CHAPTER IV
MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION AND URBANIZATION OF CUDDALORE
1865 - 1947

The municipal government in India was born out of needs of the central government. The financial exigencies faced by the latter in the mid-nineteenth century necessitated creation of municipal government in India. The municipalities provided relief to the district officers. The Act xxxvi of 1850 was introduced in Madras Presidency. However, it was bitterly opposed. The passing of the Town Improvement Act of Madras (Act X of 1865) enabled 44 towns in this Presidency to become municipalities\(^2\). One of the beneficiaries of the Act was Cuddalore.

The construction of new roads, bridges, streets, offices medical and educational institutions and establishment of markets contributed to the urban growth of Cuddalore in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Works connected with water supply, drainage, sanitation and collection of taxes supplemented its urban development. Municipal and local government Acts contributed to the emergence of Cuddalore into a town in the modern sense. It has been observed that the co-ordination between the government and municipality served as the backbone of urban development. The urban development of Cuddalore due to municipal administration is discussed in the ensuing pages.
MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION AND URBANIZATION OF CUDDALORE

Under this section, the various municipal acts introduced in Madras Presidency and their contribution in the urban development of Cuddalore are discussed. Further, the administrative measures taken by the Cuddalore municipality in the development of education, sanitation, medical facilities, laying of good roads and streets, provision of good drinking water supply and reactions of the people against these measures are discussed critically. Major cities like Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, and towns such as Cuddalore originated as centres of colonial economic exploitation. As Immanuel Wallerstein states the colonised belonged to the peripheral area. The relation of the core to the periphery was of exploitative nature. The result was, the core area grew stronger and the peripheral area became weaker. In other words, Britain grew stronger on the economic exploitation of India. The colonial metropolis and towns helped the colonists in carrying out their trading activities. Consequently they grew as centres of administration.

M.N. Pearson, the critic of Wallerstein in his work *Before Colonialism - Theories on Asian European Relation 1500 - 1750*, points out, that the peripheral area was again divided into several core and peripheral zones.
Corporations and municipalities were established in the big cities and towns respectively in order to facilitate colonial rulers. The development and under development of these urban centres depended upon their degree of administrative importance in the latter half of the 19th century and the commencement of 20th century.

THE LEGAL AND NATURAL SOCIAL DEFINITION OF A CITY OR TOWN

The legal city (Municipality) requires a legal boundary and minimum specified population. In Madras, a population of about 10,000 may make a municipality. The municipalities in Madras presidency were classified according to their income. The municipalities exceeding an annual income of Rs. 15 Lakhs and more were classified as Grade I. The Grade II municipalities had an annual income exceeding 3 Lakhs. All other municipalities with an annual income of less than 3 Lakhs were classified as Grade III. On application of these Principles, Cuddalore municipality was grouped as Grade III as its annual income was on an average Rs. 41,327 from 1889 to 1892. As per the legal boundary of the municipality, the changes in the legal boundary of the municipality rested with the state government. The latter took decision on the report of local agent, the District officer. The District Officer used to
make his report according to his convenience. It was due to this reason the area of many municipalities of our country remained the same for a long time. Cuddalore municipality was one among them whose initial area of 13.33 sq. miles remained the same even in 1947.

Legal rights and legal boundaries find no place in the definitions of the natural social definition of the city. As a natural phenomenon, the town or the city expands to neighbouring area with increase of population, occupational change and quality of social relations. The city legal meant the city as one kind of governmental unit. The city natural describes it as a natural entity. The municipal administration in Cuddalore provided infrastructure facilities for its increasing population. Population agglomeration, ecology and migration were different aspects of urbanization. It may be inferred that the natural boundary of the city satisfies the aspects mentioned above.

The history of urbanization of Cuddalore in the late 19th century is the history of municipal government of Cuddalore. An attempt is made here to highlight the services of the municipality in urbanizing Cuddalore till the dawn of twentieth century.
CONSTITUTION OF CUDDALORE MUNICIPALITY

The municipality of Cuddalore was constituted under the Towns Improvement Act X of 1865. It is bounded by river Pennayar in the north, Uppanar in the south, and Bay of Bengal and Mount Capper in the east and south east respectively. Initially Cuddalore municipality was a cluster of villages. It contained five divisions viz. Cuddalore Old Town (ward I and II), Vandipalalyam (ward III), Tiruppapuliyyur (ward IV and V), Pudupalayam (ward VI) and Manjakuppam (ward VII) which included eleven revenue villages. It was practically divided into four parts viz. Cuddalore Old Town, New Town or Tiruppapuliyyur, Manjakuppam and Fort St. David. The income of the municipality came from various sources.

INCOME OF THE MUNICIPALITY

Local Fund Boards were created by the Local Funds Act of 1871. They were converted into District Boards, and Panchayats by subsequent legislation. The income of the municipality came from rates, taxes on art, buildings, lands, water, vehicles with springs, palanquins, carts without springs, animals, tolls, licences and penalties and fees.
The rent came from markets, fisheries gardens, municipal buildings, municipal lands and ferry services. Penalties included fines under the police act. Fees were collected from schools and training institutions, slaughter houses and municipal cart stand. Fees were to be paid for numbering carts, conservancy, road cleaning and private scavengering. Sale of medicine and interest from funded capital also brought income to the municipality. Inspection and searching fee for registration of births and deaths fetched income to the municipality. The other sources of income were contribution from provincial funds viz. communication and education, and scholarship grant for normal students. As stated earlier, the income of the Cuddalore municipality fluctuated between Rs. 32,553 and 45,360 during the period from 1890 to 1893.

EXPENDITURE

The expenditure of the municipality was classified under several heads such as Grant I, Grant II, Grant III, Grant IV and Grant V. They were as follows:

Grant I

Expenditure on new works, communications, buildings, drainage, water supply, repairs on communication,
establishments, tools, plants, contingencies, contribution to provincial funds and for the contribution to Gadilam bridge were specified as Grant I.

Grant II

The expenditure on education viz. Training Schools, municipal schools, salary grant, result grant schools on the combined systems such as fixed payments and result grants were included. Contribution to local funds and municipal inspection came under Grant II.

Grant III

Expenditure on Sanitation and Medical Services was classified as Grant III.

Grant IV

The expenditure on lighting and Miscellaneous was included in this category.

Grant V

The amount spent on General establishment and Honorary magistrate's establishment was brought under Grant V.

The urban development of Cuddalore depended on the income and expenditure incurred in various items cited
above. The amount spent on these items resulted in the development of infrastructure facilities of Cuddalore municipality.

CUDDALORE MUNICIPALITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF INFRASTRUCTURE FACILITIES

(A) MEDICAL FACILITIES:- The two civil dispensaries at Manjakuppam and Cuddalore Old Town were managed by the municipal commissioner. The Cuddalore municipality provided an opportunity to the inhabitants of Cuddalore to avail Western medical facilities. 13,952 cases were treated in these municipal hospitals during the year 1873. The total number of in-patients and out patients treated during the year 1873, in Manjakuppam Dispensary and Old Town Dispensary were 24 and 8,456, and 161 and 5086 respectively\(^\text{13}\). The increase of patients attending Manjakuppam dispensary in 1873 showed that this part of the town was equipped with more medical facilities. In other words Manjakuppam was developing rapidly. At the same time Cuddalore old town was loosing its importance due to the development of land routes. Keen interest was taken for the development of medical and sanitary facilities. Out of the total expenditure of Rs. 32,441. in Cuddalore municipality during the year 1873, 42% was spent on medical and sanitary services\(^\text{14}\).
The Dispensary at Old Town was housed in a rented old building. On the abandonment of the latter, the municipal administration of Cuddalore planned to construct a new one subject to the availability of funds. A hospital equipped with beds was built near the Civil Dispensary at Manjakuppam in 1873. The commissioner of Cuddalore municipality appealed to the government for the gratuitous services of a trained nurse but in vain.

There were two vaccinators, at Manjakuppam and Cuddalore. The Manjakuppam vaccinator was under the control of the Civil surgeon. It has been reported that the total number of successful vaccinations during the year ending 31st March December 1872, was 728 or 18 per thousand of the population\(^{15}\) (40,478). The statistics shows poor response of the public towards vaccination. However it implied that a section of the society had confidence in the western medicine.

The Manjakuppam hospital contained necessary cots, beds and nurses' cottage. The persons who under went treatment in this hospital included Europeans and East Indians. It seems that the persons who benefited from the hospital were mostly Indians. Of the total in patients numbering 161 about 6% were European and Eurasians, the remaining 94% were Indians. Out of 5,086 out patients 10.9%
were Europeans and Eurasians and 89% were Indians. This statistics shows that the Indians who had an aversion to western medicine in the beginning of 18th century, changed their attitude by the end of 19th century. The change in their attitude was an aspect of urbanization. However, the caste Hindus were still reluctant to undergo medical treatment along with lower communities. This is evident from the fact that the question of the erection of a caste ward was being considered in 1891. The hospital and dispensaries in Cuddalore were opened to its inhabitants only till 1890 A.D.

In 1886 the estimated amount to be spent on medical and sanitation was 82% of the total amount of Rs. 59,177 under Grant III. In the beginning of the year 1890, efforts were made to admit non-residents to the benefits of municipal hospital and dispensaries. As a result of it, the number of patients rose to 43,750 and 46,773 during the years 1889-90, and 1890-91 respectively. The number of cases attended by the midwives attached to the hospitals decreased from 170 in 1889-90 to 159 in 1890-91. This was because, most of the women belonging to upper caste did not prefer child birth with the help of midwives belonging to scheduled caste or those converted to Christianity from scheduled caste. Inspite of the conservative attitude of the caste Hindus towards caste and
society, western medicine found its way to Cuddalore in the end of 19th century. Accordingly the consciousness to safeguard themselves from viral infection among the people was created to take protected water. Necessary steps were taken to improve the protected water supply to the inhabitants of Cuddalore municipality by the end of 19th century.

(B) The People of Cuddalore and Protected Water Supply

Earlier, the inhabitants of Cuddalore used water from Gadilam river, Pennayar river, tanks and wells for drinking. The residents of New Town and Tiruppapuliyur derived their water supply from two rivers and wells. Gadilam supplied water to the people living in Pudupalayam and Tiruppapuliyur. The inhabitants of Manjakuppam fetched water from Pennayar river. These sources of water were contaminated due to increase of population and urbanization of Cuddalore. River Gadilam was polluted due to the mixing of sewage of the police lines in it. The result was the outbreak of cholera in this region. Hence the municipal administration took initiative to provide good drinking water to the people of Cuddalore.

Six municipal wells and some private wells supplied water to Cuddalore town. As these wells were not
protected, the municipal administration took all the measures to prevent contamination. Rules were laid down for cleaning all the wells in the town at least once in a year and constructing the wells according to the specification of the Army Sanitary Commission.²¹

In spite of many tanks in the town, none was suitable for drinking purpose. The old tank which supplied drinking water was abandoned. The inhabitants of Cuddalore took water from the Capper Hill Lake. The rest of the tanks were used for bathing and washing purposes. The bad practice of the inhabitants to use the dry tanks as latrine gave headache to the municipal administration. The practice of soaking bamboo sticks and thatches in water also led to the contamination of water in these tanks. Sometimes one or two banks of the tanks were used as burial ground. For instance, one bank of the tank situated near the travellers bungalow was used as burial ground. The need for taking steps to improve the platform round the cistern and for making arrangements for carrying away waste water were insisted. Besides the importance of cleaning the beds of the two filters regularly and replenishing it with fresh sand was advised.²²

There was no change in water supply even until 1891. The inhabitants of Cuddalore Old Town brought water
from the Capper Hill Lake by means of conduit. Water from this channel flowed into a filtering tank prior to distribution. Iron ore, quartz and sand were used as filtering media. A. Fernandez, Acting District Surgeon in his annual report on the working of the Municipal Hospitals and Dispensary at Cuddalore for the official year 1890-1891 has mentioned that the water in the Caper lake was good but the water was not analysed. A watch supervised the lake. In due course, the practice of allowing the caste people to get water from the setting reservoir by standing in the water and dipping their vessels was prohibited.

At Brukispetta and Vandipalayam, water was obtained from wells. Davanampatanam was still in need of a good public well. Pallikuppam had no public well. All the wells in Pudupalayam were private. The well located in St. Xavier's College supplied drinking water to the people. As the lower caste people and untouchables were not allowed to take water even from public wells, they had to resort to the contaminated water in reservoirs, tanks and rivers. It may be inferred that mostly they fell victim to cholera and dysentery. The desire expressed by the chairman to sink a public well in the 4th division near the Roman Catholic Church indicated the interest of the municipal administration to provide good drinking water to all the
sections of the society. But the expenditure incurred towards water supply in 19th century shows the neglect of water supply in Cuddalore municipality. Some steps were taken to improve the water supply in the early twentieth century.

The water tank at Old Town of Cuddalore was opened by Boulton, Collector of South Arcot in 1932\textsuperscript{26}. The overhead tank made of metal sheets, resting on the pillars constructed with bricks and mortar indicated the advancement in technological development during this period. The development in water supply marked the urbanization of Cuddalore. However the amount spent on water supply was inadequate.

The following observation shows that the expenditure on water supply in Cuddalore municipality during the years 1888 to 1890 was in between 0.4 percent to 2.1 percent of the total expenditure on public works. The result was high death rate due to cholera during the said period. The ensuing table explains the neglect of water supply and increase of deaths due to cholera in Cuddalore municipality towards the close of 19th century.
Table: 13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Death due to Cholera (Percent to the total death)</th>
<th>Expenditure on water supply (Percent to the total expenditure on Public Works)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computed from G.O. 25th November 1890, 1771 Local and Municipal

The above table indicates that the death rate due to cholera was increasing in spite of the increase of expenditure on water supply during the period from 1888 to 1890. It implied that sufficient amount was not allotted by Cuddalore municipality to improve drinking water supply during this period. It also indicates urbanization of Cuddalore as high death rate occurs in urban centres.

(C) SANITATION

The crowding of people into small space bears with it, a tremendous increase in specialized demands. People need streets, public water supplies, public sewage system, garbage disposal, police protection, fire protection, parks, play grounds, civic centres, schools, libraries and transportation systems. A more complicated system of
administration is necessary to handle the complex problems of engineering, law, finance and social welfare. The increase of population of Cuddalore necessitated the construction of municipal latrines and enforcement of private scavenging. As the sanitary works such as drainage and conservancy associated with dirt, it was a great problems for the administrators to produce labour force for such works. The deputy collector of South Arcot in his report for the year 1873 regretted the inefficiency of the overseers and he reminded that much remained to be done to improve the sanitary condition. He observed, "The latrine accommodation provided for 40,000 in habitants is wholly inadequate, but steps are being taken to remedy this defect, and the surplus balance can be very usefully employed in this direction." Thus the municipal administration took necessary steps to keep Cuddalore neat and clean.

Steps were taken to improve the sanitary condition in Cuddalore municipality. In 1890, the streets were provided with 173 dust bins. Out of them 9 were iron movable ones. The rest of them were masonry structures. The replacement of movable iron dust bins in their stead was considered.

Municipal services were rendered to private individuals and a scavenging cess was levied. This system
was introduced in Cuddalore Old Town where 50 houses were cleaned daily. The scheme however did not find favour with the caste conscious inhabitants of the town due to the want of access by the toties (Scavengers) to backyards without passing through the houses themselves. Another impediment was the difficulty of procuring locally sufficient number of toties required for working the scheme on a larger scale.

The traditional attitudes and hierarchy in the society and association of sanitary works with dirt and filth prevented the inhabitants of Cuddalore from extending their cooperation for cleaning their own latrines with the help of the scavengers. Entrance through backyard of the houses would have encouraged the inhabitants to co-operate with the sanitary measures introduced by the municipal administration of Cuddalore. On the contrary, reluctance to use private scavenging service resulted in out break of milo type of cholera.

The town had no rubbish depots. The filth was carted to the fields of the purchaser and used as manure. The income by the sale of rubbish varied from Rs. 1466 to Rs. 1812 during the period from 1886 - 1890. Later the farmers were unwilling to use the rubbish as manure in plenty. The rubbish which consisted of waste materials such as iron, glass, tin, utensils, etc affected the quality of
the soil. Another reason might be, psychological aversion to night soil which prevented the farmers to use it as manure to grow food crops and vegetables. The municipal administrators had to purchase some plots of land and use them as depot. The chairman agreed to purchase a piece of ground and used it for the night soil disposal in the year 1890.

The increase of population necessitated the increase of the conservancy staff. The conservancy establishment consisted of one sanitary inspector, four mastries 20 scavengers, eight totties, 10 rubbish carts and one night soil cart. There were seven public latrines, 3 for females and four for males but the people hardly made use of them as they were far away from their residences. Hence the people, again resorted to the lanes and waste pieces of land. The remedy was to construct public latrines near their residence on approved plans and to educate the people to use them.

The remarks made by the then chief secretary, J.F. Price on the report of the deputy sanitary commissioner throws much light on the sanitary condition of the Cuddalore municipality. The following were the suggestions made by the Chief Secretary.
1. **Improvement of the sanitary condition of David patnam.** (Devanampatanam).

2. **Improvement of the condition of lanes in Tiruppapuliyur and of the roads in Pudupalayam.** The insanitary condition of these localities was strongly commented upon in G.O. dated 28 Aug. 1890 No. 1260 M., but the conservancy and the road cleaning establishments appear to be as inefficient as ever.

3. **Increase of the number of moveable dustbins and the provision of suitable rubbish depots.**

4. **Provision of side-cuttings for the roads, construction of cess pools on approved plans, and cleaning them regularly either by municipal or private agency.**

5. **Drainage of the yard around the Capper lake cistern, and entire prevention of the objectionable practice of allowing caste people to take water from the setting reservoir.**

6. **Sinking public wells in Tiruppapuliyur, Devanampatanam, Pallikuppam and Pudupalayam.**

7. **Construction of a large number of iron latrines (latrines enclosed with iron sheets) on approved plans in place of the present **tatty** enclosures.
8. Removal of the night soil to the suitable depots, substitution of iron for wooden night soil carts, and complete prevention of the objectionable practice of allowing pigs to act as scavengers.

9. Introduction of the private scavenging system on a more systematic basis.

10. Strict enforcement of the provisions of the act regarding compulsory vaccination.

11. Improvement of the registration of vital statistics, which continues to be grossly neglected.

The suggestions made by the Chief Secretary over the report of the deputy sanitary commissioner throws some light on the condition of Cuddalore in the latter half of the 19th century in its urban setting. Further it indicates the effort of the British officials to introduce sanitary measures on the Western lines. The report also reflects the difference between the East-West culture. While the Europeans give more importance to cleanliness of their bodies as well as their environment, the Indians, especially the Hindus take much care about their bodily cleanliness and cleanliness of their houses. But the Indians, generally do not care about the cleanliness of their surroundings. The neglect of hygiene resulted in the
outbreak of epidemics such as cholera in Cuddalore region in the last quarter of the 19th century.

The insanitary state of various divisions of Cuddalore indicated the urban problems faced by the town of Cuddalore. The ecological changes and morphology of Cuddalore town did not make much impact on the habits and lifestyle of the inhabitants. The use of latrines, and acceptance of private scavenging service, by some inhabitants marked the beginning of change of attitude of the people. However, the mentality and habits of the people were mostly rural as they used wasteland, sides of the streets and roads, lanes and river sides as latrines. The suggestions to construct more latrines, provision of side cuttings for the roads and construction of cess pools on approved plans and disposal of night soil to suitable depots were aimed at urbanising the people's mind.

In 1892, Hammick, acting collector of South Arcot remarked "The proposal to raise the private scavenging service fee, will certainly not result, if carried out in raising the gross income derived from it. In my opinion the proper course is to charge as low a fee possible and to compel person to avail themselves of this service by strict police conservancy. In the absence of an European Town Inspector little progress will be made, and there is little chance of the increased income budgeted for".
The remark of the acting collector of South Arcot on sanitary measures, clearly shows the problems confronted by the town on transition from rural to urban life. The poor cooperation extended by the inhabitants to the municipal authorities implied the need for education rationalization of attitudes.

(D) GROWTH OF EDUCATION IN CUDDALORE MUNICIPALITY

The progress of educational institutions is an aspect of urbanization. Municipalities, private individuals, choultries and Christian missionaries played a key role in the spread of education. Education was backward even in the middle of 19th century in Cuddalore. The privilege of learning was reserved for the upper castes. The lower castes and depressed classes still remained in darkness. The introduction of public school system gave an opportunity to the poor and down-trodden to get the benefit of education. The Christian missionaries encouraged the Christian converts who were mostly scheduled castes, to study in their educational institutions. There is no doubt that the spread of education urbanised Cuddalore in the 19th century.

The aim of British education in India was to produce supporters of British government. Another objective
was to produce clerks among Indians to assist their rulers in their colonial administration with meagre salary. Their sympathy towards the downtrodden section of the society might have been due to the fact that the latter were converted into Christianity in the very beginning of the colonization of India by the Europeans. They considered all the Indians were inferior to them. The British treated all educated Indians who served in the British government as clerks. Though some orthodox Hindus were against western system of education, some upper castes such as Brahmins took advantage of English education.

The moderates of the Indian National Congress had a vision of their country as strong, industrialised, socially emancipated, and self governing\(^3\). However, the British government discouraged technical education in India in 1890. This clearly explained the intention of British educationists who were mainly concerned with production of clerks. It may be observed that only two technical schools were established in the whole of South Arcot district. Weaving was taught in one of these technical schools, namely S.P.G. school at Cuddalore\(^4\). Female education, under the colonial rule was not much developed.
Prior to the introduction of public school system, education was in the hands of a few upper caste people. The admission to the schools was restricted to certain upper castes. Besides the schools run by the private individuals there were some choultries which were engaged in educational as well as religious activities. The choultry at Tiruppapuliyyur was supported by a permanent deduction of Rupees 678-9-0 under the head of moota merah from the Jama bundy Beriz of certain villages in the Cuddalore taluk. The institution was charitable as well as educational\textsuperscript{35}. More and more schools were started after the establishment of the municipality and they received grants from the municipality which amounted to Rs. 691-4-0. There were twenty one schools which received grants from the municipality of which fourteen were vernacular schools and seven Anglo-vernacular schools. The annexed statement gives us an idea of the educational institutions run by the private individuals in Cuddalore municipality in 1873.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and Location</th>
<th>School Type</th>
<th>Rs. A.P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ramalinga Chetti - Devanmpatanam -</td>
<td>Vernacular school</td>
<td>25-0-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaithilinga Pillai - Tiruppapuliyur -</td>
<td>Anglo-Vernacular School</td>
<td>83-8-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muthukrishnapadi - Soorapu Naickchavadi</td>
<td>Vernacular school</td>
<td>27-8-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kistnasami Ayer - Pudupalayam -</td>
<td>Vernacular school</td>
<td>56-8-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Komarasamy Ayer - Old Town, Cuddalore</td>
<td>Vernacular school</td>
<td>23-0-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groosanthi Ayer - do -</td>
<td>Vernacular school</td>
<td>35-0-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinnakesava Naidu - Tiruppapuliyur</td>
<td>Vernacular school</td>
<td>17.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narainasami - Old Town, Cuddalore</td>
<td>Vernacular school</td>
<td>13-8-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authinarainachetti - Tiruppapuliyur -</td>
<td>Anglo Vernacular school</td>
<td>57-8-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visoovalingam Pillai - Old Town -</td>
<td>Vernacular school</td>
<td>10-0-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangasami Naidoo - Malimiarpet</td>
<td>Vernacular school</td>
<td>14-0-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soobha Ayer - Kinjenpet -</td>
<td>Anglo Vernacular school</td>
<td>40-8-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Name</td>
<td>Amount</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Nixon - Old Town Vernacular school</td>
<td>26-0-0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinnathumbi - Shoralkulpet Vernacular school</td>
<td>51-0-0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruthnasami Chetti - Pudupalayam Vernacular school</td>
<td>21-0-0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kistnasami Ayer - Vannarapalayam Vernacular school</td>
<td>29-0-0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajappa Mudali - Vandipalayam Vernacular school</td>
<td>7-8-0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murugesapillai - Manjakuppam - Vernacular school</td>
<td>45-4-0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trichelvaroy chetty - Pudupalayam - Anglo Vernacular school</td>
<td>21-0-0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soobroy Mudali Brookespet Vernacular school</td>
<td>55-0-0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viswanatha Sastri - Tiruppapulyur - Anglo Vernacular school</td>
<td>32-8-0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 691


The above statement shows that the caste Hindus ran about 95% of the schools in this municipality and the remaining 5% was run by Christians. Among the Hindu
proprietors, 20% were chetties, 15% were Pillai, 30% were mudali. Others were 15%. While the vernacular schools were evenly distributed in various parts of the town, the Anglo-vernacular schools were established in the inner circle of the Cuddalore municipality. This showed that the urbanization of Cuddalore was taking place from the core of the Cuddalore municipality to its periphery. It may be observed that 45% of the municipal grant went to the seven Anglo-vernacular schools in this municipality. The remaining 55% was spent on fourteen vernacular schools in it. This implied that the English education was encouraged by the British. These schools were generally located in between Black Town and White Town of Cuddalore municipality. The Anglo-Vernacular schools were given special encouragement. The reason for the encouragement given by the British to the Anglo-Vernacular schools was adherence of Western system of education in these institutions. The English discouraged vernacular schools as the type of education imparted in these schools was traditional and not modern.

STATE OF EDUCATION IN THE CUDDALORE MUNICIPALITY DURING 1888 - 1890

The educational institutions were classified into six divisions viz. colleges, secondary schools, primary
schools, Girl's schools, St. Joseph female normal school and industrial schools. They were either municipal or government, aided, unaided or indigenous. One secondary school and twenty primary schools were aided from municipal fund. The following table-15 in the next page compares the number of schools and pupils for the years 1888-89 and 1889-90.

The educational institutions received grants in aid under Salary - Result system, Salary grants and Result grants. Under these systems, the increase or decrease of the grants depended on the certificate earned by the teachers. For instance, Principal of St. Joseph's college and manager of the S.P.G school at Old Town were paid salary grants on account of the teachers of the primary department of their institutions. The government decided to improve the standard of education in Cuddalore by appointing qualified teachers, encouraging the unqualified in-service teachers to undergo training and replacing the backward schools in Cuddalore municipality by Salary-Result system in 1891. Such schools were to be started in Uppalavadi, Singarathope and Sanarapalayam. Separate schools for Muslims were to be started in order to promote education among them.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification of Institution</th>
<th>1888 - 89</th>
<th>1889 - 90</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No of On 31st Mar schools Boys Girls</td>
<td>No of On 31st Mar schools Boys Girls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 College Municipal Govt. or aided</td>
<td>2 621 -</td>
<td>2 571 -</td>
<td>St. Josephs college alone gets grants from the municipality for its primary department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Secondary Schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal or Govt Aided</td>
<td>- - -</td>
<td>- - -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaided</td>
<td>2 206 1 90</td>
<td>3 359</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Primary Schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal</td>
<td>- - -</td>
<td>- - -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aided</td>
<td>23 1026 43 20 837 31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaided</td>
<td>1 47 - 5 218 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous</td>
<td>14 283 9 9 208 -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Girls Schools</td>
<td>5 - 350 4 - 287</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 St Joseph's Female Normal School</td>
<td>1 - 13 1 - 13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Industrial School</td>
<td>- - -</td>
<td>- - -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50 2412 415 45 2283 334</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The report of J.F. Price provides considerable information on the state of education in Cuddalore municipality. According to his report, an amount of Rs. 3,176 which formed 8.7% of the income from taxation and rents, was spent on education. Out of the four primary schools established by the council, two of them did not receive government sanction. The submission of a proposition statement for the staff required in the Mohammedan school was insisted. The opening of the school was approved by the council. Only one trained student out of four normal students was registered. The functioning of Uppalavadi school was not satisfactory. The other two Salary-Result schools established in the early part of 1891 were progressive. The allotment was made for encouraging technical education. But this was not availed as there were no applicants for the scholarship offered. The physical education was to be expedited.

The council aided two schools with salary and 23 with result grants, the latter being paid at different rates. J.F. Price discouraged the appointment of untrained teachers in large scale.

According to the Report, the amount spent on education was not adequate, being 8.7% of the total income of the municipality. The employment of untrained and
unqualified teachers resulted in poor performance of the students. Hence improvement in education could be achieved only by appointing qualified and trained teachers in place of untrained teachers and strict supervision by the inspector of schools.

The Principals of the Colleges in the municipality in 1892 A.D did not show much interest in starting industrial class in their institutions. This reflected colonial attitude. The deputy collector's report states, "The acting sub-assistant Inspector of schools requested that a sum of Rs. 200 might be provided for starting an industrial class in any one of colleges in the municipality, but as a similar provision in the current year was not availed of by either the Principal of St. Joseph's college or the Secretary of the Hindu college for opening an industrial class in their institution and the assistant inspector of schools who was present in the meeting, suggested the omission of this item from the budget. This showed that colonial rulers were not interested industries being started in a significant way.

Discriminating people on the basis of caste or creed was not encouraged in the government schools. However the outcastes were not sufficiently represented in these institutions. Hence the government was contemplating to
open a special school for Adi-dravidas in South Arcort district H.B. Grigg, Director of Public Instruction mentioned in his letter that he would urge on the consideration of the municipal council of Cuddalore, the necessity for the opening of a special school for the untouchables and the other outcastes, of whom, he believed there were sufficient number in the town. The recommendation of H.B. Grigg was the consequence of the British educational policy in India.

FEMALE EDUCATION

The female education in the later half of the 19th century was not encouraging. Some of the upper class and backward class girls received their education. The female minors belonging to Adi-Dravida community who were converted to Christianity due to their inferior status, and being excluded from the Hinduism received education from Christian missionaries.

The female minors of the upper caste received their education in their houses through the agency of the female teachers well acquainted in vernacular languages. The upper section of the society preferred English women or East Indians brought up with English habits as governesses. In the absence of the above mentioned category of teachers,
the employment of Native Women educated in the Mission Boarding schools was preferred by the government. But the upper caste people objected to it on the ground that these teachers were Christian converts from scheduled castes. In order to overcome these obstacles the government encouraged the Tamil and Telugu teachers. It may be noted that the Tamil teacher meant the caste 'Hindu teacher'. The Telugu teacher usually belonged to upper caste. The government found it very difficult to provide houses for the young women teachers who came forward to teach in vernacular, language at the place of their employment.

A.J. Arbuthnot, Director of Public Instruction was not happy about the system of domestic education and obtaining services of qualified governess-Europeans, east Indians or natives. He remarked "under these circumstances I am not sanguine that the system of domestic education to which I advert, will prove feasible, at all events for some time to come, but if the government approve of the principle, I would suggest that the court of wards should be instructed to attempt its introduction, in communication with my department, whenever it may be possible to obtain the services of the qualified governess".

The views of the Director Public Instruction shows that government attention was drawn towards the development
of female education in the later half of the 19th century. The government action for replacing the existing system of domestic education by public school system and employing Europeans, east Indians or natives as teachers is a landmark in breaking up the traditional education. The initiative for developing female education came from the British and was endorsed by the liberal minded men who got western education. The endeavour of the Cuddalore municipality for the development of women's education reflected in the existing schools for girls in Cuddalore.

There was a lower secondary school for European and Eurasian girls at Cuddalore, managed by the Chaplain. Vernacular lower secondary schools for girls were run by government at Cuddalore. There were also practicing section of the Roman Catholic missions training school for women and the home classes of the National Indian association. The training school for women was started in Cuddalore.

Inspite of the efforts taken by the government to promote female education in Cuddalore, it is noted that the percentage of girl students in the different educational institutions in Cuddalore municipality was very low. The percentage of girls attending the schools in Cuddalore municipality during the years 1888-89 and 1889-90 were 14.2% and 12.8% of the total strength of the students being 2827 and 2617 respectively⁴¹ (See Table 15).

166
The poor strength of girls attending the schools in Cuddalore municipality was due to the neglect of female education, inferior status given to the women in Indian society, social obstacles, discouragement of public schools, and poverty. Educating women and sending them for employment along with men were generally discouraged by Indians in those days. The superior status assigned to men in the Indian society made them to look down upon women. The lower classes were denied education due to social obstacles and pollution concept. The higher caste people preferred educating their children at their homes. The poor people could not educate their girls due to poverty. It may be noted that the Christian missionerises in Cuddalore worked for the spread of female education.

DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN CUDDALORE

St. Joseph College at Manjakuppam which was maintained by a Roman Catholic mission, was the only college in this district. A theatre built for the Gentleman Cadets who lived in it from 1806 to 1811 in the row of low barracks which later formed a part of collectors office. This site was granted to lieutenant Colonel J. Hazlewood, the commandant of the invalid depot at Cuddalore. Sometime it was called Colonel Garden'. It was purchased by Mgr. Bonnand, Vicar Aposttle at Pondicherry in 1852. A high school Was
established on it due to the initiative taken by Rev. S. Ronevier then in charge of the Roman Catholic congregation at Cuddalore. In 1884 this school was converted into second grade college and affiliated to Madras University. It has its own chapel and boarding accommodation for about 200 Roman Catholic Christian boys. Later a hostel for some 69 non-Christians was built.

Cuddalore Town college was located at the South West corner of Manjakuppam maidan. It was one of the oldest educational institutions in Madras presidency for it originated from a school which was established in the town in 1853. This school was called 'Armour School' after Mr. John Armour, the earliest headmaster of the school. This school was improved into one of the Zillah schools in 1856, as a result of Woods Dispatch of 1854. The present building was built in 1868 at a cost of Rs. 10,000. Half of the expenditure was subscribed by the people of Cuddalore. After the abolition of primary school section in that school, the native residents of the town formed themselves into a committee and started a primary school on their own. In 1884 the middle school department came under the management of the town school committee. In the same year St. Joseph school was promoted to the standard of a college. In 1887 the town college was abolished. The high
school classes came in charge of a school committee for which the collector was the president. This institution was used as town hall and union club. The latter was transferred to the present quarters next to the District Court. After the introduction of college classes in the town school in 1888, they were once more discontinued in 1902.

The high school at Cuddalore old town was in charge of society for propagation of the Gospel. There were twelve English lower secondary schools for boys. Of which St. Joseph school, Tiruppapuliyur, S.P.G. school, Old Town, the same body's branch at Tiruppapuliyur and the Leipzic Lutheran mission school at Villupuram were run by missionary bodies. The English lower secondary school at Manjakkuppm (located in the old taluk cutcherry), Tiruppapuliyur and Chidambaram were run by school committee. The teacher training schools for men and women were located at Cuddalore. The Men's Training School was run by Government. Weaving was taught in S.P.G. school at Cuddalore.

The education imparted by the educational institutions in Cuddalore made a section of the society of Cuddalore literate. The following tables gives us an idea of proportion of students belonging to various religious groups.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section of people</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>% of population</th>
<th>% pupils</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>39,997</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>91.9</td>
<td>85.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammadans</td>
<td>1,983</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>1,510</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total             | 43,545     | 2184 | 34    | 100.0           | 100.0    |         |

Source: G.O. dated 25 November, 1890, No.1771 M Local and Municipal p.14

The Muslims did not encourage women's education. The Christians gave more importance to women's education. The proportion of school going boys to girls among Christians is found to be 179:10 that is for every 179 boys 10 were girls. Though percentage of literacy was higher among Hindus, the proportion of school going boys to girls was 894:10. This meant for every 894 boys, 10 were girls: hence Hindus showed little interest in women's education. Fishermen were included in large number among "others". Among them nobody went to school. It is doubtful whether scheduled castes and fishermen were included among Hindus or
not. It may be inferred that the adi-dravidas and other lower classes were gropping in darkness.

The percentage of students whose fathers were officials, traders, land holders, artisans, coolies, mendicants, and other occupations are found to be 29%, 13%, 24.4%, 0.1%, 16.9%, 0.3%, and 6.9% respectively. It is found that the education among officials, landholders and coolies and artisans was satisfactory. The percentage of education among these sections reflects the economic status of different sections of the society.

Table-17 indicates that the education in Cuddalore municipality was highly neglected. The percentage of expenditure on communication to the total expenditure during the period from 1873-74 to 1875-76, and from 1889-90 to 1890-91 varied from 22.4% to 86.8%. In case of expenditure on Grants III, IV and V, it oscillated in between 5.5 to 50, 0.8 to 14.3 and 6.0 to 10.5 respectively. At the same time the percentage of expenditure on education during the said period fluctuated in between 3.8 and 7.7. Hence, it is clear that the British government did not take much interest in education in Cuddalore municipality during the 19th century. The British educational policy was responsible for the low expenditure on education.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total estimate</th>
<th>Grant I (communication, Sanitary and miscellaneous)</th>
<th>Grant II (Education)</th>
<th>Grant III (Medical)</th>
<th>Grant IV (Lighting, Markets, Courtyards and Avenues)</th>
<th>Grant V (Management)</th>
<th>Percentage to total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1873-74</td>
<td>2,06,110</td>
<td>1,78,990</td>
<td>14,200</td>
<td>11,200</td>
<td>1,720</td>
<td></td>
<td>86.8 6 9 5 5 0 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874-75</td>
<td>27,990</td>
<td>7,470</td>
<td>1,990</td>
<td>12,920</td>
<td>2,660</td>
<td>2,950</td>
<td>26 7 7 1 46 2 9 5 10 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875-76</td>
<td>37,137</td>
<td>12,750</td>
<td>1,420</td>
<td>15,670</td>
<td>5,670</td>
<td>2,227</td>
<td>34.4 3.8 42 2 13.6 6 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-90</td>
<td>31,855</td>
<td>7,141</td>
<td>1,493</td>
<td>15,928</td>
<td>4,559</td>
<td>2,734</td>
<td>22 4 4 7 50 0 14 3 8 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-91</td>
<td>41,595</td>
<td>11,227</td>
<td>3,218</td>
<td>18,663</td>
<td>4,580</td>
<td>3,907</td>
<td>27 0 7 7 44.9 11 0 9 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Proceedings of the Madras Government Financial Department

18th November 1876, No 2069
16th September 1891 No 1510 II Local and municipal

Proceedings of the Madras Government Financial Department, May 1873 and 17 May 1873
The above statement shows that the expenditure on education was not satisfactory. Consequently, education in Cuddalore was backward during the close of the 19th century. The meagre expenditure on education was due to the policy of the British to invest and spend more in the items which brought considerable income. The British gave more importance to construct roads, railways, bridges, canals and administrative buildings which helped them to increase their income. Besides it enabled them to have better political control.

(E) DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATION IN CUDDALORE MUNICIPALITY

As cited elsewhere, the Local Funds Act of 1871 contributed to the development of communication in Cuddalore municipality under the provisions of the section 38, Act III of 1871 (The Towns Improvement Act). The Governor in Council authorised the Municipal Commissioner for the town of Cuddalore, to levy the following taxes.

The rate on houses was based on annual rental value. Tolls were to be levied on carriages, carts and animals entering the municipal limits. The estimated income on above mentioned items was 82.7% out of the total estimated income of Rs. 3183246 in 1890. Thus a considerable amount was allotted for the improvement of the town of Cuddalore. This amount was to be utilised for new
works such as construction of roads, buildings as repair of roads and streets. The cost of acquisition of land in Cuddalore for the extension of Carnatic railway company amounting to Rs. 19,732-0-2 was to be met from the sum of Rs. 40,000 allotted for the budget estimate for the District of South Arcot for 1874-75. This was accepted by the government.

The Madras Government realised the necessity of enhancing the municipal fund. The notification issued by the Financial Department on 8th May 1873 authorised the municipal commissioners of the town of Cuddalore to levy during the year beginning 1st April 1873 and ending 31st March 1874 - (1) A rate on houses building, and lands, according to annual value (2) Tolls on carriages carts and animals entering the municipal limits at half scheduled rates. (3) Taxes on carriages homes and other animals as described in schedule - C to the above Act annexured. (4) Fees on the registration of carts.

The receipts of the rates on houses and building, tax on vehicles, fees on the registration of carts and tolls formed nearly 75% of the total receipts. The expected income from the above items for the year 1874 - 75 was about 66%. This was due to increase of balance, fees fines, local fund contribution and miscellaneous. Boats and ferries.
were used for carrying men and goods along the rivers Gadilam and Pennaiyar. Carts drawn by bullocks and horses were mainly used for carrying men and materials. The use of Palanquin did not disappear. The list of carriages and animals taxed in 1873 gives us an idea of transport system in Cuddalore.

The following list shows amount of carriages and animals taxed and the amount realised in 1873.

Table: 18

Annex showing amount of carriages and animals taxed and the amount realised (1873)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Four wheeled carriages on springs</th>
<th>No. of Licenses</th>
<th>Rs. A.P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>drawn by two horses</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>72.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four wheeled carriages on springs</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>121.8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drawn by one horse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two wheeled carriages on springs</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>753.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horses</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>198.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ponies under 13 hands</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>100.8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ponies under 11 hands</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>32.8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullocks</td>
<td>3187</td>
<td>1,593.8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffaloes</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>20.8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dogs</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>69.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asses</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>16.12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,977-4-0</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The development of roads and streets were undertaken under the head of "New works" Three tunnels were built—one at Fort St. David, one at Pudupalayam, and one in the Manjakuppam maidan. Some of the streets and public thoroughfares were remetalled. These had cost rupees 1839-1-5. The maintenance of the imperial and municipal roads involved an expense of Rs. 3560-7-050.

ROADS IN CUDDALORE MUNICIPALITY

There were two imperial lines of road within the municipal limits. Their length was a little more than six miles. The total length of the public thoroughfares, and streets was twenty six miles within the municipal limits. These roads were generally in good condition. The main streets were remetalled. The lanes were raised and leveled, so that there was no hindrance to traffic.

The municipal administration paid more attention for maintenance of roads in the municipality. The erring officials were dismissed. The expenditure under the head 'repair' and 'new works' formed nearly 61% of the total expenditure of Rs. 1,84,900 in 1872-73. The estimated expenditure on these items for the year 1873-74 was about 59%51.
The local Board Act of 1884 which created the local boards and Taluk boards increased the local fund. In 1895, the government directed the local boards to spend at least half the income from their land cess for the development of roads. As it was not followed, the government began to grant 25% of their land cess for improvement of roads besides the amount allotted from the imperial grant.

(F) PROGRESS OF LIGHTING FACILITIES

An important feature that distinguishes a village from a town is provision of good lighting facilities. Earlier, ground nut oil and gingely oil were extensively used for lighting purposes. The light was burnt inside the cubical glass cover mounted on the lamp posts. The lights were located on the main streets, offices, hospitals, markets, ports and forts. Later in the 19th century oil was replaced by kerosine. The kerosine lamps were brighter than oil lamps.

After the establishment of the municipality in Cuddalore, the lighting facilities were improved. More and more areas were brought under lighting. In the end of 1871 seventy iron lamp posts had been put up and during the year (1871-72) an addition of seventy more were made. Kerosine
oil was used and the lamps gave an excellent light. The provision of lighting facilities gave an urban outlook to Cuddalore.

The expenditure under grant IV, lighting and Miscellaneous amounted to Rs. 4559-8-0 against Rs. 5170 in the estimate. Inspect of the provision made for 20 lamps in the budget for 1889-90, the actual expenditure on lighting during the years 1889-90 and 1890-91 varied from Rs. 1307 to 1798. In 1890, the total number of lights in Cuddalore were 316. The number of lights were increased by 11 which made a total of 327 lights.

The increase of expenditure on lighting indicates the progress in lighting. It added beauty to the town of Cuddalore during the night time and enabled the movement of the people in the night. The crimes such as robbery, rape and prostitution must have been reduced as they were committed in darkness. The quality of light especially the introduction of electric bulb in the early 20th century and coverage of additional areas under lighting, indeed indicated the level of urbanization in Cuddalore.

(G) DEVELOPMENT OF MARKETS

Weekly, markets and festivals served the needs of the people in the olden days. The vegetables and fruits
cultivated in the surrounding villages of Cuddalore were brought by the producers directly to the town and sold to the consumers at their door steps. The Weekly market in Tiruppapuliyr was called Sandaitope. The increase of population and extension of Cuddalore town necessitated the creation of regular markets. Household articles, utensils, bangles, clothes, locks, keys, agricultural implements food-grains fish and mutton were available in the markets. The villagers came to the markets on foot or carts and carried back the things they needed. The inflow of the villagers added to the floating population in various parts of the town mainly in Cuddalore old town, Tiruppapuliyr Pudupalayam and Manjakuppam. The market complex in Manjakuppam was called 'Kothaval Chavadi'.

In addition to the markets, many petty shops and grocery shops were established. The development of market complex in the municipality of Cuddalore contributed to the urbanization of Cuddalore.

The increase of population, demand for the household articles, food grains, vegetables, fish, mutton and considerations of sanitation might have necessitated the establishment of municipal markets. There were two municipal markets. Before the slaughter houses were established, the killing of animals was done in backyards.
The animals were however inspected by one of the councillors before slaughter.

The building in which the market was housed in Cuddalore Old Town belonged to the trustees of Pallivasal mosque. It was used as fish market before the municipality took control of it. The income from the market was equally divided between them through an agreement. The net income from the market amounted to Rs. 400-2-0 in the year 1891.

The existence of three private markets in addition to the fish and mutton markets in the Port Town of Cuddalore (which was partly municipal) is mentioned in the government G.O. issued in 1891.

The vegetable market was simply a thatched shed. A slaughter house behind the fish and mutton market, was in construction in 1891. The markets and slaughter house fetched income to the municipality as follows:

Table: 19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1888-89</th>
<th>1889-90</th>
<th>1890-91</th>
<th>1891-92</th>
<th>1892-93</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income(Rs.)</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure(Rs.)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1st March 1892 No.400M. Local and Municipal p. 1, 3.
Table 19 indicates that the average income from markets for five years was Rs. 407. At the same time the average amount spent on markets was only Rs. 7.6. The municipal administration though it received considerable income from markets, spent little money over their improvement. This showed that the colonial rulers did not give priority to the development of markets. The reason was the markets satisfied the needs of the local people than that of the colonists. The English were not dependent on the local market for their needs. Variation in food habits, climate and culture made the Europeans think the local markets insignificant. Moreover, they diverted the income from the markets for constructions of buildings and laying roads. The investment on public works and communications helped the colonists to improve the infrastructure facilities and hence priority was given to them. (See Table 17).

The head loads of fish and vegetables were brought to various parts of the town and sold. Besides vegetables were grown in almost every house as there were sufficient space for promoting kitchen garden. The significance of the market lay in supply of articles, food-stuffs, clothes and other materials to the townsmen and villagers. The
development of markets in Cuddalore urbanized Cuddalore in 19th century. The increase of population, sanitary and medical measures taken by the municipal administration caused urban growth. The opening of new markets and establishment of a public carts halt in Manjakuppam besides a number of licensed carts halts in different parts of the municipality showed the urbanization of Cuddalore. Other factors leading to the progress of Cuddalore as an urban area towards the close of the 19th century were construction of tanks, wells and provision of lighting facilities. Hence urbanization is a complex process involving people and administration. The co-operation of the people with the municipal administrators was essential for the successful urban growth. Practically, there was poor response of the people to the development measures taken by Cuddalore municipality. The infrastructure facilities provided by the municipal administration caused increase of population in Cuddalore. The following table shows the increase of population in the municipality of Cuddalore.
Table: 20

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of variation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population - No of men in 1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuddalore</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India 1911, Vol. xii, Madras Part I
By J. Chartres Molony, Govt. Press, Madras 1912
p. 19

Source computed from


2. DRC 2046., District Record Centre Cuddalore


Besides, watering streets and planting avenues added to the beauty of the town. The increase of house tax from Rs. 7,831 in 1888-89 to Rs. 8,789 in 1889-90 indicates that there was an increase of houses in the municipality. Further the increase in the collection under the taxes on animals, vehicles and carts from Rs. 3,962 in 188-89 to Rs. 4,499 in 1889-90 indicates the increase in transport facilities.

Thus the municipal administration in Cuddalore transformed the village of Cuddalore into a town of class II in the later half of 19th century. In the beginning of 20th century, Cuddalore had almost all the attributes to be classed as a town. The municipal administration in Cuddalore transformed the latter into a colonial town. The urbanization of Cuddalore had its impact on the social structure and social relations. The employment opportunities, educational and medical facilities, market and transport facilities available in colonial Cuddalore changed the structure of the society. (See Chapter VI)

The municipal Acts passed in the 19th and 20th century changed the social relations. The Act V of 1878 empowered the tax payers to elect non-official members. As the tax-payers belonged to different religions, ethnicity and castes cordial relations based on equality was essential.
to get the support of the voters. Lord Rippon's resolutions on self-government laid the basis for local and municipal self-government. The municipal legislations gradually increased the number of elected members. The District Municipalities Act V of 1920 extended the enfranchisement of all rate-payers including women. Further, the abolition of the system of nomination with reservation of seats for (a) Muslims (b) Indian Christians (c) Adi-dravidas (d) Europeans (e) Anglo-Indians and (f) women, reservation of seats to the different communities and election of all candidates changed the existing social relations.

The gradual disappearance of Right and Left hand castes, unity among Hindus, particularly Saivites and Vaishnavites, concern for Muslims, Christians and Anglo-Indians and sympathy for outcastes were the results of municipal legislations introduced in India. In short, the municipal administration made the colonial society of Cuddalore tolerant. It ultimately led to the emergence of Cosmopolitan society in Cuddalore. Thus the municipal administration led to the urbanization of Cuddalore in the 19th and early 20th centuries.
NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Venkatrangaiya. Beginning of local finance in Madras presidency p.16, "Their origin is to be traced not to the nature panchayat at but to the relieving the District officer from some of the details of his work" Hunter. The Indian empire (1886) p. 455, quoted in B.G. Bhatnagar. Municipal Administration and Finance in pre-British days The Indian press Limited Allahabad 1936.

2. B.G. Bhatnagar. Municipal Administration and Finance in Pre-British days. The Indian press Limited, Allahabad 1936. p.8


6. G.O. No. 400 M. local and municipal dated 1st March 1892. p. 3.


11. G.O. dated 16th September 1891, No. 1510 M. local and municipal. p. 16 (b) G.O. dated 1st March 1892, No. 400 m local and municipal. p. 3.

12. ibid., p.16.


14. ibid., (The expenditure of the year 1873, para 3.)

15. ibid., para 18.

16. ibid., p.112/7.

17. Government of Madras - 16th September 1891 No, 1510 m. local and municipal p.19.


22. ibid., p. 2.

23. 16th September 1891, No. 1510 m local and municipal.


187
25. ibid., p.1.

26. As per the inscription found on the foundation slab of the water tank, in Cuddalore Old Town.

27. Proceedings of the Madras government, Financial Department, 1st October, 1873, para 22.


29. ibid., p. 10.

30. G.O. 28 August 1890 No. 1260 m. local and municipal p.4.

31. G.O. 7th September 1891, No. 1437 m. local and municipal pp.4-5.

32. G.O. 1st March 1892 No. 400 m. local and municipal.


36. G.O. 16th September 1891. No. 1510 m. local and municipal p.8.

37. ibid., p.18.

38. G.O. 1st March 1892 No. 400 m. local and municipal p.4.
39. ibid., p.7.

40. Proceedings of the Madras government, Financial Department, 1st October 1873.


43. ibid., p.198.

44. ibid., p.199.


46. ibid., p.2.

47. G.O. No. 3074, dated 20th December, 1873.


49. Proceedings of the Madras government, Financial Department, 1st October 1873.

50. ibid., para 9.


53. G.O. 16th September 1891 No. 1510 m. local and municipal. p. 11.

54. G.O. 16th September 1891. No. 1510 m. local and municipal p.11.

55. G.O. 28th August 1890 No. 1260 m. local and municipal.

56. G.O. 16th September 1891, No. 1510 m. local and municipal.

57. G.O. 7th September 1891, No.1437 m. local and municipal p.2.

58. G.O. 25th November 1890 No. 1771 m. local and municipal p.19.


60. ibid., p. 27.