (predominant in Coorg). It is simply much more difficult to maintain a permanent labour force on a coffee plantation, and hence there is a tendency to swifter labour rotation (replacement) in Coorg. Further there is a considerable proportion of migrants in the large service sector of Nilgiris (cf. fig. 6 and table 6) and it may be assumed that migrations to this sector are of a relatively permanent character. Of course the short durations do not imply that the migrations are of a temporary nature, but the long durations at least are synonymous with more permanent migrations. To some extent the frequency distributions merely mirror the 1951–61 trends in migration (cf. table 3). The proportion of in-migrants in Nilgiris dropped from 45 % to 40 %, whereas in Coorg it rose from 29 % to 31 %.

Concerning the individual states represented in fig. 9, Kerala is seen to occupy in most categories an intermediate position, such as it does regarding the total number of migrants to the two districts. Madras and Mysore show a marked parallelism in Coorg and Nilgiris. Relatively speaking, migrants from Madras have dominated the more recent migrations in both districts, whereas migrants from Mysore have dominated the migrations which took place more than 15 years ago. The "push-effect" brought about by increasing population pressure appears to become more and more pronounced in the Madras plains. It is remarkable that while only 2 % of the migrants from Madras to Coorg are in the category > 15 years, 32 % of the migrants from Mysore to Nilgiris are in that category. This should not be confused with the actual numbers of migrants in each category. In absolute terms migrants from Mysore outnumber those from Madras in every category in Coorg, and vice versa in Nilgiris.

There exists no occupational break-up of the migrants' category in the 1961 census, and detailed cross-tabulation of migration, age, occupation, and educational standard will be accomplished for urban

areas only. However, the rural/urban classification of migrants does throw some light on the problem of their occupation. As might be expected Coorg and Nilgiris are very dissimilar in this respect. The proportions of migrants from Mysore, Madras, and Kerala living in rural or urban parts of Coorg and Nilgiris are shown in table 6.

Table 6. Rural/urban distribution of migrants born in the neighbouring states, 1961

Coorg Born in \ Living in	Rural	%	Urban	%	Total	%
Mysore (excl. Coorg)	37,905	82	8,331	18	46,236	100
Kerala	30,230	85	5,309	15	35,539	100
Madras	15,444	90	1,780	10	17,224	100
Total	83,579	84	15,420	16	98,999	100
Nilgiris Born in \ Living in	Rural	%	Urban	%	Total	%
Madras (excl. Nilgiris)	62,166	63	36,107	37	98,273	100
Kerala	19,651	44	24,565	56	44,216	100
Mysore	5,706	39	8,819	61	14,525	100
Total	87,523	56	69,491	44	157,014	100

In Coorg the great majority of migrants live in rural areas and it can safely be assumed that the bulk are in plantations, though even the rice cultivation does give rise to in-migration of agricultural labourers. In Nilgiris on the other hand the urban areas account for a much greater proportion of the migrants. It must be remembered, however, that "urban" in Nilgiris includes many extensive plantation areas (cf. the previous discussion of urban definition). But there is an important element of migrants in many sectors of the district's economy, in the specialized agriculture, in hydro-electric projects, in manufacturing, in all sorts of tertiary occupations, besides in the plantation sector.

It is notable that 90 % of the migrants from Madras to Coorg live in rural areas (against 82 % of those from Mysore), whereas the corresponding figure is only 39 % among the migrants from Mysore to Nilgiris (against 63 % of those from Madras). This no doubt has a bearing on the duration already examined. It is significant that as many as 32 % of the migrants from Mysore to Nilgiris had stayed there more than 15 years (cf. fig. 9).

Table 7. Population by mother tongue, 1951 and 1961

Coorg	1951			1961		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Kodagi (Coorgi)	33,517	33,125	66,642	38,615	36,388	75,003
Kurumba	?	?	?	2,652	2,780	5,432
Yerava	?	?	?	7,689	7,237	14,926
Tulu	11,920	9,089	21,009	15,844	12,586	28,430
Konkani	1,823	1,692	3,515	3,764	2,456	6,220
Kannada	42,147	38,263	80,410	51,098	47,816	98,914
Malayalam	22,579	10,104	32,683	32,801	20,398	53,199
Tamil	7,412	6,412	13,824	11,265	11,164	22,429
Telugu	1,884	2,043	3,927	2,790	2,987	5,777
Marathi	929	629	1,558	1,127	931	2,058
Hindi	714	719	1,433	541	393	934
Urdu	2,107	1,711	3,818	4,359	3,711	8,070
English	88	88	176	154	54	208
Others	207	203	410	639	590	1,229
	125,327	104,078	229,405	173,338	149,491	322,829

Nilgiris	1951			1961		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Badaga	33,436	33,815	67,251	42,641	42,182	84,823
Irula	1,035	751	1,786	1,992	1,996	3,988
Kota	?	?	?	467	395	862
Toda	426	453	879	384	375	759
Kurumba	?	?	?	2,008	1,759	3,767
Paniya	?	?	?	2,590	2,549	5,139
Tamil	62,477	56,568	119,045	82,710	75,120	157,830
Kannada	20,921	19,320	40,241	19,788	17,902	37,690
Malayalam	21,955	19,506	41,461	36,355	28,267	64,622
Telugu	15,289	11,180	26,469	15,124	14,994	30,118
Marathi	1,548	1,000	2,548	720	1,010	1,730
Hindi	5,003	3,969	8,972	1,103	815	1,918
Urdu	?	?	?	4,365	4,419	8,784
English	870	660	1,530	1,146	1,527	2,673
Others	920	627	1,547	2,440	2,165	4,605
	163,880	147,849	311,729	213,833	195,475	409,308

Coorg and Nilgiris: Plural Societies

Decades of continued migration to Coorg and Nilgiris from the surrounding areas have resulted in the emergence of very complex societies. The census language data illuminate this and at the same time throw light on the long-term aspects of migration. Application of the language data makes it possible to compare the situation in 1961 with that in 1951. Such a comparison cannot be accomplished with respect to birthplace because of the reorganization of states in 1956, which *inter alia* resulted in the formation of the new state Kerala.

Coorg, until then a separate state, became a district in the greatly enlarged Mysore State. South Kanara was transferred from Madras to Mysore, and Malabar from Madras to Kerala (see fig. 1). The reorganization was carried out mainly on linguistic principles and hence the new states were more or less co-extensive with the main linguistic regions. The Tamil-speaking areas became the new Madras state, the Telugu-speaking became Andhra Pradesh (in 1953), the Kannada-speaking became Mysore, and the Malayalam-speaking became Kerala.

Table 7 shows the population of Coorg and Nilgiris by mother tongue. The particulars signify much more than a mere linguistic division. Each of the languages and dialects represented in the table is spoken by a people with a distinct culture. The majority have retained most of their cultural peculiarity for generations (compare figs. 2, 3, 10, 11). People with the same mother tongue to some extent feel and behave as a group, though of course the picture is complicated by various other stratifications, economic, social, and religious. Hence Coorg and Nilgiris might be called miniature plural societies.

The aborigines of Coorg are the Kurumbas (fig. 10) and first of all the Kodagi-speaking Coorgs (fig. 2). All other linguistic groups entered in table 7 have migrated into Coorg. The Yeravas have come from neighbouring Wynaad and Malabar, the Tulu-speaking from South Kanara, and the Konkani-speaking from the coastal regions further north. The rest are easily identified. The Kannada-speaking element is partly very ancient. The Urdu-speaking community deserves mention because it includes a large portion of local converts to Islam. While most of the linguistic groups were found in Coorg before it was annexed by the British in 1834, it was the subsequent plantation development which boosted the in-migration.

The aboriginal linguistic groups now constitute only one fourth

Fig. 10. Kurumbas. This backward tribe (scheduled under the Indian Constitution) belongs to the forest and is found in Nilgiris as well as in Coorg. Earlier it was stated that "..... if a single Badaga met a Kurumba in a lonely, jungly place he 'not unfrequently' died of sheer fright" *(Francis,* 1908). Now many Kurumbas have become plantation labourers, but they still prefer to stay in the forest and they supplement their earnings by hunting and collecting. (Near Kutta, Coorg, 18.11.1963).

Fig. 10. Kurumbas. Denne tilbagestående stamme lever i skoven og findes både i Coorg og Nilgiris. Nu er mange Kurumbas blevet plantagearbejdere, men de foretrækker at forblive i skoven, og de supplerer deres pengeindkomst med jagt og indsamling.

of the total population. Moreover the number of Coorgs has grown much more slowly than is the case for most of the other groups. The 1951–61 increase has been only 13 % against 62 % for the Tamils and 63 % for the Malayalees (fig. 11). Together with the Kannada- and Tulu-speaking peoples these now form the bulk of the population. The sex disproportions earlier discussed are seen to obtain only among some of the linguistic groups that have migrated to Coorg.

The aboriginals of Nilgiris are the Badagas (fig. 3), Irulas, Kotas, Todas, and Kurumbas. At the time of the advent of the British (around 1820) these tribes made up the entire population of the district. In 1961 their total constituted only one fourth of the inhabitants of Nilgiris. The Badagas, pre-eminent among the tribes, have a high rate of reproduction resulting in a 26 % increase from 1951 to 1961. Among the others the numerically insignificant, but world-famous, polyandrous Todas have actually been reduced in number. This is not necessarily a sign of their gradual extinction, but may be due to their assimilation into other groups.

Fig. 11. Malayalee brother and sisters, representing the ever-growing influx of migrants to Coorg and Nilgiris from the surrounding states. The migrants are very different, ethnically and culturally, from the aboriginal peoples. (Near Kutta, Coorg, 13.12.1963).

Fig. 11. Malayalee søskende, repræsenterende den stadigt voksende migration til Coorg og Nilgiris fra de omliggende stater. Migranterne afviger stærkt, etnisk og kulturelt, fra de oprindelige folk.

As in Coorg the Tamils and Malayalees have been rapidly growing in number, by 33 % and 56 % respectively from 1951 to 1961. The Kannada-group on the other hand has been reduced (compare fig. 9), and the Telugu-group has been only slightly growing. Incidentally, there appears to be an inconsistency between census data of birthplace and mother tongue. In 1961 only 768 persons in Nilgiris were classifed as born in Andhra Pradesh. This compares with a Telugu-speaking population of 30,118. Theoretically of course these figures may be consistent, but this is rather unlikely. Possibly a large number of migrants have stated their birthplace as Madras, which until 1953 included many districts of the present Andhra Pradesh.

Another apparent inconsistency concerns the particulars of Hindi and Urdu. A drastic reduction by several hundred per cent of the Hindi-group 1951–1961 finds its explanation in the Urdu-group entered only in the 1961 census. The common bazaar-Hindustani is a mixture of the two, and the difference in alphabet matters little in a largely illiterate population.

The English-speaking group, which in Coorg is negligible, is of appreciable size and fast growing in Nilgiris. In Coorg the plantation sector accounts for most of the Englishmen, but in Nilgiris the various churches and schools etc. are more important. It must be remembered that the group includes Anglo-Indians as well as Europeans.

CONCLUSION

The development of plantations has followed different courses in Coorg and Nilgiris. In both districts coffee plantations predominated in the 19th century. But consequent upon the difficulties encountered in the last decades of the century, the planters in Nilgiris gradually changed the emphasis from coffee to tea. In Coorg coffee remained the only important plantation crop, but for many decades coffee cultivation was hardly paying because of recurring pests and diseases, poor organization, and slump in the market. The revival started about 1940.

The connection between plantation development, in-migration, and population growth cannot be exactly measured. But analysis of data from the Census of India 1871–1961 reveals numerous developments, which can safely be interpreted as associated with the evolution of plantations. This is particularly true in Coorg where there is little of economic importance except the traditional agriculture, the plantations, and the trade and service associated herewith. From the census particulars of occupation and urbanization it can be inferred that the economy of Nilgiris is much more diversified. Here it is more difficult to evaluate the relative importance of the factors behind the in-migration and population growth. The initial very low population density in itself explains some of the attraction this district has exerted on the surrounding overpopulated areas.

The outstanding similarities and differences in respect of population development and composition may be briefly summed up:

In Coorg the population increased 1861–81, stagnated 1881–1941, and increased rapidly 1941–61. Urban development has been negligible. In Nilgiris the population has increased ever since 1821, but the rate of growth has varied considerably. As in Coorg growth has been fast 1941–61. 44 % of Nilgiris' population was classified as urban in 1961, but this included the population of extensive plantation areas. The increase has been slower in the four old towns than in the rural parts of the district during the last two decades.

In both Coorg and Nilgiris about 25 % of the economically active

persons are in the plantation sector. The service sector occupies 18 % and 34 % respectively in Coorg and Nilgiris, while the remainder are largely in agriculture.

Until the Second World War seasonal migrant labour formed the bulk of the plantation labour force in South India. Since then the Kangany-system of recruitment has been gradually abolished, and the migrations have become of a more permanent nature. In this century the proportion of the total population born outside the district (as enumerated in the decennial censuses) has varied from 20 % to 31 % in Coorg and from 32 % to 45 % in Nilgiris. At all censuses 1901–1961 both districts have shown a marked excess of males over females. This has been most pronounced in Coorg. The excess has been diminishing, a development associated with the changing nature of the migrations. In neither Coorg nor Nilgiris has the continued inflow of migrants resulted in any greatly distorted age structure. In 1951 the age distribution in either corresponded well to the South Indian norm.

The source areas of migration have all the time been the surrounding densely populated plains. In Coorg according to the 1961 census, 99 % of those born outside the district were born in Mysore, Kerala, or Madras (in order of importance). The corresponding figure for Nilgiris was 97 % (and the order of importance reversed). Particulars concerning the duration of stay reveal that in recent years the migration from Madras to Coorg and Nilgiris alike has gained momentum in comparison with the migration from Mysore.

Census data of mother tongue (1951, 1961) show that long periods of continued in-migration have transformed Coorg and Nilgiris into miniature plural societies. The aboriginal peoples in either – Coorgs and Kurumbas in Coorg; Badagas, Irulas, Kotas, Todas, and Kurumbas in Nilgiris – constitute only one fourth of the total population. Tamil-, Kannada-, and Malayalam-speaking peoples now form the bulk of the population in both districts. From the social and cultural points of view Coorg and Nilgiris are extremely complex.

RESUMÉ

Distrikterne Nilgiris og Coorg (fig. 1) er blandt de vigtigste plantagedistikter i Sydindien. Økonomisk og demografisk adskiller de sig stærkt fra andre distrikter i området. Dette hænger i høj grad sammen med den udvikling af plantagedrift, som i begge distrikter tog fart midt i det 19. århundrede. Udviklingen er imidlertid forløbet forskelligt i Coorg og Nil-

giris, og som en følge heraf er der betydelige befolknings- og erhvervsmæssige forskelle mellem de to distrikter. Artiklen sammenholder befolkningsudviklingen med plantagedriftens historie i Coorg og Nilgiris og behandler indgående den migration fra de omliggende områder, der hovedsagelig har været rettet mod plantagerne.

Bortset fra ubetydelige forløbere kan plantagedriftens start i både Nilgiris og Coorg sættes til omkring 1850. Et kort fra 1866, fundet i *Royal Geographical Society's* bibliotek i London, giver usædvanlig gode betingelser for at sammenligne situationen kort efter plantagedriftens gennembrud med forholdene i dag. Kortet, der er fremstillet af *Clements R. Markham*, viser kaffe-, te- og kinabarkplantagerne i Nilgiris med omliggende egne. Kortets udstrækning fremgår af fig. 1, og et udsnit er reproduceret som planche 1.

Både i Nilgiris og Coorg var kaffe den helt dominerende plantageafgrøde indtil begyndelsen af det 20. århundrede. Men efter de vanskeligheder, der opstod i slutningen af det 19. århundrede, vandt te gradvis frem i Nilgiris og overtog efterhånden kaffens førerstilling. I Coorg forblev kaffe den eneste vigtige plantageafgrøde, men gennem et halvt århundrede betalte dyrkningen sig knap nok. Først omkring 1940 startede en fornyet udvikling af kaffeplantagerne.

Sammenhængen mellem plantagedriftens udvikling, migrationen til de to distrikter og folketallets vækst kan ikke måles nøjagtigt. Men analyse af folketællingerne, *Census of India* 1871–1961 (hvert tiende år) afslører en række befolkningsforhold, der med sikkerhed kan fortolkes som overvejende betinget af plantagedriften. Sammenhængen er klarest i Coorg, hvor der foruden det traditionelle landbrug, plantagedriften og den afledede tertiære sektor ikke findes meget af økonomisk betydning. Nilgiris' økonomi er langt mere udviklet og varieret, hvilket gør det vanskeligere at vurdere den relative betydning af de forskellige faktorer bag migration og befolkningstilvækst.

De mest iøjnefaldende ligheder og forskelle mellem Coorg og Nilgiris med hensyn til folketallets vækst (herunder migration) og befolkningens sammensætning kan kort resumeres:

I Coorg (fig. 4) voksede folketallet 1861–81, stagnerede 1881–1941 og voksede atter kraftigt 1941–61. Byerne er ubetydelige. I Nilgiris (fig. 5) har folketallet vokset uafbrudt siden 1821, men vækstraten har varieret. Som i Coorg har væksten været særlig stærk 1941–61. I 1961 blev 44 % af Nilgiris' befolkning klassificeret som boende i bymæssig bebyggelse, men denne kategori omfattede bl. a. vidtstrakte plantageområder. Væksten i de fire gamle byer har været relativt langsommere end den samlede vækst i de sidste to årtier.

Både i Nilgiris og Coorg er omkring 25 % af de erhvervsaktive i plantagesektoren (fig. 6 og 7). Servicesektoren beskæftiger henholdsvis 18 % og 34 % i Coorg og Nilgiris, mens resten overvejende findes i landbruget.

Indtil 2. verdenskrig blev Sydindiens plantager forsynet med arbejdskraft ved migrationer med sæsonkarakter. Siden da er *Kangany*-systemet (opkaldt efter hververne) til rekruttering af arbejdskraft gradvis blevet afskaffet, og migrationerne er blevet mere permanente. I det 20. århundrede har procentdelen af totalbefolkningen, født uden for det pågældende

distrikt (tabel 3), varieret fra 20 % til 31 % i Coorg og fra 32 % til 45 % i Nilgiris. Ved alle folketællinger 1901–61 har der i begge distrikter været et betydeligt mandsoverskud, fremkaldt af migrationerne (tabel 4). Dette har været mest udtalt i Coorg. Overskuddet har imidlertid været faldende, en udvikling som hænger sammen med migrationernes skiftende karakter. De mere permanente vandringer har som regel familien som den mobile enhed. Hverken i Coorg eller Nilgiris er aldersstrukturen blevet skæv på grund af migrationerne. Den kumulative effekt af mange årtiers vandringer har været en aldersfordeling (1951), som ligner den sædvanlige i Sydindien.

Migrationernes kildeområder har hele tiden været de omliggende, tæt befolkede sletter (fig. 8). I Coorg (1961) var 99 % af dem, som var født uden for distriktet, fra Mysore, Kerala og Madras (tabel 5). Det tilsvarende tal for Nilgiris var 97 % (og staternes rækkefølge efter vigtighed omvendt). I de seneste år har vandringerne fra Madras til Nilgiris såvel som til Coorg vundet frem i sammenligning med vandringerne fra Mysore (fig. 9). Dette er sandsynligvis en følge af den prekære fødevare/befolkningsbalance i store dele af Madras.

Folketællingernes oplysninger om sprog (tabel 7) viser, at de vedvarende vandringer har fremkaldt overordentligt heterogene befolkninger i Coorg og Nilgiris. Men mangfoldigheden dækker langt mere end sprog; etniske og kulturelle forskelle er så store, at man med rimelighed kan tale om plurale samfund. De oprindelige folk – Coorgs (fig. 2) og Kurumbas (fig. 10) i Coorg; Badagas (fig. 3), Irulas, Kotas, Todas, Kurumbas og Paniyans i Nilgiris – udgør kun en fjerdedel af totalbefolkningen i begge distrikter. Tamil-, Kannada- og Malayalam-talende folk (fig. 11) er nu i flertal. Socialt og kulturelt er både Coorg og Nilgiris usædvanligt komplicerede.

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SECTION OF:

MAP OF THE NEILGHERRIES, KOONDAHS, AND WYNAAD,

TO ILLUSTRATE THE PROGRESS OF

CHINCHONA CULTIVATION

UP TO JULY, 1866,

BY

CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM.

Scale of British Miles.

1 2 4 6 8 10

REFERENCE.

Chinchona Plantations {or Coffee or Tea estates with Chinchona plants growing on them.

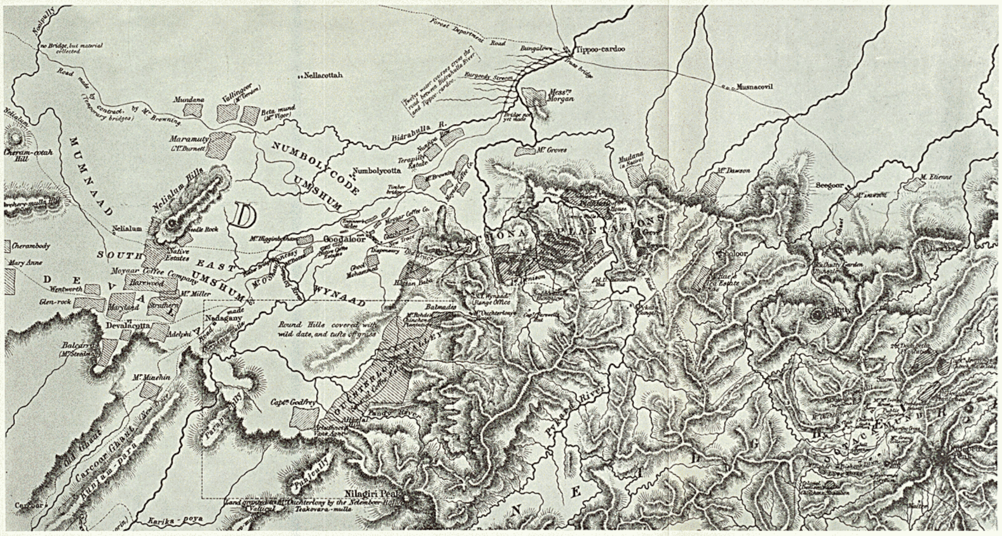
Coffee Plantations.

Teak Plantations.

Land reserved for planting Teak.

Roads }

Roads in progress, proposed or scarcely passable from neglect. } *In January, 1866.*



distrikt (tabel 3), varieret fra 20 % til 31 % i Coorg og fra 32 % til 45 % i Nilgiris. Ved alle folketællinger 1901–61 har der i begge distrikter været et betydeligt mandsoverskud, fremkaldt af migrationerne (tabel 4). Dette har været mest udtalt i Coorg. Overskuddet har imidlertid været faldende, en udvikling som hænger sammen med migrationernes skiftende karakter. De mere permanente vandringer har som regel familien som den mobile enhed. Hverken i Coorg eller Nilgiris er aldersstrukturen blevet skæv på grund af migrationerne. Den kumulative effekt af mange årtiers vandringer har været en aldersfordeling (1951), som ligner den sædvanlige i Sydindien.

Migrationernes kildeområder har hele tiden været de omliggende, tæt befolkede sletter (fig. 8). I Coorg (1961) var 99 % af dem, som var født uden for distriktet, fra Mysore, Kerala og Madras (tabel 5). Det tilsvarende tal for Nilgiris var 97 % (og staternes rækkefølge efter vigtighed omvendt). I de seneste år har vandringerne fra Madras til Nilgiris såvel som til Coorg vundet frem i sammenligning med vandringerne fra Mysore (fig. 9). Dette er sandsynligvis en følge af den prekære fødevare/befolkningsbalance i store dele af Madras.

Folketællingernes oplysninger om sprog (tabel 7) viser, at de vedvarende vandringer har fremkaldt overordentligt heterogene befolkninger i Coorg og Nilgiris. Men mangfoldigheden dækker langt mere end sprog; etniske og kulturelle forskelle er så store, at man med rimelighed kan tale om plurale samfund. De oprindelige folk – Coorgs (fig. 2) og Kurumbas (fig. 10) i Coorg; Badagas (fig. 3), Irulas, Kotas, Todas, Kurumbas og Paniyans i Nilgiris – udgør kun en fjerdedel af totalbefolkningen i begge distrikter. Tamil-, Kannada- og Malayalam-talende folk (fig. 11) er nu i flertal. Socialt og kulturelt er både Coorg og Nilgiris usædvanligt komplicerede.

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