CHAPTER V
URBANIZATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

This chapter deals with social change due to urban development of Cuddalore in the 19th century and early twentieth century. Even though it is difficult in other contexts to trace whether urbanization preceded social change or vice versa. As far as Cuddalore is concerned urbanization preceded social change. The urbanization process which started towards the close of the 17th century, reached its peak towards the end of the 19th century and early twentieth century. Various factors such as changes in housing pattern, construction of administrative, medical and other public buildings, construction of bridges, laying of roads and railways brought about social change and transformed Cuddalore from a cluster of villages into a town.

As stated earlier, the introduction of municipality in Cuddalore contributed a lot in changing the morphology and ecology of the town of Cuddalore. Urbanization is a world wide process and many cities grew in Europe during the contemporary period. The problems faced by the European towns are illustrated wherever relevant in order to understand the problems faced by Indian towns. The comparative study will help to assess the level of urbanization in Indian towns.
The rise of new towns and their problems, the difficulties faced by the administrators in urbanizing the people and changing Cuddalore into a town are analysed with the help of collectorate records and orders issued by the Government of Madras during the period of our study. The major hindrance in laying good roads, and streets and providing drainage facilities was encroachment of roads and streets in the name of religion as well as for personal profits. The adverse effects of encroachment in the development of Cuddalore is discussed in this chapter.

Urbanization in terms of establishment of buildings - secular, residential and religious nature, market facilities and social change due to education and western culture and changes in transport system are examined. The scale used for measuring social change are dress hairstyle materials used by the people, food, drinks, revenue from various sources, increase of non-agricultural population and the attitude of the people towards accepting western medicine. Increase of crimes and establishment of police offices and jails are also taken as scales for measuring social change as crimes vary according to the nature of the society.
PROFILE OF CUDDALORE IN THE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURIES

Towards the close of the 19th century Cuddalore looked like a quadrilateral enclosed by Bay of Bengal in the east, Pennayar on the north, Cuddalore old town on south east and Tiruppapuliyr on the west. Gadilam river bisects the town of Cuddalore into Cuddalore Old Town and New Town. The urban development of Cuddalore was manifested in residential, religious and other general buildings. The general buildings comprises of administrative, public educational institutions and industries.

Among the important general buildings located in Cuddalore port town sea customs office, dispensary, Flag staff, Parry's office, Parry Ware house (formerly factory house), Sea Custom's office, Travellers' Bangalow, Post office, Imperial bank, Railway Station and educational institutions were notable. The buildings such as temples, mosque, Christ church and cemetery existed in Cuddalore. By the middle of the 19th century increase of population, establishment of Municipality, need for increasing educational, administrative and medical facilities necessitated the extension of the town towards west and north western direction. The extension of Cuddalore was known as New Town which comprised of Tiruppapuliyr, Pudupalayam, Devanampatanam, Vannarapalayam, Manjakuppam, Sorkalpet, Vilwarayariatham, Semmandalam and Uppalavadi.
When the New Town of Cuddalore was established, the Old Town or port town of Cuddalore began to lose its significance. The New Town gained more importance. Toll gate, Raja Sir Ramasamy Mudaliar's dispensary and New Town railway station located in Tiruppapuliyr added to its importance. Travellers bungalow, Police Station, Choultry, Post office, Garden house of the English, Police office, Collector's cutcherry, District court, Raquet court, District Engineer's office, Municipal hospital, Town college and schools were located in Manjakuppam. The beautiful lawn at Manjakuppam called 'Manjakuppam Maidan' lay opposite to the collectorate. Roman catholic church, church of South India, seminary, mosque and Mariamman temple were situated in Manjakuppam. There were missionary houses and Lutheran Mission Church on the northern side of Vilwarayanatham.

The temple architecture in Cuddalore municipality especially that of Pataleswarar temple was influenced by the architectural features of the imperial Cholas, later Pallavas, later Pandyas, Vijayanagar period and the modern period covering a period of about five centuries from the beginning of 10th century to the end of the 15th century.

Of all the temples located at Cuddalore Old Town and New Town, Pataleswarar temple has historical significance. Though the architecture of the building is
influenced by the Chola, Pallava and Pandya and Vijayanagar architecture it is greatly dominated by the latter. The tall Gopuram, high pillars bearing the sculptures of animals, flowers and plants and corridor represent Vijayanagar architecture. The passing of South Arcot into the hands of Vijayanagar King Harihara II in 1382 A.D.\(^2\) contributed to the impact of Vijayanagar art and architecture in this temple.

The architectural style of the administrative buildings and churches represent the Romanesque or Gothic architecture. Among the churches located in Cuddalore municipality, the Roman Catholic Church (1851) at Manjakuppam Maidan is elegant and decorative. The special feature of this church is the blending of architectural style of the Holy name of Mary at Rome, and Santa Maria in Comedin (Rome), Cathedral at Speyer in West Germany and Reims Cathedral situated at Reims in Northern France\(^3\).

The Main tower of the church is the close imitation of the church of the Holy Name of Mary built in 113 A.D. in Gothic style. (plate 81-a) The tower is in the form of a circular column with a dome on the top and a cross fixed on a tiny circular column constructed on the vertex of the dome.
The structure of the church in the rear side facing north, south and west contain the features of the cathedral at Speyer and reflect the Romanesque style. (plate 122) The two tall rectangular towers with square base and a cross on each of its pointed arch on the top located in the front remind us of the Reims Cathedral. (plate 134) The inner structure of the church is the close imitation of the church of Santa Maria. (plate 104)

The Lutheran and Protestant churches located in Semmandalam and Manjakuppam built in 1859 and 1930 respectively, are the poor imitation of the church of Holy Name of Mary at Rome. The Christ church in Cuddalore Old Town is built on the model of the Cathedral at Speyer.

The Old Mosque known as 'Ghori', located behind the municipal market in Cuddalore Old Town was built on the model of 'The Dome of the Rock' which was also called Mosque of Omar, in Jerusalem. (plate 116) Another mosque located at Pallivasal street also contain the features of 'The Dome of the Rock'. Besides, these mosques bears the style of Sultan Ahmed Mosque called the Blue Mosque, in Istanbul (plate 117).

The Collector's cutcherry, Police office, sub jail, court and cosmopolitan club in Manjakuppam, Parrys buildings, Sea custom's office, Imperial Bank, Travellers'
bunglow and clive's residence in Cuddalore Old Town, the Agency house, Parry's Guest house and other buildings that exist at Devanampatanam represent colonial architecture.

The Collector's cutcherry and Police Office in Manjakuppam are constructed with chamber bricks. These bricks are elegantly joined with mortar. The walls are not plastered. The provision of large windows, doors and arches are the special features of these buildings. It is interesting to note that a building in Sweedansburg square, London has been constructed on the model of the Collector's Cutcherry. The Government buildings Mentioned above reflect the Romanesque or Gothic architecture. The utility was the main concern of these buildings.

These buildings for secular and religious purposes that came into existence during the colonial rule added to the beauty of Cuddalore. The urbanization of Cuddalore led to the social and cultural changes. Urban centres were cradle of civilizations. In urban centres art and architecture were patronised. They became centres of cultural diffusion. The starting of 'Cosmopolitan Club' in 1938 at Manjakuppam implied that Cuddalore consisted of people belonging to various castes and ethnic groups. It also suggested that the Indians who suspected the British in the 18th century had changed their attitude towards the
English. It might be due to the measures taken by the English for the development of Cuddalore and also due to the fact that the British was Supreme power.

In the beginning of the twentieth century Banbury market near the railway station, Thirupapuliyur and a fish market at Manjakuppam came into being. By the middle of the 20th century Cuddalore New Town, particularly Manjakuppam was transformed into administrative, educational, medical and marketing centre. Cuddalore New town developed into a busy town due to its strategic location on the junction of Nellikuppmam, Panrutî, Tirukoylur, and Villupuram roads and road leading to Pondicherry and Madras. The railway line linking Villupuram and places beyond it with Vridhachalam, Salem, Neyveli, Chidambaram and beyond ran through Cuddalore. It may be observed that while towns of Cuddalore (Old Town) and Devanampatanam developed around the port in 17th and 18th centuries, the town of Cuddalore (New Town) flourished on the junction of land routes in the 19th and early 20th century.

CHANGES IN HOUSING DESIGN IN CUDDALORE IN THE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY

The Indians lived in terraced, tiled and thatched houses. The poor people dwelt in huts which had one room
and there was no ventilation. The type and size of the dwellings depended on wealth and caste of the people. While poverty was a barrier among the backward classes to construct terraced or tiled houses, poverty and social status stood in the way of scheduled caste people to build such houses. This condition continued even towards the close of the 19th century. Another feature of the houses of the Indians was combination of dwelling and work place.

The houses of the washermen, in the 18th century were located near the choultries or washing tanks. Their houses contained some provision for boiling the dirty clothes mixed with ovarman and had space for drying them. The weavers' houses were equipped with looms. Mat weaving was done by women belonging to Mudaliar, Vanniyar Gounder, Pathar and Yadav caste in their houses. Coir industry was pursued by Muslim women in Parangipettai and Hindu women of the Vellalar, Gounder, Chettiar and fishermen castes in Singarathope, located in Cuddalore Old Town and other places. The work place of coir industry was not separated from their residential houses. Similarly the work place of potters engaged in ceramic industries in Tiruvendipuram, Cuddalore Old Town and Panikuppam was not separated from their residential houses. The people engaged in ratton works in Cuddalore taluk also used their houses as work place. Fishing nets were made by men and women in their
houses using pure cotton yarn or hemp or of both with a mixture of coir in their houses. Similarly palmyrah leaf mat-making and making of 'tatties' out of reeds were done by men and women at home. The oil pressing was done by a device called chekku located close to the residence of the vanian.  

The housing pattern varied according to the caste and occupation since work place was not separated from the residence. This feature was not only found in India but also in the other parts of the world during the contemporary period. Lewis Mumford observed that the plan of the house varied with region and the century. Besides, the nature of economic activity and occupation of the people also decided the design of the house. For example violet-le-duc's ground plan of a French house consisted of a shop on the ground floor, connected by an open gallery with the kitchen in the rear. These two formed a court with a well in the corner. There was a chimney in the kitchen and in the living room, or grand salle, above the shop; from the latter there was access to the dormitories above. The burgher house served as work shop, store and counting house, and prevented municipal zoning between these functions.

Combination of home and work place characterised the industrial condition during pre-industrial revolution...
period. While the pre-industrial revolution situation disappeared in England and other European countries after the spread of industrial revolution, such condition persisted in Indian towns for a long time even after the spread of industrial revolution in the 19th century. The home served as dwelling and work place in Cuddalore throughout the colonial period. It implied that large scale industries were not established in Cuddalore. It is true that sugarcane industry was started in Vandiapalayam by Thomas Parry (Cuddalore) in the middle of the 19th century. But that industry lasted only for a short period. While the cities in Europe and America grew around heavy industries, the urbanization of Cuddalore owed much to cloth manufactured in cottage industries, its status as administrative centre during the colonial rule and its strategic location as a port town in between Pondicherry and Portonovo.

Moritz Heines plan of an old house in Nurnberg consisted of many interior rooms, a kitchen and a smaller room on the ground floor, a heatable room above the kitchen and a number of chambers with a toilet on the second floor directly above that on the first. As far as Europe was concerned, the design of the houses of the rich and the poor was determined by privacy and comfort.
As already stated the European style of residential and secular buildings was seen in the houses and public buildings, factory houses and godowns constructed by Portuguese, Dutch, French and the English in Cuddalore since the commencement of 17th century. The Clive's residence at Manjakuppam, residential houses of the Europeans at Cuddalore, Manjakuppam, Tiruppapuliyur and caper hills were distinct from that of the Indians as privacy and comfort were given primary importance.

The establishment of municipality in Cuddalore in 1865 brought about changes in the housing design of Indians. Construction of houses with toilet facilities was due to the pressure from the municipal administrators. The use of open space for excretion and bathing in the rivers and tanks were discouraged. Rich Indians had toilet and bath room in their houses. Thus the colonial administration helped to change the existing housing pattern and made the people to lead a better urban life. Another factor responsible for the urban development of Cuddalore was the brisk sea-borne trade in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Consequently it led to social change.

SEABORNE TRADE

The maritime trade in the 19th century and early 20th century differed from that of the 18th century.
Cuddalore, the chief port which exported textile goods in the 18th century witnessed decline of cloth trade in the 19th century due to industrial revolution in England. The imbalance in seaborne trade was replaced by balanced trade. The commodities imported included coal, coke, grain, pulse, flour, gram, paddy, rice, wheat flour, cotton, mustard, betelnut, spices, jute, gunny bags, wood, timber, railway sleepers, teak wood, and wood other than furniture and cabinware. The exportation consisted of fruits, vegetables, grain, pulse, flour, rice, oils (ground nut and galls), sugar and oil cakes. The ships from foreign countries such as United Kingdom, America, Arabia, Denmark, Portugal, France, Germany, Norway and Sweden entered the port of Cuddalore with cargoes. The ships laden with cargoes sailed for United Kingdom, British possessions, Ceylon, and other countries in Asia. The following tables gives an idea of volume of trade conducted in Cuddalore port towards the end of 19th century.

Number of tonnage of sailing and steam vessels that entered with cargoes and in ballast from foreign countries at Cuddalore port in each of the official year from 1871-72 to 1875-76 is given on the next page. Ships in ballast meant weight of the ship loaded with heavy materials such as rock, iron and sand to keep it steady.
<table>
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<th>Tons</th>
<th>In ballast</th>
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Source: Annual volume of the sea borne trade and navigation of the Madras presidency and of its chief port and each of the subordinate ports, for the year 1875-76. Published at the Revenue Board office, Madras, Printed at Lawrence Asylum Press, Mount Road, By W.H. Moore - 1878, p. 28-29.

Number and tonnage of sailing and steam vessels that cleared with cargoes and in ballast to Foreign countries from the Port of Cuddalore during the same period (1871 to 1876) is given in the next page.
### Sailing-Steam

<table>
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Source: Annual volume of the sea borne trade and navigation of the Madras presidency and of its chief port and each of the subordinate ports, for the year 1875-76. Published at the Revenue Board office, Madras, Printed at Lawrence Asylum Press, Mount Road, By W.H. Moore - 1878 p. 28-29.
From the table 21 we infer that the number of ships that entered with cargoes at Cuddalore during the official years 1871 to 1876 were 136. The number of ships that left Cuddalore port to the foreign countries during the same period were 455. Further, the tonnage of goods imported for the same period is found to be 23,179 tons. The quantity of exports was 41,364 tons. Hence the value of goods imported was less than that of the exports. In 1925-26 the value of articles imported was Rs.24,70,538. The export value was Rs.1,94,32,086. Our problem is, how the trading activities helped urbanization of Cuddalore. For export as well as import of goods a large number of coolies were required. The coolies migrated from various parts of Tamil Nadu, Andhra and Maharastra to Cuddalore and settled in the town of Cuddalore. The imported goods were to be sent to the places of need and for which good roads and railways were needed. Hence construction of good roads railways and bridges became very essential. The seaborne trade might have attracted merchants, of various types, intermediaries and consumers. The sailors' quarters were constructed. The coal and cokes were distributed to various industries in Cuddalore. The presence of foreigners such as Europeans, Americans and Asians were involved in seaborne trade in Cuddalore resulted in the heterogeneity of population with different cultures. Thus the seaborne trade
accelerated the process of urbanization of Cuddalore. The trading activities in Cuddalore port created an opportunity for bringing together different groups of people. It also led to the exchange of habits and customs among these divisions.

In sum it is found that the urbanization process in Cuddalore was commenced mainly through trading activities of the different European communities, especially by the English up to the close of the 18th century. The administration, both government and municipal provided infrastructure for urbanization since the beginning of the 19th century. The introduction of railways in the later half of the 19th century facilitated the movement of goods and people. The introduction of steamships in the later half of the 19th century accelerated the process of urbanization in Cuddalore. Besides, changes in transport system, the introduction of electricity, telephone, and stream lining of the postal system in the last quarter of the 19th century contributed to the urban development all over the world. The efficiency in lighting helped the movement of people even during the night. "The same period saw the tremendous pressure for efficient methods of lighting with the change from kerosine lamps, to open-flame gas jets to electric lighting made possible by the dynamo and Edison's invention of the electric light"[12]. Cuddalore
was also benefited by the efficient methods of lighting due to the colonial control of India. It was during this period oil lamps were replaced by kerosene lamps. Open air gas jets and Petromax light were introduced. Electricity was used in Cuddalore in the early 20th century. It may be maintained that the urbanization of Cuddalore took place through trading activities prior to industrial revolution. Administration, education and development of transport and communication played a significant role in the urbanization of Cuddalore during the period followed by industrial revolution.

URBANIZATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The urban growth of Cuddalore brought about social change. It was manifested in change in the existing social divisions, spatial pattern, life style, food habits, dress, occupation, development of civic sense, conversion, design of the houses, concern for sanitation, mode of transport education and the changes in the joint family system.

According to the theories of the cities that emerged in late 19th and early twentieth centuries, the characteristic of any unit of social life were determined by institutions and human society was a historical product. Again, Max Weber states that as a social order urbanism is
characterised by the substitution of secondary for primary contacts. Besides, urbanism is characterised by the weakening of kinship ties, the declining significance of neighbourhood, the undermining of the traditional bases of social solidarity, the transfer of industrial, educational and recreational activities to specialized institutions. The observation of Max Weber not only holds good to European society but also applicable to Indian society. The changes in the economic activities broke the joint family system. The rise of nuclear families, establishment of Cosmopolitan Clubs in various parts of Cuddalore indicated the society of Cuddalore was changing from rural to urban.

**Substitution of Secondary for the Primary Contact**

The floating population of Cuddalore which came in pursuit of employment, business, medicine, official and personal work, and justice in the court replaced primary contact and established secondary contact. The urban people were so selfish that they did not care about their neighbours. The result was demonralization of the society and the increase of theft, corruption and roadside deaths. The increase of population and its heterogenous character, replacement of agricultural occupations with non agricultural occupations weakened primary contact. The limited population of a place consisting of different castes
following agriculture and allied works enabled them to identify each other. The English connection with Cuddalore for about two and half centuries produced heterogenous population with different interest and professions. The inhabitants of Cuddalore who were more concerned with their neighbour's identity and closeness, began to ignore their neighbours who were strangers. Thus secondary contact was substituted for primary contact due to occupational change.

**URBAN CRIMES**

According to Weber, urban personality and collective behaviour showed all the properties along with personal disorganization, mental breakdown, suicide, delinquency, crime, corruption and disorder. The findings of Weber are not only relevant to Western society but also to the society of Cuddalore.

The considerable increase of venereal diseases in Cuddalore showed the increase of adultery and prostitution. The prostitutes migrated from villages to towns as the latter were convenient places for practicing their profession. The increase of night travellers due to better roads, transport and accommodation also added to the flourishing of the disgraceful social evil. The Deputy
Superintendent of police had stated that there were 21 brothels in Cuddalore municipality in 1930s. The rescue homes were absent. He added that living, engaging or trading in girls for purposes of prostitution was bound to exist to an appreciable extent in Cuddalore\(^{16}\). It may be observed that the institution of prostitution was accepted in the Indian society. The prostitutes (Devadasis) were not illtreated though the people looked down upon them even until the close of the 18th century. They lived along with other family people. But with rise of towns and increase of venereal diseases the prostitution was considered disgraceful and an evil act in the society. This indicated a change of attitude of the people. Better living and honour of women were the motives behind the change of attitude.

The refined urban crimes committed by the merchants were cheating and fraud. The translation of a French letter into English gives us sufficient information about these crimes. According to this letter, Angam Manicka Chetty, a resident of Cuddalore old town was transacting business in ground nuts and indigo. From 1912 to 1914 he got the consent of Indo-China bank at Pondicherry, to make considerable advances of money upon securities. He was deceiving his creditors, by means of fraudulent contrivances in respect of the quantity of weight and quality of goods.
referred to in the documentary bills. In 1915 he was declared as a bankrupt. But really he was not a bankrupt. He accumulated wealth and ran away to Cuddalore. Finally the accused was handed over to the French court at Pondicherry by Cuddalore police due to the effort of the Governor of Pondicherry17.

The tricks of the chettiar who were engaged in the export of cotton is reported in the Hand-Book of the Cotton Cultivation in the Madras Presidency. The chettiar were both merchants and bankers. They entered into contract so closely with the brokers, so that the latter resorted to "Devil's dust system" in order to secure a living profit. According to this system, the rotten cotton seeds were beaten with a stone to release the fibre from the seeds. Then they were passed through the Churka. The good cotton and bad cotton were taken into a little room six feet by six feet through a low door about a foot and a half high and two feet wide. The room was ventilated at a little hole through the outer wall. Two men entered the dungeon with a bundle of long smooth rods in each hand. Each man tied a cloth over his mouth and nose to prevent his inhaling the flying fibres of cotton. The cotton was whipped with their rods and thus the good and bad cotton were mixed. Then the broker delivered the mixed cotton to the Chetty18. This
method of adulteration of bad and good cotton was followed in the Madras Presidency.

The merchants were waiting for the time when the agents of the company had made all arrangements for shipment. At that time the chettiar delivered the cotton. The cotton goods rejected by the agents were loaded on the carts and marched round the town; and then came in fresh from the country, and was all taken as a very good article. The consequence was, that the English manufacturer would only give a low price for Indian cotton. The increase of population, the increase of crimes and need for security to the people engaged in trade and commerce necessitated the reorganisation of police force. The establishment of police stations, jails and court revealed that the urban crimes were increasing.

Another urban problem in Cuddalore was encroachment of roads and streets. Lewis Mumford, while talking about the encroachments stated that the competition for space between the domestic and the working quarters, as business grew and scale of production expanded, was doubtless responsible for encroachment over the original back gardens by sheds, storage bins, and special workshops. In the Indian context, the encroachment was made in the roads and streets in order to extend the Koradu
ENCROACHMENT AS AN OBSTRUCTION TO URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The problem which Cuddalore municipality faced in the beginning of 20th century was encroachment of streets and communal land by its citizens. This unlawful act of the people prevented the administrators from providing good roads and streets and beautifying the town. Sometimes the temple authorities made encroachment and the administrators had to consent to the act of encroachment as interference in religious affairs was resented by the public. The following paragraphs throws some light on this aspect.

A piece of land in T.S. No.1125 and 1197 ward No.2 measuring 168 sq. ft. was encroached upon by the trustees of the vinayagar-koil, Kuttakkuran street in Cuddalore Old Town, by putting up a masonry platform and thatched shed. When the trustee was asked to vacate he applied on 11/7/1941 for the assignment of the site in the favour of the temple. (Sketch 1)
The above mentioned encroachment was a nuisance to public since it occupied about half the street. The increase of population and development in transportation in future would definitely cause inconvenience to public. The offence committed by the temple authority was justified by the petitioner on the pretext of interference in religion and convenience for the devotees. Thus religion was misused to justify street encroachment.

The following cases of encroachment throw some light on hurdles in urban development. The commissioner of Cuddalore municipality stated the following in his letter dt. 4/2/1942 to the Collector of South Arcot.

"I forward herewith for favour of disposal of the application of Sri S. Raghavendra Rao, B.A, retired Deputy Collector requesting assignment of 14 sq. ft. of land in T.S. No.703 of ward, together with a sketch showing the site and a copy of my proceedings No.862 dated 2/2/1942 recommending the assignment applied for and extract from the proceedings of the special officer, Cuddalore municipality, Cuddalore passed at his urgent sitting held on Monday the 2nd Feb. 1942.

Encroachments, Assignments Leases etc. Read petition No.862 dt. 10-12-41 from Sri S. Raghavendra Rao B.A., retired Deputy Collector, Pudupalayam, requesting
A SKETCH OF THE RAMADOSS NAICK STREET

Sketch No. 2

Source: DRC 41234 dt. 2/5/1942, Cuddalore.
assignment of 14 sq. ft. in Ramadoss Naidu street, Pudupalayam in I.S.No.703 ward No.6 block No.22 and commissioners note recommending the assignment of the encroachment site. Resolved to relinquish the encroached site from the control of the council and to recommending the assignment of the site to the encroacher." (Sketch No. 2)

The close examination of the case and the decision of the commissioner reveals the following inference.

1. The petitioner being a retired Deputy collector some favouritism is shown in recommending the assignment of the encroached site to the encroacher.

2. The commissioner might have come to the conclusion that the petitioner was right as the owner of plot No.255 had already encroached 5 feet into the street.

3. The commissioner might have thought that 20 feet width was enough for cart traffic.

The commissioner’s decision may appear to be just. But it lacked foresight as he did not take into account the gravity of the problem in future such as widening of the street and cutting channel for drainage along either sides of the street to provide facilities for sanitation. Further, his decision was detrimental to the further growth
and beautification of the town. If the neighbours of the owner of the plot No.255 decided to encroach the street on line with plot No.255, the width of the street would have reduced to 22 feet only. On the other hand the rejection of assignment to the encroacher might have helped the administrators to widen the street by 2 more feet at least by acquiring the encroached site by others on line with plot No.254. The banning of further encroachment by the inhabitants would have certainly aided urbanization in future. If the administration had been impartial and keen on development of the town the breadth of the road would have increased to 30 feet, on line with Plot No.257 and 258. The example cited is a sample and Cuddalore suffered due to many such encroachments in the past.

The adherence of following principles would have certainly helped the administrators in preventing encroachments.

While forming the street lines, the street boundaries which were already surveyed should be joined. It was not necessary to join the adjacent points. The projection beyond the proposed regular line in the form of Koradu or pyals should be deemed as encroachments and their removal enforced. In case of registration of pyals or Koradu at the time of survey, acquisition proceedings under
Section 165 of Madras Act IV of 1884 might have been consulted for the removal of the encroachments.

Old corners or strips of land surveyed as street at the survey were to be excluded by the proposed irregular line. At the same time the adjacent owners should be encouraged to build upon them under Section 165-a of the Act.

The adherence of the above principles might have made further survey unnecessary as the line would run between points already surveyed and mapped. The urban crimes reflected the mentality of the people. These crimes were committed in order to acquire wealth and comfort through fraudulent ways. The gradual disappearance of the concern for the neighbour, innocence and straightforwardness marked the urban attributes. The encouragement given by the consumption of arrack, toddy and Canja (opium) resulted in the increase of crimes. The opening of a number of arrack, toddy and Canja shops in Cuddalore municipality by the British administration reflected the colonial policy of raising more income and rendering Indians invalid as far as possible. The English might have realised the dangerous effect of imparting western education to Indians who opposed British rule vehemently particularly on the rise of extremism in Indian
National Congress under the leadership of Bala Gangadhar Tilak in 1907 at Surat.

CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The destitute women, infirm and homeless were found in the streets of Cuddalore. They frequently came for alms to the house of the municipal sisters. There were some philanthropists who cared for the poor and destitute people. Choultries were built even during the pre-colonial period with an aim to accommodate poor travellers who came to Cuddalore on various purposes. The income of the temple village called Jara or Janaka was used for construction and maintenance of choultries. Individuals like Vyapuri chetti also built the chatram dedicated to a public charitable purpose. These choultries were intended for the poor and needy. Brahmans and travellers were fed in the morning and beggars were given meals in the night. Besides Indians, there were some European Philanthropists.

Father L. Loubiere, municipal councillor of Cuddalore was moved by the plight of the destitute people. He endeavoured to construct a charity home at Cuddalore. He desired to have a casteless society in this institution as in Rangoon, Calcutta and Bangalore. However he consented for the observation of caste due to local situation. This
charity home was named as "Edward VII Home For Aged". He came forward to donate Rs.10,000 for the maintenance of the said home. He was also willing to provide livelihood for two European sisters who looked after the destitutes. Practice of caste in the home of the aged showed that the people were still not ready to give up their castes inspite of their destitution. It implied that the caste was deep rooted in the society. Hence the process of social change look place very slowly in the Indian society.

The appearance of destitute and aged people in Cuddalore implied the weakening of the joint family system. Neglect of the disabled and aged characterised the urban mentality. Inspite of the practice of caste in these institutions, they brought the people belonging to different castes and religions under a single roof.

EDUCATION AND ATTITUDINAL CHANGE

It is true that the trading activities and administrative functions had provided infrastructure facilities in Cuddalore. It is still more important that the education imparted by the colonial rulers helped the inhabitants of Cuddalore to prepare their minds to accept economic, political, social and attitudinal changes.
(A) CHANGES IN SOCIAL DIVISIONS

There was considerable change in the society of Cuddalore in the 19th century when compared to its people in the 17th and the 18th centuries. In the 18th century, as stated earlier there was rigidity in Right and Left hand caste divisions. Separate localities, prohibition of interdining and inter marriage between these divisions marked the rigidity of the society. However, the rigidity of the Right and Left hand divisions began to erode in the dawn of the 19th century. Occupational changes and encroachment of occupation were seen due to the wealth brought by the market economy. The control of India by the British, introduction of western education, discouragement of the caste system, consideration to the poor and down trodden and the employment opportunities created by the system of English administration produced a new society consisting of different castes, religions and ethnicity.

(B) CONFIDENCE IN ALLOPATHY

In the 18th century the people of Cuddalore had belief in indigenous medicine. The indigenous doctor was called by the English as Black doctors. The patients used to visit the doctor's house and sometimes stayed there to have their disease cured. They had to help the doctors in cooking and other household duties if the latter
happened to be a bachelor. As stated in the Fort St. David Consultations, 1734 a mentally ill woman called Kistnee of Chidambaram was advised by the black doctor to stay in his house at Devanampattanam for a week and undergo treatment. The woman prepared food and did all the house hold work. In turn she was fed and clothed through out her stay. However, the patient was allowed to visit some other doctors if she or he was not satisfied with the treatment. It is interesting to note that the barbers acted as surgeons. The women called 'Marthuvachi', generally belonged to the lower castes attended the delivery cases at the patients homes. The people were reluctant to utilise the medical facilities for delivery even in the late 19th century.

The Western education imparted to the people by the English made them to change their attitude towards Western medicine. The local people attending hospitals and dispensaries considerably increased in course of time.

The lower caste women availed the medical facilities for child birth. The upper caste women once reluctant to undergo treatment in the hospitals for child birth came forward to be treated by the European sisters. The increasing confidence for vaccination showed change of attitude of the people towards Western medicine. This attitudinal change was brought about by the Western education.
(C) ACCEPTANCE OF SANITARY MEASURES

The measures taken by the Cuddalore Municipality was aimed at imbibing civic sense among its citizens. Awareness was created among the people regarding health, sanitation, drainage, and maintenance of roads and streets. The Municipal administration of Cuddalore insisted on provision of latrine in the houses. It came forward to supply scavengers at low cost for cleaning the latrines. The municipal administrators solved the problem of entering the houses of the Caste Hindus by suggesting to open entrance at the backyard. The educated Indians came forward to make use of the latrines instead of open space. The increase of public and private latrines indicated the change of attitude of the people of Cuddalore. It also indicated the appreciation of the people for the sanitary measures taken by the Municipal administration.

(D) DRINKING WATER

The elite section of the society realised the bad consequence of drinking polluted water from wells, tanks and rivers. The educated Indians extended their co-operation to the municipal administrators for the drinking water supply. The increasing number of drinking water resources showed the people of Cuddalore are changing their existing custom. Further, the number of people who used water from Gadilam
river considerably decreased due to the warning given by the sanitary inspector.

(E) EDUCATION AND LIFE STYLE

The educated Indians were employed in the government and municipal services on various capacities. As they had contact with Europeans and Eurasians they were influenced by the Western life style. The Indians who received Western education began to imitate the food habits and dress of the Europeans.

CONVERSION AS AN ASPECT OF URBANIZATION

In the beginning of the 18th century the society of Cuddalore consisted of Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists, Jains and Outcastes. The trading activities and employment opportunities created by the Government and municipal administration stimulated migration of people to Cuddalore from neighbouring regions. Besides Indian Communities there were Europeans such as English, French, Dutch and the Portuguese. The matrimonial alliance of Indian Women with Europeans gave birth to new ethnic group called Eurasians or East Indians. The spread of christianity contributed to the urban growth of Cuddalore.
The Catholic and Protestant Churches that were established in various parts of Cuddalore denoted the encouragement given to Christianity by the British rulers. Earlier low caste people alone were converted to Christianity. In the middle of the 19th century high caste people began to embrace Christianity in order to enjoy the privileges extended to the converted Christians by various missionary bodies and British Government. However, it is strange to note that none of the fishermen in Cuddalore embraced Christianity.

The bulk of the converted Christians came from the untouchable castes. Educational and employment opportunities were opened to this section of the society. They were employed in government services as midwives, clerks, peons and watchmen. Conversion to Christianity helped them to come out of the oppression of the traditional Hindu society. They had confidence in Western education and culture. The caste Hindus could not illtreat the converted Christians on the basis of their low origin as they enjoyed the confidence of the British rulers. Thus conversion caused change of attitude of the people towards society and religion.
CHANGES IN TRANSPORT SYSTEM AND CHANGE OF ATTITUDE

Most of the people walked away their destination in the 18th and 19th centuries. The animals such as bullocks, donkeys and camels were used for carrying goods. The coolies were employed for taking goods from one place to another place. The affluent section of the society used palanquins, horses and bullock carts. Waterways were given more importance than travelling by land. The people did not prefer travelling by land due to bad condition of the roads and robbery in the highways. Sailing through sea and rivers were considered quick and safe. This condition continued till the middle of the 19th century.

In the middle of the 19th century, some changes were introduced in the transport system. Carts with springs and coaches drawn by horses and bullocks were used by the rich people. Carts without springs were used by the common man. By this time the use of palanquins became outdated. In those days a motor-car, motor-cycle or any other mechanically propelled vehicle was a lethal instrument. A great deal of fun has been made of the man with a red flag who walked in front of the early cars. The general mixture of cars, motor cycles, pedal cycles and pedestrians increased the accidents which resulted in death, bereavement and maiming. Hence in England Pedal cyclists and
pedestrians were advised to follow rules of the road. It goes without saying that the Indians were also frightened when these vehicles were introduced in India. By 1840, the average speed of mail coaches had increased to ten miles an hour. In 1836 the distance from London to Newyork, 197 miles was covered in scheduled time 20 hrs. 'The Wonder Coach' running between Shrewsbury and London, did the distance of 158 miles at an average speed of 12 miles an hour."

The increase of vehicles in Cuddalore was responsible for increase of accidents. It is stated in the police records of the office of the Inspector General of Police, Madras that the increase in number of vehicles to be put on the road would increase the accidents. There is no doubt that the people of Cuddalore were scared by the vehicles in the beginning stage.

The stage coach was in use in 1820. Hansom Cab and Horse Omnibus were introduced in England in 1860 and 1880 respectively. Steam stage coach was invented in 1836. The pedestrian curricle was invented in 1818 and it was in use until free wheel bicycle was invented in 1959. Three wheeled motor car and London motor bus were on the road in 1888 and 1910 respectively. Daimler motor Car was in use in 1897. The Electric Tram Car was invented in 1922. Some
of these vehicles were in use in Cuddalore as India was ruled by the British. It is stated in the police records that the Deputy Superintendent of Police's quarter was equipped with stable and motor shed. Further garage for four motor buses and petrol pump were being constructed for the Police Department. It is mentioned that there were 8 police vans and three motor cycles in the district of South Arcot in 1948.

In due course the people began to adjust with the vehicles. The spread of education helped them to take safety measures. Thus the attitude of the inhabitants of Cuddalore towards mechanised vehicles had changed in course of time. The change of attitude was an urban attribute.

Cuddalore was connected with railways. The introduction of railways helped socialisation as people belonging to upper and lower castes travelled together. However, the upper caste people kept their distance as soon as they got out of the train. The introduction of railways brought about changes in the attitude of the people in the sense that the upper caste people once rigid in pollution concept adjusted themselves while travelling along with low caste people. In other words the polluting distance was minimised. Further the railways also enabled the people to go to distant places and to have contact with people.
speaking different languages and following different habits and customs. The vegetables, food grains and articles transported through railways caused changes in the food habits and life style of the people living in Cuddalore. For instant, the inhabitants of Cuddalore began to take wheat in addition to rice and corns. Further railways stimulated non-vegetarianism as cattle and chicken were taken from one place to another place very quickly. Thus railways were responsible for social change during the colonial rule.

In short the urbanization in Cuddalore was the outcome of the colonial rule. The change in attitude of the people in Cuddalore was brought about by European trade, especially the English, municipal and governmental administration, and English law based on equality and liberty. Thus it can be established that urbanization preceeded social change as far as Cuddalore was concerned. Further, urbanization and social change are inter-related.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


5. *ibid.*, Plate 117.


17. DRC 57144 dt. 3-3-1920.


21. General No. 40. DRC 1192/4849/41222 dated 3-12-1942.

22. DRC 41234 dt. 2-6-1942.


24. DRC/16684 dt. 24-3-1919.


32. General No. 7 DRC 655/1829/5739 dated 18-7-1950.

33. General No. 7 DRC 740/1829/5824.