CHAPTER - III

AGRICULTURAL AND NON-AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Historians generally view that the eighteenth century witnessed enormous development in the agricultural and non-agricultural sector of production both in the rural and urban sceneries. Scholars like A.I. Chicherov agreed in common that the advent of the European Companies stimulated production chiefly owing to their own needs and markets in Europe and Asia. If this view could be accepted, we have to see to what extent it is relevant to the activities at Pondicherry and what were the varied forms of production in the locality. With the arrival of the French at Pondicherry at the fag-end of the seventeenth century, was production geared to meet the demands of trade sector slowly and gradually? If so, how did the French trade depend on the production of various articles in the hinterland of Pondicherry?

Economic historians point out that trade had close connection with the commodities produced by the peasants. Some sectors like spinning, weaving, sugar manufacturing and oil extraction carried out by the rural artisans like weavers, cloth printers and painters, blacksmiths,
carpenters, goldsmiths, potters, shoemakers, etc. contributed towards production and the trade depended on the production of both agricultural and non-agricultural sectors. We shall discuss here below how development of production at both levels had taken place at Pondicherry during the period of this study facilitated trade.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Before we could deal with the sector of agricultural production in this region, it appears relevant to trace the nature of soil and the sources of irrigation. By nature three types of soil were visible viz. red, black clay and the coastal alluvium. In some parts of the region blue clay soil more or less mixed with sand is also seen. These varied types of land were utilized only after constant irrigation, and the countryside was prosperous and fertile.

The major source of irrigation of the territory was the Gingee river commonly known as Sankarabharani or Varahanadi besides Ariankuppam river, Chunnamber or Kilinjalar, Pambaiyar, Kuduvaiyar, Ponnaiyar, Malatar and Uppar. These rivers and their tributaries provided sufficient quantity of water for the irrigation of land though the area had been often depending on the rainfall also. Besides, four dams played a vital role in the rural
economy. They were Usteri at Villianur, Kademberi at Bahur, Kokkilandipereri at Tirubhuvanai and Madagadipattueri at Madagadipattu. Fifty nine irrigation lakes, nine big canals, two hundred and two water sources and fifty three reservoirs at Olukarai, Villianur and Bahur areas which were built during the periods of Pallavas, Cholas and later Vijayanagar rulers were fully utilised. Moreover, this region had been receiving occasional showers and three or four days of heavy rain in the month of May, June and July which enabled the cultivation of dry grains. Heavy monsoon rain fall from October to November had played important role in the agricultural economy.

Agriculture was the basic occupation of the people who lived by profession directly connected with the use of land and cattle. Agricultural products both food crops and cash crops constituted the chief outputs of primary sector in this region. The lands in which such crops were cultivated were classified into three groups as wet land known as nanjai, dryland called punjai and garden land called thottam. Among the food crops paddy was an important item. Different varieties of paddy covering manakattai, kar, kuruvaï and samba were cultivated in abundance on the river bed in the low lying region. Method of transplantation was used for the cultivation of these
items. The principal rice producing areas were Murungapakkam, Olukarai, Villianur, Ariyankuppam, Tavalakuppam, Abishekappakam and Bahur. Other food crops namely cholam, kambu and ragi were grown in dry lands as well as in wet lands. The cultivation of such crops in dry lands was widespread mostly in this region. It appears from a contemporary diary that an experiment of wheat cultivation was also made in Pondicherry. The main areas for dry cultivation of food grains were Alankuppam, Pakkumudayanpet, Mannadipattu, Madagadipattu, Karikalampakkam and Nettapakkam.

Commercial crops such as sugarcane and korai were produced on the river bed. Cotton which was the main raw material for the weaving industry was widely cultivated on the high land areas, such as Nettapakkam, Mannadipattu and Bahur. The indigenous varieties of cotton such as oopum, nadum and shempurtee were widely cultivated in the country. Interestingly, a new variety of cotton seed was imported from Bourbon and Mauritius islands and introduced in the field of cotton cultivation. The introduction and the rapid extension of the cultivation of Bourbon and Mauritius cotton represented a milestone in the history of cotton cultivation and brought about remarkable change in the cropping pattern.
In the case of pulses, green, black and red grams were commonly produced in Madagadipattu, Bahur and other places. Of the oil seeds, groundnut, castor and gingili were cultivated in garden lands as well as in dry land areas of Olukarai, Villianur, Nettapakkam, Mannadipattu and Bahur. Betel vines which yielded a considerable income to the farmer were largely grown on wet lands in Villianur, Olukarai and Ariyankuppam. Chillies and indigo, the dye yielding crop were grown both in dry and wet lands. Tobacco, arecanut, coconut, plantain and onion which required constant supply of water were grown in the garden lands with the help of lift irrigation. Coconut trees were largely grown on the river bed and in the island of coconut (Thengathittu) and Ariyankuppam besides garden lands. Their cultivation constituted one of the main sources of wealth for the farmers.

The garden lands were used mainly for the cultivation of vegetables and fruits. According to François Martin the areas outside the town such as Karuvadikuppam, Pakkumudayanpet, Olukarai and Muthirapalayam were only garden lands. Outside the town, the farmers cultivated in their gardens lot of vegetables such as spinaches, brinjal, bottlegourd, bitter gourd, lady's finger, cluster-beans, horse radish, sabre-beans, snake-gourd, sweet potato,
tomatoes, big and small pumpkins, potatoes, carrot, cabbage, white cabbage, califlower and cucumber. These vegetables had their own taste for French population. The main vegetables growing areas were Thengathittu, Ariyankuppam, Nonanguppam, Purnankuppam and Edaiyarpalayam.

The farmers were also involved in cultivating fruits such as lemon, orange, banana, guava, pomegranates, water melon, mangoes, plantains, pumple-moses, annanas and jackfruit in their garden lands. Obviously a good deal of vegetable seeds such as those of tomatoes, greenpies, salads, carrot and califlower were brought from France for cultivation in Pondicherry. These grew up marvellously well with a little amount of care. The introduction of new vegetables such as tomatoes, califlower, etc., represented the most notable changes in the agricultural sector. Grapes were grown in garden land. Trees had been growing in abundance in Kalapet areas where the forest supplied necessary timber for constructing houses. The Superior Council made great efforts for the growth of timber in this region. It is said that in the neighbourhood of the river Ariyankuppam, 12,0000 tree saplings were planted for getting timber for the town by the Superior Council. Trees were planted in those lands which could not be otherwise cultivated.
The farmers utilised river water for irrigating their lands. The flow of water in the rivers was not dependable and rainfall was not regular and fluctuated considerably throughout the year. In order to avoid or to reduce the risk of the crop failure and starvation, farmers dug out their own wells in fields from place to place and showed a big talent to mop up water resources for their fields. They received water from their wells which supplied regularly a limited and reasonable quantity of water for irrigation and distributed it on the surface. However, the cultivators followed the traditional methods for the cultivation of their crops. They used ploughs, many varieties of harrows with wooden and iron teeth, seed drills, hoes, sickles for crops and for grass etc. Draught bullocks were used for ploughing the lands.

For the growth of agriculture, the local chieftains made great efforts to dig out ponds and construct canals in their respective villages. It is worthwhile to note here that to avoid water scarcity, the chieftain of Villianur in 1728 dug out a canal between Gingee river and Usteri lake from where water was distributed through a number of sub-canals for irrigation in the lands situated between Villianur and Olukarai. At that time, the Nawab of Arcot compelled the French to pay a part of the share in
the expenditure. The lease holders who had taken certain villages from the Superior Council for a specific period made their efforts to repair the tanks and canals and maintained them properly in order to increase the cultivation in their leased villages. Thus they spent the income of one year for that purpose. It is pointed out that Ananda Ranga Pillai took the Nechanur village on lease and spent a year's profit of that village to repair the tanks and canals. The cultivators were allowed to keep their share. Sometimes the lease holders collected half of the rent from the cultivators for the land cultivated by them.

The Superior Council while realising the importance of bringing about improvement for agriculture, provided necessary irrigation facilities by constructing tanks, cutting canals, digging ponds and by maintaining them properly. New tanks and canals were often constructed by the Superior Council. For instance in 1728, the canal work at Pullaiyarkuppam was started but it was not continued properly because the river bed was a little lower than the level of big tank. For the purpose of repairing tanks, ponds and canals, the Superior Council spent a certain amount yearly. It is said that in February 1758, only 26,000 rupees had been allowed towards the cost of customary
repairs to tanks and canals though the comissaries permitted 2,47,187 rupees.

In order to expand the cultivation, the Superior Council had given certain portion of lands freely to the poor peasants. Thus in 1748 the lands situated between Abishekakakam, Ariyankuppam and Murungapakam were freely given to the poor people who lived by tillage. Besides, the farmers, who had run away from the villages on account of plunder and attacks by the Marathas and the English on the French country, were brought back to the villages to ensure continued cultivation. Thus they were also allowed to take waram in their cultivation. In addition to this the farmers were given in advance loans through the Company's merchants about four months before the harvest season. This loan was called takkavi which enabled the farmers to buy seeds, grains and other requirements and even to pay land taxes.

Tremendous importance was given to the cultivation of commercial crops particularly cotton, sugarcane, indigo, betel leafs, tobacco and oil seeds. Among them, cotton was cultivated to a large scale as raw cotton was required for the flourishing textile industry whose products had a growing market. The farmers were also encouraged to.
produce more cotton to meet this growing demand of textile industries. Subsequently vast lands were brought under cultivation. It is found that in 1790, forty four surrounding villages of Villianur and thirty six villages of Bahur were brought under the cash crops especially cotton, indigo, tobacco, betel leaves, groundnut and sugarcane were produced in large quantities in the country side by the farmers.

Migration of Weavers and Artisans

Before the arrival of the French, the weavers had their settlements around temple complexes. But later we find considerable movement of weavers towards the French. Eighteenth century Pondicherry witnessed the development of industry and crafts like spinning, weaving, oil pressing, sugar production, metal works, jewellery and mat weaving etc. These industries and crafts began to flourish in this region owing to the development of local and external markets, occupying a prominent place in the commercialised economy of Pondicherry. We shall discuss how these industries developed under the French and catered to the needs of Company's trade.
territory under the patronage of the Company. This was a new trend which encouraged the development of textile manufacture within the French Company's territory inducing the weavers to come and live in great number there. With favourable conditions prevailing in Pondicherry region, various groups of weavers like the Kaikkolars, Devangas, Saliyars and Seniyars castes from Kanchipuram, Arani, Arcot and others like Pandjicoutties from Penukonda and also those from as distant places as Andhra and Karnataka came and settled down at Muthiyalpet, Villianur, Abishekapakkam, Bahur, Panruti and Tiruviti (Tiruvadigai). They entered into Company's service to pursue their specialised occupations as they were invited and provided necessary facilities by the French. Each group of artisans lived in separate streets in the town of Pondicherry. At the time of the establishment of French colony at Pondicherry, one third of the residents of the town consisted of weavers alone. It is said that in 1688 one hundred workers of coral polishers with their families came to Pondicherry and were assigned some land to the west of the French settlement, where they constructed houses without any delay. The traditional artisans of the village community such as potters, blacksmiths, carpenters, barbers, washermen and shoemakers also migrated to the urban settlements of Pondicherry. Each group of artisans entered into the
Company's service and produced particular items of commodity.

Textile Manufacture

Next to agriculture, weaving of cotton piece goods was an important industry. It was once widely practised as a craft in the peasant houses as a part time occupation. In this industry, there were three stages for making piece goods from cotton, namely removing cotton from the seeds, spinning thread from cotton and weaving fabrics by threads.

Cotton Cleaning

The operation in connection with the processing of cotton cleaning was carried out by the members of the peasant families. Both women and children removed cotton from seeds by beating it with an instrument, so as to make it fit for spinning. Generally the same women who spun cotton threads used to clean cotton from the seeds in their leisure hours. In course of time, it became an independent profession and a full-time occupation. In Pondicherry region, a great part of beating of cotton to remove seeds was done by a class of people known as Pandjicoutties who were muslims and had no capital.
Cotton Spinning

The production of thread from cotton was one of the most important small scale industries which was carried on by the peasant families. After the separation of cotton from seeds, it was brought to spinning industry, and it was spun with a spindle and traditional spinning wheel called chakra. Every peasant household in the villages had a spinning wheel. According to Francis Buchanan, all women and children of the peasant households and of low caste families were great spinners, and the women of the Paraiah caste were noted for spinning the best thread in the country. In due course, it became a full time occupation of the artisans.

A.I. Chicherov points out that women spun the thread on a piece of wire, or with a very thin rod of iron having a ball of clay at one end; often they turned this round with the thumb and fore-finger of the left hand and then supplied the cotton with right hand. Then the thread was frequently wound upon a stick or a pole. The great part of women in the peasant families used to spin cotton thread at their leisure hours which they sold to the weavers. During the period of this study, professional spinners took to spinning work as wholetime weavers. It is said that in many cases the spinners received money in
advance from the weavers for making thread; and they were
also supplied raw cotton to produce thread for them. Thus
in Pondicherry region, spinning of cotton thread became a
thriving occupation.

Cotton Weaving

The weaving of cotton fabrics was done in a large
number of villages in the country throughout the eighteenth
century. The castes employed in weaving industry were
chiefly Kaikkolars, Devangas, Sale(Sedars) and Seniyars who
were weavers by profession. In course of time, some
Balijas and Pallis had also entered into weaving industry.
Majority of the weavers who had their settlements within the
boundaries of the French territory manufactured various kinds
of cloth such as those painted blue and white under the
direct control of the French in Pondicherry, Muthiyalpet,
Karuvadikuppam, Lawspet, Pakkumudayanpet, Kathirkamam,
Thillasupet, Orlanpet, Mudaliarpet, Kottakuppam,
Bommayapalayam, Villianur, Valudavur and Bahur. They
produced cloth by using double yarns and with borders for
which silk threads were used. Most of them were in the
hands of capitalists like the Nattukottai Chetties and a few
agricultural caste people, while some weavers had their own
handlooms and produced cloth for sale in the markets.
Silk Weaving

Weaving of silk was practised in this region to some extent. In silk weaving industry, some weavers had specialisation in producing silk thread and woven silk fabrics. They were commonly known as Pattunoolkarars. The silk cloth, such as brocade, was woven with gold and silk threads by silk weavers.

Development of Weaving Activities

The area around Pondicherry became important for cloth weaving. Prior to the arrival of the French, the Dutch and the Danes established handloom units and developed cotton manufactures in Pondicherry and its neighbourhood. In addition to this, after the arrival of the French, a large number of looms was established in Pondicherry and its vicinity under the direct management of the French. At the time of the establishment of a factory at Pondicherry, François Martin obtained three hundred soldiers from Sherkan Lodi to defend the factory, but these soldiers were fully engaged in weaving cloth during the time of peace.

In order to avoid the overall cost of transportation of goods from hinterland, François Martin invited the weavers and skilled artisans to come and settle
down at Pondicherry and its neighbouring villages paving the way for establishing handlooms and producing more cotton textiles. This trend gained momentum in the year 1721, when Lenoir became the Governor of Pondicherry. During this period, a number of looms were established in Pondicherry and its neighbouring villages such as Muthiyalpet, Pakkumudayanpet, Saram, Orlanpet, Mudaliarpet, Kathirkamam, Muthirapalayam and Villianur. It is recorded that as many as 1,500 looms were operating in Pondicherry alone, and more steps were taken by the Governor to increase the number of looms up to 2,000.

Away from of Pondicherry, handloom industries were set up also at Porto Novo along with a dyeing industry to produce cloth for the Company's exports under the direct supervision of the French. Ananda Ranga Pillai was appointed as chief supervisor of the factory by Lenoir. Under Dumas, the French advanced 30,000 pagodas in 1741 to get weavers from Chindadiripet to work in Pondicherry keeping up the tradition. But they could not succeed in their efforts and lost 12,000 pagodas. Dupleix invited various groups of weavers like Kaikkolars, Sedars and Seniyars to settle down in areas south of Villianur near the river and close to the mango garden. Advances of ten pagodas were given to each of them for the purpose of
establishing looms and building houses. In addition to this, those weavers, who were continually staying and working in the looms for the Company, were allowed to repay the amount advanced to them at the rate of one pagoda per year and were also exempted from the payment of tax levied on their goods such as cotton and yarn brought to their place for the first two years after their settlement. The result was that a large number of weavers from Kanchipuram and Arcot came and settled at Villianur and other places. It is worth while to note here that 1,200 families of weavers from different places came and settled at Kanuvapet near Villianur and worked on their looms for the Company until 1752, when they were dispersed in different directions on account of the English attacks on the French territory.

In 1760, less than 100 handlooms were in operation at Pondicherry. It was mainly due to the exodus of the town people with their families to Venkatampettai, Cuddalore, Porto Novo and other places, on account of the incursions of the English. Similarly decline was noticed also in other neighbourhoods. In 1778, the number of looms went down from 400 to 120 at Villianur and from 250 to 50 at Muthiyalpet villages. The chief reason for decline in these parts was attributed to the struggle of the French
with the English for supremacy in the Carnatic region. On account of this, the state of affairs in Villianur, Bahur and other nearby villages deteriorated more than that at Pondicherry town proper. After the war was over, the French brought back the run-away population of weavers and artisans to Pondicherry and other neighbouring villages using their usual technique of advancing a lumpsum of five pagodas to each head of the family. Trees were replanted by them in the streets to protect the weavers from the sun while engaged in textile manufacture. Thus Pondicherry, Muthiyalpet, Villianur, Kanuvapet, Bahur and other villages came to be repopulated. In 1788, there were about 180 handlooms at Pondicherry town, 150 in the village of Muthiyalpet, 102 in the village of Lawspet, 40 in the village of Thilasupet, 12 in the chavadi of Tiruvengadam Pillai, 18 in the chavadi of Arumpathai Pillai and 80 in Villianur operating producing cloth for export markets.

It is important to note that the looms for producing cloth for Asian markets and European markets were different.

Ownership of Looms and Master Weavers

A special feature of textile business in the Pondicherry region was that both production and stocking of products came to be controlled by merchants. As the French
of investment was handled by native merchants like Ananda Ranga Pillai, Tiruvengadam Pillai and others like them. We shall discuss here the emergence of these merchants during this period and how they controlled production. With more and more capital flowing into non-agricultural sector of Pondicherry economy, a group of prominent merchants took active part in the development of handloom industry and contrived to have them under their direct control. Thus the small scale handloom industries came to be organised on proprietorship basis while the French assisted at organisational level and provided personnel for supervision at the Company level. A few of the merchants, who had sufficient capital, established looms and employed weavers to weave cloth under their direct control. They paid wages to the weavers for their labour and also supplied raw materials. In fact, with a view to developing the trade of guinea cloth, Ananda Ranga Pillai, who was a prominent merchant of the Company, established looms and employed 51 weavers at his own expenses at Lalapettai and Arcot. Tiruvengadam Pillai and Arumpattai Pillai were said to have set up looms in their chavadis. In most cases the merchants themselves were owners of the looms and financiers. The weavers received wages from the merchants for their labour. Thus the textiles produced by the weavers
belonged exclusively to the merchants; the weavers sold their labour power to the merchants. The merchants became the owners of the products and also of the capital.

In fact a few weavers, who were rich enough to produce cloth on their own account, and consequently sold them to their best advantage, came to be master weavers and in due course become merchants in textile production. It is also reported that master weavers were deputed by the merchants to make advances to others. Although master weavers emerged sometimes from the rank of artisans, generally they were more often drawn from the merchant class by directly controlling textile production. However, master weavers served as agents of the Company and indulged in the exploitation of the weavers. These master weavers owned a few looms and were instrumental to bring the weavers under one roof for producing textiles. They received as advance money from the merchants and the Company on the one hand and made further advances to each family which was under their control. They were answerable to the balance and received commission on each piece of cloth.

Taxes

Tax was imposed on every loom in the country and was collected by the custom house. The weavers who owned looms were subjected to pay loom tax. It is reported that
eight fanams were levied on a single loom for a year and the weavers paid the loom tax to the customs house. Besides, a professional tax was also levied and collected. At Pondicherry, all artisans were subjected to pay the professional tax to the Company.

Dadni System

In order to procure the goods for export to the distant overseas markets, the French had to depend on the local merchants, brokers and gumastas who were engaged in large scale export trade. As the French did not know the local languages and also the manners and customs of local markets well enough, they understood very well that it was impossible for them to procure commodities in the inland markets without the help and support of the native merchants. For procuring commodities in sufficient quantities and also to compete with the English traders, they followed the method of advancing money to the weavers and artisans through the merchant brokers, who procured goods for them in the hinterland. The French gave five pagodas to each head of the family at Villianur. As noted above this system of making advance payment to the weavers and artisans was known as dadni system, which was traditionally practised by the Indian traders.
This dadni system was widely practised in the commercial sector on the Coromandel coast during the period of this study. The weavers and artisans depended on the money advanced by the buyers and middlemen, as they were too poor to attend to any activity not even to cover the looms without an advance. It is said that they hesitated to set their looms in accordance with the special requirements of the Company, because of the fear that they would suffer losses if the Company rejected their products. In this case, the dadni system gave them the required security on the one hand and enabled them to buy good cotton thread from very distant markets and also necessary commodities for their livelihood in times of scarcity of food grains and cotton in the home market. It was one of the policies of the French Company to make the weavers produce goods in the face of competition from the English Company and native merchants. In most cases the poor weavers were always in debt to, and under the control of, their master weavers who even beat them when they were lazy. We shall examine the various processes involved in the manufacture of textiles.

VARIOUS PROCESS IN MANUFACTURING TEXTILES

Bleaching

After the cloth had been woven, it was taken to bleaching centre and then to dyeing centre. In the
bleaching industry, first the cloth was boiled in water, washed and dried in the sun. Bleaching the cloth was a specialised profession during this period. Professional washermen or dhobis were locally called vannans; and they were employed by the Superior Council for bleaching the Company's cloth. To boil the cloth, the bleachers or washermen used lime and some other local ingredients. After boiling the cloth it was taken to a nearby river or pond where the bleachers beat the cloths vigorously and washed and then dried them in the sun. For bleaching, an operation of special talent and water of special quality were required. Bleaching industries were established at Pondicherry, Muthiyalpet and Villianur, where a sufficient quantity of water was available. The Superior Council established quarters for washermen at the aforesaid centres. It is said that at Muthiyalpet, the bleachers worked their best in India. Cotton cloth of the Company was usually bleached and ironed by the washermen in these centres before they were collected by the merchants. Certain places in the town were reserved for pressing or ironing blue cloth. Merchants like Ananda Ranga Pillai used to control the pressing of blue cloth in the town. Outside the region at Bhuvanagiri, the operation of bleaching the cotton cloths was carried out by washerman.
Dyeing

As in Madras, dye was procured from vegetables in the dyeing industry. Various colours of dye like red, yellow, orange, blue, green and black were produced in this industry. Noona root and kasa leaves for red, turmeric flower of the butea frondisaporasampoo), kaea leaves and myrobalans for yellow; indigo, (Avari) dhobis earth(aplakharam), chunnam (lime), seeds of tagarai plant (cassiatora) for blue; sulphate of iron and gall nuts(kadukai) for black colour were chiefly used for procuring vegetable dyes. By dyeing the twist yellow, orange colour was obtained and by steeping the blue cotton twist in to the yellow bath, green colour was obtained. Chayroot was also used for getting violet colour which was used for painting chintzes. Dyeing industry was established at Pondicherry and Muthiyalpet. The operation of dyeing had gradually emerged as an independent profession. In this industry, the dyers were employed and controlled by the superintendents appointed by the Superior Council. For dyeing cloths in blue colour, the Company provided certain amounts to the superintendents who paid wages for the dyers. Cloth was dyed in red, green and dark blue colours. Some cloth was dyed like that of the Dutch and shaded well as those of Porto Novo. If the
cloth was of low quality, its dyeing was in blue with indigo. This operation required great skill to make the cloth very fine. Pondicherry was the place, where the blue cloth was the best dyed. Fine cloth was brought from outside to Muthiyalpet for dyeing it in blue colour.

Painting and Printing

The production of painted and printed cloth was widely carried out by the artisans on the Coromandel coast. As in other parts of the country in order to produce good painted cloths, the French invited skilled painters from various places. As a result, painters from different parts of the country came and settled down in Pondicherry and its neighbourhood. It is said that in 1788 there were forty houses of painters in Pondicherry alone. For painting the cloth, good quality of water was required. It was found that water of Pondicherry was not good for painting and was said to be worse than that of Madras, but according to Le Gentil, water in Pondicherry was the same as that in Madras. According to Chicherov, the painters drew the first draft on a piece of paper or other similar materials and made small holes on the draft to transform it into a sort of stencil. The stencil was placed on the cloth and thus the drawing was transferred to the cloth with charcoal. After that, the painter used brushes to apply different
colours to the cloth. He also often printed certain parts with the help of black wood and had two sorts of painted cloth according to fineness of design and that of the cloth. Excellent painted cloth was produced only by the skill and superiority of the painters.

Sitting on the ground, the Moutchies kept their cloth on the chassis and with the help of their brushes they drew their designs according to the model given to them. Model designs were brought from France and given to the painters. In this region, several pagodas were wrapped with paintings and various kinds of flowers were painted on the cloth with black colour. These cloths were called flowered black chintzs. The principal caste involved in the painting operation on the cloth as well as on the paper was Moutchies, who should have been associated with the painting trade for a long period. In course of time, as a result of the development of large scale production of printed fabrics, Vellalas, Pallis and Agamudiyans also became cloth painters and lived together with weavers.

Manufacture of Oil

Oil pressing was an important domestic industry of the peasants. In course of time, it became a professional occupation and was widely practised on a small scale in this
region. The wooden mill for oil pressing was made out of the trunk of tamarind tree and strongly fixed on the ground with the huge trunk of wood. One wooden cylinder with iron strap was fixed on a piece of wood. The cylinder went down upto the bottom of the piece of wood, so that the man could drive round the oil machine with the help of one or two bullocks. To avoid guiddiness to the animals a piece of cloth was tied to cover the eyes of the animals. Usually they employed the left hand to remove the oil from cake. The extracting machine was locally called sekkou. The oil mongers were called Vaniyas. They had two sub-divisions, namely ottai sekkan and irattai sekkan according as they used one bullock or two bullocks in their wooden mills respectively. Various kinds of oils were extracted from the vegetable seeds such as castor, gingili, iluppai, neem, groundnut and coconut. Castor oil was frequently produced by women of the peasant household. They roasted the seeds first and crushed it in the ordinary domestic pestle, boiled it in the pot and then cleaned the oil as it floated to on the top. It was used for lighting the lamps in the houses. Gingili oil was extracted in the ordinary wooden mill by oil mongers. It was utilised both for cooking, bathing and occasionaly for lighting the lamps too. Similarly iluppai oil was produced on a large scale for export to overseas markets. It was also utilised for
lighting the lamps in temples and its cake, reduced to powder, was used for removing the oil from the body after an oil bath.

Neem oil was extracted in the wooden mill. This was used as medicine in the countryside and its cake was used as manure for wet land cultivation. Groundnut oil was produced in large quantities in the wooden mills. It was utilised for cooking and for lighting. It was exported in large quantities from Pondicherry to Mauritius island, while Cuddalore sent it to Rangoon (Burma). The cake was partly used locally as manure and part by exported to Java. It was also given to cattle. The oil produced was sold directly to the local consumers as there was no agency in between the sekkan and the consumers. The oil mongers could not send their oil outside the places of Pondicherry for sale because of the exit tax of 35 per cent imposed by the French.

Manufacture of Sugar

Another industry was that of sugar. It was an important small scale industry on the Coromandel coast. Sugar was chiefly obtained from sugarcane and from palmyra juice which constituted the main raw materials. The process of producing sugar started first with crushing cane in the
wooden mill for extracting juice which was boiled in the iron vats to obtain lumps of coarse sugar. It was sometimes dried to make powdered sugar. This variety was not superior in quality in comparison to that obtained in France, and so was not used in bread baking. Another kind of brown sugar was produced from palmyra juice or kallu. It was somewhat white in colour. It was perhaps kalkandu or sugarcandy. It was a fine variety and was used in different ways. The sugar manufacturing industry drew almost all the sugarcane that was grown in this region. The finished products were sold in the market. According to Francis Buchanan, the people who made jaggery from palm trees followed no other profession. An individual of this profession was called shanan. He collected the juice from the tree and with his family boiled it into jaggery. Whenever this industry was adversely affected, coarse sugar from Bhuvanagiri and palm sugar from Chandranagore were imported into Pondicherry. The development of sugar industry gave encouragement to peasants to cultivate more sugarcane in this region.

Brick Industry

Brick manufacture was another important small scale industry in the region of Pondicherry. Bricks were required for constructing houses and fortifications, tanks
and dams. The raw material required for brick making was clay. Excellent bricks were made from this clay. The bricklayers made use of clay for bricks giving them rectangular shape and kept them in a kiln where they were burnt for a few days and then taken out. Excellent bricks were produced at Bommayapalayam, Muthirapalayam and other places. The availability of clay of good quality at Bommayapalayam, Muthirapalayam, Perimbe, Olukarai and Ariyankuppam areas had given rise to brick making industry in these regions. From these areas, the French procured clay for making bricks in Pondicherry. It appears that bricks were produced in Pondicherry under the control of the French for which the Governor appointed an Engineer and a Supervisor. The Superior Council encouraged bricklayers to produce bricks for the fortification at Villianur, Porto Novo and other places. The artisans who were engaged in brick making industry were Uppiliyans by caste.

Pottery Making

Pondicherry was very famous for earthenware even from ancient times. Earthenwares were made at Ariyankuppam even as early as the Roman Empire. The pot making was one of the traditional village handicrafts. The artisans engaged in this industry were locally known as kosavas who were poor
and illiterate. The raw materials used in this industry were clay and firewood. The **kosavan** or potter used a wooden wheel on an axle fixed to the ground. The centre of the wheel was large enough to contain considerable lump of mud. He used one stick to rotate the wheel and with mud he made pots and allied things. The articles thus prepared were put inside a kiln, which was locally called **sulai** and burnt for some time after which they were taken out for sale. The earthenwares generally produced were kudam, panai, satti, etc. Generally the potters were able to meet the local demand and their business was carried out throughout the year except in the rainy season. Quality of the earthenwares made by the potters depended on the skill of their hands rather than the equipment which they used. Generally the potters were thoroughly well experienced in their art as the skill was hereditary. During this period pot-making industry was flourishing at Kosapalayam, Nainarmandapam, Murungapakkam and Ariyankuppam in the vicinity of Pondicherry. In addition to this, the potters modelled dolls, figures of gods and goddesses, mud horses, cattle, sheep, dog and so forth with fine clay and burnt them in a kiln and then painted. On special occasions of festivals, they sold them in the temple fairs. We can see these mud horses and figures of Hindu Gods and Goddesses at the entrance of every village and in the temples of Aiyanar even
It is clear from the name kosakadai street that in Pondicherry the potters had separate shops for the sale of their articles.

**Lime Industry**

Another small scale industry was lime burning industry. Generally lime was produced from lime stone. Within the region, lime was produced at Alankuppam where plenty of lime stones were available. Here the stones were burned in the kilns and then lime was obtained. This was called locally chunnam. Francis Buchanan describes that at chatcolli, lime was burnt in kilns about six feet high, which were at the bottom about four feet and on the top about two feet in diameter. The structure was of mud wall and for ventilation, it was perforated in many places. The fuel used was charcoal, the making of which was the duty of the men and burning it at home was that of women. There was another kind of lime. The raw material used for this kind of lime was sea shells found in large beds in the backwaters existing in many places along the sea coast of southern India. Plaster made on the walls from this lime was very white and took a polish closely resembling marble. Sea shell was obtained from Kilinjalor or Chunnambur for making lime as the name of the river shows. During the period of this study, the Superior Council
encouraged the artisans to make chunnam for the fortification at Villianur, Porto Novo and other places, for which seashell from the beach near Alambarai and Marakkanam was brought to Pondicherry in large quantities. It was chiefly used for constructing houses, forts, tanks and dams by mixing with red sand. It was also used for making potteries. In Pondicherry there were some lime makers who owned certain lime kilns and supplied lime to the council and others. We have evidence to state that one lime maker by name Malayappan was said to have owned a lime kiln.

Salt Production

Salt manufacture was a notable small scale industry all along the sea coast. The manufacturing of salt at the peasant family became a professional craft during this period. The raw materials that were used for making salt were earth water and sea water. The method of salt production was that salt earth was extracted and it was placed in clay reservoirs and washed with water to obtain brine. This was left under the sun where water was evaporated by the heat of the sun and salt remained. According to Francis Buchanan, the salt produced from water in low wet grounds was inferior to that made from sea water.
Salt was manufactured at Pondicherry by individual craftsmen at salt pan or Ouppalam for local consumption. However, the production of salt in Pondicherry was carried out until 13th May 1818, when its production was prevented by the Governor. It is significant to note that in Pondicherry nearly 763 garses of salt were produced annually on the surface of eleven ares. In the vicinity of Pondicherry, sea salt was produced at Marakkanam. Its manufacture was adversely affected at the time of heavy rainfall and inclement weather. In various parts of southern India, the people engaging themselves in the salt manufacture were called Uppiliyas. The main and traditional occupation of Uppiliyas was the manufacture of earth salt and saltpetre which was an important ingredient in the manufacture of gun powder. According to Thurston the earth salt was neither as good nor as strong as marine salt, but it was largely used by the poor class people and also for cattle. The Uppiliya community was maker as well as seller of this commodity.

Fishing

Fishing was another occupation of the people who were living near the seashore. Fishermen who followed their occupation for catching fish in water tanks, ponds, lakes and rivers and never in the sea were called sembadavas,
whereas those who were catching fish in the sea were known as pattanavas popularly called on the Coromandel coast as karaiyas. The pattanavas used catamaran and masala boats for catching fish in the sea and used nets. During the period of this study fishing industry was well developed in this region. It is said that the pattanavas were inferior to sembadavas.

Basket Making

Basket weaving was a handicraft production. It was widely practised on small scale in this region. The people engaged in basket weaving were known as Kuravas, while in some other parts of the country the Medaras or Vedakkaras followed this profession. They lived in thatched huts made of palmyra leaves. As in other parts of the country, they produced baskets of different sizes and shapes for transporting vegetables, fruits, fish, fowls, hand-bailing irrigation, bird cages, hen coops, winnowing trays (muram) and fan (vesiri) with bamboo pieces and with the mid ribs of the leaves of country date palm. They also made bamboo mats and dhatties for the construction of temporary sheds and pandals. Among the products, the green mat which was made solely of the smooth exterior shavings of the bamboo was the best in quality and expressive of the
skill of the kuruvas. They sold their products in the weekly markets held in the village and in the fairs.

Mat Weaving

Mat weaving was an important handicraft production. Its operation was carried out widely elsewhere in the region like Kakkaippattu, Odiampattu, etc. The raw material used for mat weaving was chiefly korai grass. Korai mat was principally used by all classes of people for sleeping on it. Kuravas, Pallis, Pinjaris and also other castes people engaged themselves in korai mat weaving. Another kind of mat was produced from the plaited leaves of the date palm and of the screw pine. These were closely woven and were very soft and designed with colours. This kind of mat was woven in the vicinity of Pondicherry by Jain women at Tindivanam area and by Labbai women at Porto Novo. They sold it at the weekly markets and fairs.

Brassmithery

It was another type of handiwork. Household vessels such as plates, spoons, tumblers, drinking vessels, images of gods and goddesses, kuthuvilakku, sprinklers for rose water with copper, brass and bronze were other kinds of handicraft productions and were made on a small scale in this region. These articles were made in this region by brasssmiths known as kannans.
Blacksmithery

Blacksmiths were traditional village community artisans. They used to produce iron shoes locally called ladams for bullocks and horses, nails and locks for local use, ploughshares, iron implements such as hoes, drills and sickles for agriculture. They were closely attached to the peasants and mostly living in rural areas. But we find the migration of blacksmiths towards the urban centre of Pondicherry in the early period of the eighteenth century. The urban blacksmiths had their specialization in high quality articles such as spears, artillery weapons, axes, swords, all kinds of knives, guns, daggers, etc, for local markets. They sold these articles at weekly markets, in the village fairs and also shops in the urban centres.

Goldsmithery

Goldsmiths made ornaments in gold and silver setting precious stones. The goldsmith section of kamalas belonged to the left hand caste. This faction was called Tattans in Tamil. Being invited by the French, they came from near and far away places to Pondicherry and settled there. The available evidence shows that the goldsmiths made a variety of jewels and ornaments in gold and silver set with precious stones, corals such as gold chain, gold necklace, gold string with gold coins, neck chain, buttons
for shirts and ceremonial symbols. These were sold to both Europeans and natives. Besides, ear and finger rings with pearls, imitation jewels and stones were made and sold in the bazaar where they had shops. They also entered into the Company's service. We have evidence to state that in 1748 a Bunder goldsmith was appointed in the mint by the Governor to engrave on Company's arms. These were engraved on a staff-handle and given to the chief dubasy. Ramoji a goldsmith made a new seal with new title cut on it which was given to the Governor to authenticate formal letters. Similarly Potti tattan, a caste appellation of goldsmith, came from Alambarai and worked in the mint. It is pointed out that the standard of the ornaments made by them was equal to well finished European products.

Carpentry

Carpentry was one of the traditional village crafts. The carpenters produced ploughs, harrows, wooden implements for agriculture, tools for handlooms, palanquin, bullock carts etc., and were closely attached to agriculturists in the villages. Besides, they made vahanas, rathams, ter or chariots on which the images of Hindu gods and goddesses were carried in procession around the temple on the occasion of festivals. We can take for example Villianur ter. Francis Buchanan says that the
chariots made by the carpenter in South India were much superior to those of Bengal. They also carved wooden doors and windows. We can see their talent and skill from the wooden doors, windows and pillars carved by them in the house of Ananda Ranga Pillai. In the early period of the eighteenth century, they came from the country side and settled in the urban centres of Pondicherry region. After the arrival of the French, they made various household furniture such as chairs, tables, etc., They also worked for the Company. They worked on timber taking inspiration from European models. They also had shops in the bazaar in Pondicherry for sale of their articles.

Cutting and Polishing

Coral precious stones and diamonds were cut and polished in Pondicherry by the artisans. Memoires of Francois Martin show that at the beginning of the eighteenth century one hundred coral polishers with their families made their permanent settlement at a place near Kathirkamam in the vicinity of Pondicherry and built their chavadi which was known as Pavazhakaranchavadi. These coral polishers carried out the profession of cutting, polishing and design making of coral, precious stones and diamonds for producing ornaments.
Leather Industry

The artisans engaged in leather industry were known as chakkilias or cobblers. They made leather pots locally called pari, which was widely used for raising water from wells. Besides, they produced leather straps for wooden sandals, crude harness for the ryot's cattle, leather collars from which numerous bells were frequently suspended, leather whips for cattle drivers, ornamental fringes for the bull's forehead, saddles, air-wings or bellows for blacksmith known as turuthi, covers for barbers' razors, leather ropes for various purposes, raw hides and sheep skins for drums. They were closely attached to agriculturists in villages. During the period of this study they migrated towards urban settlements and produced shoes and leather bags and sold them in the markets. Their status in the society was lower than that of others. Sonnerat, a French traveller, who travelled on the Coromandel coast during this period says that the social position of chakkilias was inferior to that of other castes like the Paraiabs because of the cow's skin they used in the industry. But they also had their own shops in Pondicherry.
Distillery Industry and Toddy Drawing

In this industry arrack was produced locally. It was called *arrack de paria* or *pattai*. The raw materials used in this industry were date fruits, jaggery, jack fruits, bark of babool tree and *caruvelum* tree and fragrance. But generally speaking this spirit was distilled from date palms. Francis Buchanan refers to the distillation method from the bark of *caruvelum* tree cut into chips being used. About four pounds of *pattai* were added to one maund of sugarcane jaggery with some quantity of water equal to about twice the bulk of this sweet substance. The mixture was put in an earthen jar which was kept in the shade and the fermentation commenced in about twenty four hours. After keeping this for twelve days, it was distilled. There were many distilleries in Pondicherry owned by merchants. In order to produce arrack locally and also for sale, the merchants had to obtain license from the Superior Council for a certain specific period. Great attention was paid to produce arrack locally. It seems that the Superior Council encouraged the lease-holders to produce arrack locally in large quantity by closing the store house of Colombo arrack in 1724 so as to bring a good income to the Company. Toddy drawing was carried out on a large scale in this region. The artisans engaged in drawing toddy
were called shanans. In order to produce jaggery and also for local consumption, toddy was obtained from palm trees in the country side.

Gunpowder Manufacturing

This industry was established by the French near the hospital at Mirapalli and it flourished. The raw materials used in this industry were charcoal, saltpetre, sulphur, husk and wick cotton. This industry was called powder magazine. Tamarind trees were collected and were burnt for making charcoal. This charcoal was mixed with saltpetre and husk for making gun powder. It was used with wick cotton to explode the cannon ball. This gun powder was prepared in Pondicherry to be used in the war against the English. In 1727, when powder got fire and fifteen persons were killed, the factory was reconstructed by spending about six hundred pagodas. It is important to note that gun powder produced by the French at Pondicherry was better than that produced by the English at Madras. A large number of coolies both men and women, carpenters, blacksmiths, cobblers and boys were engaged in this industry for making powder. It is said that in May 1759 about twenty two coolies were killed as a fire broke out in the industry. In course of time this industry
started to flourish well. And so the Superior Council hired 129 houses on rent for making powder. It must be noted that the manufacture of gun and gun powder was technologically the most advanced industry in Pondicherry.

Centres of Production

The entire tract of Coromandel coast was very busy in the production of cotton fabrics following the advent of western trade expansion throughout the eighteenth century. We shall first deal with Pondicherry where the French had their influence till 1954. Pondicherry and its neighbourhood were the main centres for the production of cotton cloth of good quality. At Pondicherry, scarfs or the so called mouchoirs were made and used as covering for the cloth of percale. Carpet for bed and ordinary painted cloth known as lampasses were produced according to the designs sent by the 130 Directors in France. Mouchoirs de Pondichery of 16 conjams of blue, white and red colours; guinea white Dutch sort, salempores unbleached of 18 and 24 conjams, guineas unbleached of 18 and 24 conjams and fine guingham were all 131 manufactured here. These textiles were varied according to conjams and were meant for external markets. Besides, Pondicherry was very famous for dyeing. These cloths were 132 dyed in blue colour which was found to be the best. Pondicherry and its neighbouring villages produced quite a
considerable quantity of cloth. Raw cotton brought from the country side was used in the handloom industry.

Muthiyalpet village developed into an important centre for weaving as well as for dyeing, besides bleaching operation. The sengunda weavers who came from Andhra and Karnataka and settled at Muthiyalpet village, produced cotton textiles such as kailes or sailasses (kambayam cloth) in a very great variety noted for patterns and colours mainly for export to Malacca and Singapore. The cloths produced in Pondicherry and its neighborhood were brought to Muthiyalpet and bleached because the water in this place contained special components ensuring excellent bleaching. It was very famous for dyeing of cloths in indigo blue for which cloth came from Kanchipuram, Vandavasi, Tiruvannamali, Salem, Tranquebar (Tarangambadi) and Cuddalore.

Pakkumudayanpet, Mudaliarpet and Orlanpet were the other developed centres for textiles. Weavers in these centres produced the same kinds of cloth as in Pondicherry for export markets. It is said that at the very beginning of the eighteenth century, the weavers produced 5,000 pieces of cloth per month at Pakkumudayanpet alone.
In course of time, other centres had also come up to contribute for export of textiles. Law de Lariston, Governor of Pondicherry took earnest efforts to have a separate settlement in the vicinity of Muthiyalpet. It is now named as Lawspet. Similarly, another prominent merchant of the time also had his own colony of weavers and it is now named after him and is known as Delarchipet and commonly identified as Thilasupet. Weavers in these centres manufactured a special variety of cloth as in Pondicherry and Muthiyalpet.

Villianur and Kanuvapet were important manufacturing centres. Weavers from different places made their settlement here and various kinds of blue, white and painted cloth were manufactured under the control of the French. Moreover, Villianur developed into a bleaching centre. The cloths produced in its surrounding places were bleached and dyed in blue colour because the water available here was good for dyeing and also the environment was very pleasant.

A cluster of villages in the southern part of Villianur, viz, Abishekapakkam, Tukkanampakkam, Bahur, Panruti and Tiruviti in the British occupied territory were other important weaving centres that supplied textile to the
French. Weavers known as Kaikkolars who settled in these centres produced sizeable quantity of white and blue cloth and painted cloth called chintz under the control of the French for internal and external markets.

There were a few other centres where textiles were produced and sent to Pondicherry. A little away west of Pondicherry, Valudavur, developed into an important centre for cotton textiles. Painted cloth known as Chintz, white and blue cloth were produced by the weavers for the Company.

South of Pondicherry, Cuddalore was an important manufacturing-cum-commercial centre. Coarse varieties of blue cloth, hand-printed cotton fabrics called chintz, lampasses and white salemptores were the important articles traded with. The Dutch sort, patathikarai of fine quality, bleached cloth, ordinary basins with four threads and of 9 to 12 yards were also manufactured in this centre for export to Manila. Besides, this centre was famous for printing operation. The painters in this centre printed cotton fabrics well with various colours and designs.

At Tirupapuliyyur, another famous manufacturing centre close to Fort St. David, a well known variety of cloth called tapi sarassa, or sarassa malaya and hand-printed
cotton textile called chintz were produced by the weavers in appreciable quantities for export to Southeast Asian countries and Colombo.

Porto Novo influenced by the Dutch developed into a manufacturing-cum-commercial centre. Weavers in Porto Novo and its surrounding villages had woven coarse blue cloth, ordinary guinée with blue colour called guinée blue, guinea ordinary of 18 congams, piece goods, black cloth with two cubits broad, coarse cloth with eighteen cubit long, and hand-printed cotton cloth called chintz. These were meant largely for export to Mocha, Manila, French Island and Achin. The cloths produced here were similar to those of Salem. In 1741, when the Marathas ransacked the area, its production was hindered for some time.

Tranquebar, where the Danes had their settlement, was yet another centre for the production of cotton fabrics and for dyeing meant for the French. Scarfs (handkerchiefs), silk and gold thread and red cotton yarn were chiefly produced in this area. The weavers here dyed cotton in red and black colours with muddi or morinda for local consumption.

Karaikal and Tirumalarayanpattinam developed as manufacturing-cum-commercial centres. In order to meet
their textile demand, the French had their own trading counters. *Salempores, tarnatanes, guinéa, guingham, table cloth, handkerchiefs(scarfs) of different kinds, painted cloth called thick chintz, muslin and saris of various sorts were made in abundance for export to Southeast Asian countries*. The weavers settled in these areas worked on the looms mainly for the Company's export under its Supervisor. Sonnerat, who travelled on the Coramandel coast during this period, writes that the cloths produced in Karaikal and its big neighbouring villages were inferior in quality compared to northern parts.

Nagapattinam was a significant centre for the production of cotton fabrics besides being a trading centre. Cotton textiles of excellence in various colours and *salempores* were manufactured in Nagapattinam and its surrounding villages. The weavers made the cloth upon order of the Company for export.

Chinnappanayakanpalayam became chief manufacturing-cum-commercial centre. Long cloth 9 to 12 kals wide, piece goods, black cloth with 2 cubits broad, coarse cloth with 18 cubits long, ordinary cloth and handkerchiefs were largely manufactured at Chinnappanayakanpalayam and its neighbouring Naduvirapattu and Kurinjipadi for export to Mocha.
In Chidambaram taluk of South Arcot district, Bhuvanagiri, Chidambaram, Srimushnam and Shirkazhi were important centres for the manufacture of various kinds of cotton fabrics. Long cloths of 9 to 12 kals wide and Kambayam cloths were produced in large quantities in these centres. Besides, these areas were noted for silk cloth for export markets. Among these block centres, Bhuvanagiri alone developed into a bleaching centre. Various kinds of cotton fabrics made here and its neighbourhood were bleached at Bhuvanagiri because the river Vellar which passes through this town provided sufficient quantity of water for this operation.

Udaiyarpalayam became the principal manufacturing-cum-trading centre. The weavers settled in Udaiyarpalayam and its neighbourhood used coarse yarn for making stout long cloths of 9 to 12 kals wide. This sort of cloth was required for the use in the hospitals. Besides, ordinarily cotton fabrics and handkerchiefs (scarfs) chiefly made in this area were for country use as well as for export.

Tanjore was an important centre for the production of extraordinary cotton fabrics and painted cloths. Red cotton yarn, silk and gold thread had various kinds of textiles were produced. The weavers in this place dyed
cotton thread in red and black colours with muddior and morinda. These were partly sent to Malabar coast.

Salem developed into a chief textile manufacturing centre rather than a marketing centre. Guinéa known as guinée de saliam (by mistake ceylon guinéa) Salempores white, scarfs (handkerchief), ordinary long cloth of 9 to 12 kalas wide, Dutch sort were woven by the weavers for export to Cochin-China. It is said that in 1741, cloths of Salem were cheaper than those of other places.

Ulundurpet grew into a big centre for cotton manufacture as well as a market place. At Ulundurpet and its surrounding villages blue cloth and painted cloth called chintz were largely manufactured for export to Mocha and Manila markets, where these were in great demand. Cotton, cotton yarn and textiles which were produced in its vicinity were brought to this centre for sale. English records indicate that cotton yarn worth from 12,000 to 15,000 pagodas was sold per month at Ulundurpet. On some occasions, fine thread and few pieces goods were made in this part which came out exceedingly dear to raise the price. It is said that the cloth produced at Ulundurpet were cheaper than that of Salem and Chindadiripet.
Kanchipuram was a famous centre for the manufacture of textiles as early as the Pallava period. It was also famous for silk weaving. The weavers in Kanchipuram and its vicinity produced the cloth called percale which was light and fine white cloth. It is said that the percale of Kanchipuram was one of the best cloths of the world and had great excellence for painting chintz. Perses and belles chites were made here with percale. These cloths were taken to Madras and painted there by using Ponneri water.

Tiruvannamalai became a textile production centre. The famous muslin cloth known as betille doreas de Tiruvannamalai was produced in large quantity by weavers at Tiruvannamalai and its surrounding villages. It was less fine than the organdi and was a very good cloth. It resembled doreas of Bengal.

A little away north of Pondicherry, Kunimedu and Perumukkal developed into weaving centres. The weavers who had their settlements in these areas manufactured various kinds of cotton fabrics for the Company's export.

Mathiripakkam and Vandavasi had grown as manufacturing centres. The weavers in these areas chiefly produced muslin cloths known as betille organdi in red
colour and these were exported to Southeast Asian countries. Lalapettai and Arcot developed as important centres for the production of cotton fabrics besides being trading centres. Weavers under few native merchants manufactured various kinds of cotton fabrics such as guinea cloth and coarse cloths mainly for Company's export. Coarse cotton cloths produced in these areas were cheaper and dearer than those of Bengal.

In Arakonam taluk, Kaveripakkam developed as an important centre for the production of cotton and silk cloth. The weavers chiefly used silk threads in their looms for weaving silk cloth. Arni, Kunnathur and Saidapet were other centres for cotton textiles. Different kinds of cloths were made in these centres for exports. Narayanapettai and Gundumathukal were important weaving centres. Weavers produced various sorts of cloths and these were transported to Lalapettai for distribution and finally to Pondicherry for export. Waluru developed into a chief manufacturing centre. The weavers produced coarse cloth for country use and finer kinds for export on their own account and sold them to the merchants at same place.

Tiruvittiyur was a centre for cloth weaving. Here long cloths of 9 to 12 kals wide were chiefly manufactured
by the weavers for the Company's export. Chindadiripet was another important manufacturing centre. Besides trading operation, weaving operation was greatly done by the weavers in this centre. The weavers wove the cloths to meet the local demand as well as to European Companies. In 1741, there was a demand for the proper cotton thread in this centre. The cloths made in this area were better cured and were better fabrics. Poonamalle was another textile producing centre. Long cloths from 9 to 12 kals wide were chiefly manufactured for supply to the European Companies.

St. Thome was a great centre of production of cotton textiles besides being commercial centre. Here painted cloths called chintzs, plain cloth, calico bleached and dyed were manufactured in large quantities in the specialised industries mainly for Malacca. It is said that the chintzs made here were much finer and of better colours than those of other parts.

Madras where the English had their trading counter was yet another great textile weaving centre. Longcloths of various kinds, brown salemores, fine chintzs and herba cloth which was a variety of Lusser silk were produced in abundance by weavers for the Company's export to Manila and
other overseas markets. It is said that cloths produced at Madras were the best and were sold better in Europe.

North Survapalli, situated south of Nellore and north of Pulicat was an important manufacturing centre for cotton textiles. Here the scarf (handkerchiefs) cloths known as mouchoirs de paliacate were chiefly produced in large quantities for export to the West Indies. Pulicat was a great centre for cotton weaving, besides being a trading centre. Plain cloth, calico bleached, dyed and painted cloths known as Chintz were produced in specialised industry for export. Masulipatnam was a major manufacturing-cum-commercial centre. Excellent cotton fabrics of various colours and handkerchiefs, Chintz white cloths, lungies were woven in large quantities in this centre and its vicinity exclusively for external markets. Further north, Yanam was another major textile weaving centre. Cotton cloths of 15, 19, 23, 26 and 30 conjams wide and unbleached cloths were chiefly produced for the Company's export, where the French had their trading counter.

From the above survey one can conclude that the migration of weavers and artisans from the countryside to the port town of Pondicherry and its vicinity took place in the eighteenth century. The wide spread production of
textiles and subsequent emergence of new weaving centres contributed to a great extent to the growth of villages in the suburbs of Pondicherry as well as to the growth of Pondicherry town. These suburban centres had developed well in order to supply substantial quantity of cotton textiles and other artisanal products to Pondicherry. They gained importance and acted as production centres for the French Company. Cash crops began to occupy a significant role in the agricultural production. This enhanced the revenue of the region and also met foreign demands. More lands were brought under use, artificial means of irrigation were employed to enhance production of cash crops. Exemption from tax for two years and advances paid to the weavers encouraged the weaving industry under the French. The French encouraged the weavers and artisans to cater to the increased demand for textiles production. The weavers had changed their place of residence from the temple complex to the coastal villages. Part time works of spinning, weaving etc. became a full time job. Thus agricultural and non-agricultural productions were linked and brought together to cater to the needs of people in the exchange sector. We shall discuss in the next chapter, how internal trade flourished and the role of Pondicherry under the French flag in the eighteenth century.
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81. Ibid.
83. Labernadie, *op.cit.*, p.94.
91. Histoire.... p.106.
96. Ibid. Vol.XII, p.126.
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112. Histoire..., p.104.
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123. CCSP 1726-30, p.33.
125. Labernadie, op.cit, p.13.
126. CCSP 1726-30, p.33.
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139. Divers sur, p.66.
142. Ibid.
150. Ibid.


156. Dubreuil, op.cit, p.36; Diary, Vol.V, p.75; Vol.328; Calendar, p.10.


161. Dubreuil, op.cit, pp.36,39.

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163. Ibid, p.35.


178. Dubreuil, op.cit, pp.36,37.

179. Ibid.
