CHAPTER VI
SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF COLONIAL CUDDALORE 1700-1947

This chapter portrays the social structure of colonial Cuddalore. The settlement patterns of the 'White Town' and 'Black Town' are critically analysed. The lifestyle of the Europeans, especially the English and its impact on the indigenous people are discussed. The shape of colonial Cuddalore underwent several changes in accordance with its social structure. The urbanization of Cuddalore was the outcome of the continuous changes that were going on in the society of Cuddalore for about a period of two and half centuries since 1700 A.D.

The settlement pattern: The European sector of the town or the colonial urban settlement was generally located close to the sea, except some stray cases. Some Dutch merchants had occupied a lodge in Tiruppapuliyur temporarily. The "Garden houses" of the English were found in the Capper Hills, Tiruppapuliyur and Manjakuppam. The English residential houses were established away from the sea owing to scarcity of land in the sea-side, administrative conveniences and increase of population. It is noticed that the English selected the interior part of Cuddalore towards the close of the 18th century. The Dutch merchants lived in the rented houses of the Indians at Tiruppapuliyur temporarily in the
COLONIAL URBAN SETTLEMENT OR WHITE TOWN OF DEVANAMPATANAM IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Diagram: A

1. Fort St. David, Garrison and Warehouse of the English
2. Official buildings of the English East India Company
3. Residential area of the English, Portuguese and the Dutch
   Roman Catholic Church
4. Military Boundary

Warehouses of the Portuguese and the Dutch

- Black Town
beginning of the 17th century\textsuperscript{1}. The love for sea and safe transportation by water might have induced the English to prefer seaside settlements. The monuments at Devanampatanam and Cuddalore reflect the European architecture and their culture. The houses of the Europeans were equipped with sanitary facilities such as flush out latrine, bathroom and drainage.

The settlement pattern of the Europeans was based on occupation and ranks of the company's servants. The facilities of the residential buildings differed according to their status. The Deputy Governor of Fort St. David occupied a bungalow located on the northern bank of the river Gadilam. His residence was surrounded by garrison, warehouse and residential buildings of the officials of the company such as sea customer, land customer, store keeper, pay master, steward, commercial resident and soldiers\textsuperscript{2}. Churches, clubs, cemeteries, libraries, hospital, and dispensaries were located in this part of the town. The official hierarchy determined the spatial distance of the colonial urban settlement.

The White Town of Devanampatanam was roughly divided into four segments. (diagram A) The fort complex consisting of Agency House, Ware houses and garrison with triangular fortification bearing redoubts ramparts and bastions formed the first Division.
SETTLEMENT PATTERN OF CUDDALORE OLD TOWN (PORT TOWN) IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Diagram: B

Colonial Urban settlement or White Town of Cuddalore Old Town

1. Port, Ware houses
2. Residential area of the Europeans – Church, Official buildings, Dispensary
3. Eurasians, Soldiers

——— Fortifications

_____ Limit of the White Town of Cuddalore
The second part consisted of the official buildings. In between second and third divisions, factories of the Portuguese and Dutch existed.

Residential area of the English, Portuguese, Dutch and the Roman Catholic Church were located in the third division. The habitation of the Europeans was based on occupational hierarchy.

The military architecture, separating indigenous settlement from the White Town formed the fourth segment of the colonial urban settlement of Devanampatanam in the 18th century.

The English preferred to settle at Cuddalore as it was a business centre linked with port, rivers and roads. They were more interested in developing the port town. In the 18th century Cuddalore port town gained more importance as the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David and the commercial resident resided here. Government offices, Health institutions, warehouses, educational institutions, libraries, Roman Catholic Church and Christ Church were located in this part of town.

Colonial urban settlement in Cuddalore Old Town was located on the sea side and it contained three divisions. (Diagram B) The port complex and warehouses
formed the first division. In the second division lay, the residential area of the Europeans, Portuguese, Dutch and the English. Further, the Christ Church Cemetery official buildings, residence of the commercial resident, and dispensary were located in this segment. The Eurasians and the English soldiers occupied the third division. The White Town of Cuddalore was fortified on three sides.

**COLONIAL URBAN SETTLEMENT OF CUDDALORE OLD TOWN AND DEVANAMPATANAM IN THE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURIES**

The Colonial urban settlement of Cuddalore in the 19th and early 20th centuries did not differ much from that of the 18th century. The European cemetery in Cuddalore indicate that the Europeans such as French and the English continued to live in this part of the town. The Portuguese and the Dutch left this place once for all. This is evident from the fact that the European cemetery belonging to 19th century and after, did not bear the name of Portuguese or Dutch.

Imperial Bank, Travellers' Bungalow, hospital and dispensary were added to the colonial urban settlement of Cuddalore Old Town. As discussed elsewhere, water tank, Jubilee Club and Park were built along the Chidambaram Cuddalore road. As the New Town was created in the middle of the 19th century, Cuddalore Old Town began to lose its
COLONIAL URBAN SETTLEMENT OF CUDDALORE ON THE LEFT SIDE OF GADILAM RIVER (19th and Early 20th Century)

Diagram: C

1. Administrative buildings, Jails, Courts
2. Residential buildings of the English officials, Cosmopolitan Club and Church
3. Educational institutions, Hospital, Charity home, Houses of the Eurasians

A. Black Town
importance as administrative centre. The trading activities in Cuddalore continued as usual.

The White Town of Devanampatanam declined due to the rise of New Town of Cuddalore. Even though some administrative offices were still located there, the residential area of the English was almost deserted as the latter settled in the New Town of Cuddalore, especially in Manjakuppam. In the early part of the 20th century Devanampatnam was abandoned by the English. The White Town of Manjakuppam was like a concentric circle with administrative offices in its centre. (diagram C)

The European sector of the town was characterised by comfort, security and better transport facilities. In other words, good streets and roads, lighting facilities, water facilities, hygiene, medical facilities, security, parks and lawns, churches, barracks, port and fort, store houses, official buildings and agency houses characterised the Europeans segment of the town. They needed comfort and security in the alien land. They spent their leisure time in bathing in the sea, or relaxing in the lawn or park. The English being rulers enjoyed their leisure time and lived a comfortable life in Cuddalore.
The Europeans lived in tiled or terraced houses. These houses were ventilated. Each house, small or big had a drawing room, dining hall, bed room and kitchen. Each house was equipped with flush out latrine facilities. The building materials used by the English were tiles, rattan shutters, Chunnambu, bricks, timber, sheathing boards, nails, keys, locks, iron, planks, hoods, hinges, coir, twine Bengali, stone dogs, rails, iron crows, knives, padlocks, teak wood and rattan. The building materials used by the English showed that they raised buildings on Western style.

The articles and furniture used by the Indians and Europeans were different. The articles used by Europeans included large chests, salt cellars, crewits, plates, chairs, large tables, tubs, candles and candle sticks, decanters, dishes, bowls, pictures, lanthorn, wine glasses, small tea tables, standing cots, glass pictures, sealing wax, iron and leather buckets. The use of the above mentioned articles by the Europeans reflected their life style and culture. Their culture was distinct from that of Indians.

The structure of Indian Society in Colonial Cuddalore

The Indian sector of the town was known by different names such as Black Town or Hindu town. However, the Hindu town was inhabited by Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists,
1. Fishermen settlement
2. Left hand caste locality
3. Right hand caste locality
4. Untouchable castes
Jains and Christians. In the 18th century, the Indian society was divided on religious basis. The untouchables occupied the periphery of the Hindu locality as they worked in the lands of their masters and due to the concept of 'Pollution'.

The Indian society consisted of numerous castes. The Hindus were divided into two broad categories namely Right and Left hand castes. The Right hand-castes were engaged in agriculture. The Left hand-castes were artisans who made furniture, agricultural implements, textile goods, metal wares, and jewels. In other words goldsmiths, blacksmiths, weavers, carpenter-smiths, brass smiths and stone-cutters were included in this category. Chettiars who were merchants were also included in left hand caste division. The indigenous sector of the town was located away from the sea with an exception to fishermen settlement at Devanampattanam.

The settlement pattern of the Hindu Town of Cuddalore and Devanampatanam was like circles with horizontal or vertical segments (diagram D,E). The Indian sector of the town of Devanampatanam in the 18th century consisted of four segments, (diagram D). The fishermen settlement was located on the northern side, close to the sea. The second and third divisions were occupied by Left
BLACK TOWN OR INDIGENOUS SETTLEMENT OF CUDDALORE OLD TOWN (PORT TOWN) IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Diagram: E

1. Muslim habitation, Fishermen settlement
2. Left hand caste locality
3. Right hand caste locality
4. Out caste locality

Brahmin locality
hand caste people. The fourth division was inhabited by outcastes. The locality of 'Parachery' and 'Chucklee Point' existed in this division. The military architecture of the English was extended upto this point during the 18th century.

The indigenous settlement of Cuddalore Old Town was divided into four segments. (diagram E). The habitation of Muslims and fishermen were located close to the White Town. Sonakankuppam and Gori on the northern side of the river Gadilam were inhabited by the Muslims. The Sonakan street in Cuddalore Old Town was inhabited by Muslims. It was called 'Islamabad' in the 17th century. The term 'Islamabad' meant habitation of the muslims. Thus the words Sonakan and Islamabad stood for Muslims.

Second and Third division were occupied by the Left and Right hand caste people. The Brahmin locality lay in between them. The out caste occupied the fourth division. This part was known as Panangattucherry. It was here, the criminals were hanged. This part was also known as Thookumarathucherry.

Thus caste was basis for the segregation of various communities. The status of a person in the Indian society could easily be judged by his residential area in the 18th century.
THE INDIGENOUS SETTLEMENT IN TIRUPPAPULIYUR IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Diagram: F

1. Pataleswarar Temple
2. Brahmin locality
3. Temple land
4. Left hand caste locality
5. Right hand caste locality
6. Untouchable castes and Fishermen
The settlement pattern in Tiruppapuliyur was like concentric circle with Pataleswarar temple in its centre. (diagram F). The Brahmins occupied the centre of this locality. The remaining part of the town was surrounded by the Left hand castes, Right hand castes, and untouchables in the 18th century Cuddalore. The Jains and Buddhist who were very few might have lived adjacent to the Brahmins. In the 18th century, the Indians who converted to Christianity were very few as the percentage of christians who lived in Cuddalore was 3.8% in the year 1891. It is strange to note that the fishermen of Cuddalore were not converted to Christianity while most of their counterparts embraced christianity in Madras during this period. The muslims constituted 4 percent of total population of 47355 in Cuddalore municipality in the same year. They were concentrated in Cuddalore Port Town as they were engaged in maritime activities. Socio-economic differentiation played an important role in segregating the people.

The division of the Hindus into the Right and Left hand castes was found only in Tamil Nadu. The people belonging to these divisions were rigid and their localities were separate. They adhered to certain customs. Violation of customs if any, led to conflict. Arunachalam Pillai, a resident of Cuddalore Old Town was a dealer in narcotics. He belonged to the Right hand caste as he was a
cultivator. He had purchased a house from a Brahmin in the left hand caste locality and constructed a Pandal in front of his house. Irshappa Chetty was a merchant of English East India company. Being a merchant he was considered as a Left hand caste man and lived in the Left hand caste locality in Cuddalore. On the occasion of his wedding he had used a palanquin with white covering. Moreover, his marriage procession passed through the Pandal made by Arunachalam Pillai. The use of palanquin covered with white cloth by Irshappa Chetty and passing of the wedding procession through the Pandal led to the stoppage of Irshappa Chetty's marriage.

According to the existing custom, the Left hand castes were prohibited to use palanquin with white covering, white horse and umbrella with white cloth as they were considered inferior to right hand castes. It is interesting to note that the palanquin in dispute belonged to Ananda Rangapillai of Pondicherry, the dubash to Dupleix.

The Head of the right hand caste reported to the Deputy Governor, Fort. St. David that Irshappa Chetty made use of a Palanquin with a white covering on the occasion of his marriage. In addition to it most of the members belonging to the Left hand caste crossed the Pandal belonging to the Right hand caste. The Left hand caste
people replied that the palanquin in dispute did not belong to them but was borrowed from Rangapillai, a merchant at Pondicherry. They admitted that they ought not to have used it with white covering. They added that they did not anticipate such a great consequence to the extent of stopping the marriage of Irshappachetty. When Sher Khan the administrator, re-peopled Cuddalore he had separated the streets for these divisions. He had issued a **cowle** which empowered the Right and Left hand castes to make use of their respective streets for their wedding and other festivals. They did not face any problem since the purchase of Cuddalore by the English till then. Earlier, the wedding procession of one of the Right hand caste men passed through Left hand caste locality. When the matter was brought to the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, the latter granted an order which permitted these divisions to make use of a common alley adjacent to the Brahmin Gate at the West ward as far as Chidambaram gate. They did not come across any such problem till then. Regarding the **Pandal**, they told Aurnachalam's son and his relative that the **Pandal** they were erecting was in violation of salabad and they ought not to do it. Otherwise it would lead to dispute. But the **Pandal** was built ignoring their request.
The Left hand caste people agreed that some of their people went through the pandal as there were large number of people in the procession. The wedding was stopped because of crossing the Pandal. The Right hand caste people demanded that Arunachalam be pardoned. Arunachalam stayed at Pondicherry\(^{10}\) and threatened the inhabitants of Devanampatanam. However both these divisions arrived at a compromise through the efforts the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David.

The members of these divisions were so intolerant that, sometimes their dispute ended in murder. A woman belonging to Right hand caste was mercilessly beaten to death by some Left hand caste people in Cuddalore. This incidence showed that the people belonging to these divisions took revenge upon each other. Further they were growing powerful due to cloth trade. The Deputy Governor of Fort St. David who enquired into the case levied a fine of five hundred pagodas on the whole of Left hand caste as directed by Fort St. David administration\(^{11}\).

The relation between the inhabitants of Cuddalore and the East India company officials may be compared to that of agricultural labourers and their masters in Indian society. Further, the relation between the English and Indians was that of between rulers and ruled. As Cuddalore
was under the control of English East India Company, they became responsible for the safety and well-being of the local people. Hence the decision of the Deputy governor of Fort St. David in the cases involving Right and Left hand castes was respected by the parties concerned.

The inequality in the society not only existed among Indians, but was also found among Europeans. Such inequalities were based on power and economic status. For example, the man in the street was not allowed to pass the residence of the Governor General of Netherlands. The Governor General was escorted by a company of horse-guards in scarlet and gold uniform, with outriders and trumpeters to precede him to announce his presence. All those who passed the Governor General had to alight from their carriage and bare their heads, bow deeply or show curtsey if they were ladies. When he entered the church, everybody without exception had to stand and remain standing till he took his seat. The Governor General's wife also received the same honour and respect wherever she went.

The pomp and show enjoyed by the Governor General of Netherlands was reproduced by the Dutch officials in India. "Even in such secondary factories as Devanampatanam, the chief appeared in public with a suite of Indian standard bearers, trumpeters, musicians, 20 armed
guards, a swarm of peons or orderlies, besides his body guard of 12 Dutch soldiers. The carriages in which the Dutch officials, priests and their consorts travelled had to go in front or back in accordance with their official rank. There is a sharp difference of the inequality that existed among Indians and Europeans. While the inequality among Europeans was based on power and rank of a person, caste, power and money formed basis for the inequality in the Indian society. The Chetty’s were economically well off and some of them owned ships and sloops. Colluway Chetty and Rama Chetty, who were East India company’s merchants owned a ship and sloop respectively. Yet they were considered inferior to that of the right hand caste people. In other words, inspite of their richness they occupied low status in the Hindu society by virtue of their caste.

It implies that the caste dominated the Indian society. The inhabitants of Cudallore were discriminated in using vehicles, roads or streets on the basis of castes. The different castes and religious groups accepted the judgment of the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David in their disputes in the 18th century due to the power and position of the English.

The Right and Left hand caste divisions gradually disappeared and in the 19th century there was no trace of...
SETTLEMENT PATTERN OF CUDDALORE NEW TOWN IN THE
THE 19TH CENTURY AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY

Fig. Indigenous settlement of Cuddalore New Town
on the right side of the Gadilam river (Tiruppapuliyur)

4. Muslims, Christians  5. Untouchable castes
G. Indigenous settlement of Cuddalore on the left side of Gadilam river
(Pudupalayam, Sorkalpet, Vannarapalayam, Manjakuppam, Vilwarayanatham and Semmandalam)

1. Hindus, Christians, Muslims, Eurasians
2. Untouchable castes, Fishermen and Washermen
INDIGENOUS SETTLEMENT OF CUDDALORE OLD TOWN (PORT TOWN) IN THE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURIES

Diagram: H

1. Muslims, Christians, Migrants from Andhra and Maharashtra
2. Caste Hindus and Brahmanas
3. Out castes
INDIGENOUS SETTLEMENT IN DEVANAMPATANAM IN THE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURIES

Diagram: I

1. Fishermen settlement
2. Caste Hindu locality
3. Untouchable castes
such divisions. The disappearance of these divisions reflected in the pattern of indigenous settlements at Cuddalore Old Town and New Town (diagrams F, G, H, I). The changes in the Indian society due to impact of British rule in India was visible in the settlement pattern of the indigenous sector in various parts of Cuddalore municipality.

In Cuddalore Old Town, Devanampatanam, Tiruppapuliyur and Manjakuppam Right and Left hand divisions disappeared. The isolation of Brahmin locality was broken as Caste Hindus began to settle in this part of the town. However, there was no change in the habitation of the untouchable castes. It indicated that segregation of Adi-Dravidas continued due to pollution concept. The Caste Hindus (superior or inferior) came closer as there was no barrier like 'pollution'. The changes in the settlement pattern denoted urbanization of Cuddalore in the 19th and 20th century.

However they were replaced by numerous caste groups. In the 19th century the society of South Arcot consisted of the following castes and religious groups.
<table>
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<th>Caste</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% to population</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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<td>Brahmanas</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>31984</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jains</td>
<td>Jain</td>
<td>3815</td>
<td>0.2</td>
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<td>Chettiar, Vellalr Idayar, Kammalar Kanakar, Kaikolar Shanar, Ambattar Vannar, Kosavar</td>
<td>Hindu, Koravar tribes</td>
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<td>Sembadavar</td>
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It is found that some castes such as Reddiar, Naidu, Naicker, Mudaliar, Pillai, Nayinar, Kavundan, Nadar, Kakirayar, Achari, Odayar, Pathar, Gramani, Sastri and Vanian were not included in the 1871 census. It might be due to the incomplete enumeration.

The importance given to the castes may be seen by names of the individuals being suffixed with their castes. But there was no practice of suffixing lower caste names
along with their names. It might be due to the inferior status of the lower castes. Some of the streets in Cuddalore bore the names of the castes (Except lower caste names). But the lower caste name was given to their locality. 'Paracherry' and 'Chuckle point' in Devanampatanam may be cited as examples. The chucklee point was located on the edge of the canal linking rivers of Pennayar and Tiruppapuliyur at a distance of 1300 yards to the north of Fort St. David. About 200 yards to the right of the chucklee point stood a small sandy hill called paracherry. The chucklee were cobblers. Paracherry was inhabited by the Harijan caste, who were landless agricultural labourers. The scavengers also lived in these parts of Devanampatanam.

The names of the streets and roads in Cuddalore suggests that the persons belonging to various castes and religious groups were honoured for their position, wealth and power. Bodi Chetty street, Chinnappa Mudali Street, Shanmugam Pillai Street and Sankaraya Naickan Street in Tiruppapuliyur and Manjakuuppam are some examples. Some, streets in Cuddalore were named after Muslims, Sikhs and Europeans. Mussalman lane in Tiruppapuliar, Sardar Singh Street in Pudupalayam, Pugh's Road in Pudupalayam, Lawrence Road in Tiruppapuliyur and Clives Street in Cuddalore are some of the examples.
Narrow roads and streets, poor lighting, poor sanitation filth and stagnation characterised the indigenous sector of the town. Oil and kerosine lamps were used in the houses and for street lighting even after the introduction of electricity. Most of the houses in this locality were either huts or small houses. Some houses had terraced, tiled or thatched roofs. They lacked latrine facilities and the people irrespective of caste, sex and age excreted in the edge of the streets, roads, rivers and in the alloy. The pigs, dogs, cocks and hens made this part of the town habitable by swallowing the human excretion. The availability of waste lands and privacy provided by the bushes on the banks of the rivers and access to water and limited population might have induced the Indians to use the open space for their excretions. However, this scene partly disappeared towards the end of the 19th century.

**Articles Used:** The Indians used pottery and vessels made of metals such as bronze and copper. They used mats and pillows for sleeping. The furniture such as chairs, tables and cots were used by the wealthy people. The other articles used by them included knives, axes and wooden plates. The Indian merchants who were employed in the company service purchased the articles of the diseased Englishmen through auction. These articles included chairs.
large glasses, wine, water glasses, knives, forks, small tea-table, cot, glass pictures and pictures 20.

The tendency of the Indians to imitate Western culture indicated social change. The change of attitude of the rich and middle class people towards using fashionable and sophisticated articles implied that the urbanization came from above.

Dress and Ornaments: The type and quality of dress and ornaments differed according to status, religion, caste and nation. As far as Indian society was concerned the caste of an individual played important role in determining the type of cloth and ornaments an individual wore. The upper castemen wore cloth, shirt and turban. J.H. Garstin has mentioned that the ordinary dress of a well to do shopkeeper consisted of two cloths, one about six yards and the other about three yards in length. The former was tied around his waist and the latter was worn over the shoulders. Besides there was a head cloth or turban about six feet square and hand-kerchief 21. The dhoti worn in a particular style and piece of cloth worn around the shoulders distinguished Brahmins from others. Some regulations were made regarding the dress and ornaments of the lower caste people. The Harijan men were prohibited to wear dhoti below the knees. They were generally seen with kovanam (loin
and mundas (turban), especially while doing agricultural work. Further, the colour of the cloth worn by the lower caste people was restricted. They were allowed to use red colour cloths. They were strictly prohibited to wear white garments. This practice might have emerged from the existing belief that using cloth red in colour was inferior to white cloth. These regulations continued throughout the colonial period.

The dress of the women consisted of inner garments such as petty coats and marbu kachai (bra). They generally wore sarees and ravikai (blouse). The style, quality and colour of their clothes varied according to their social status and castes. Silk sarees were worn by upper caste women only. The lower caste women were prohibited from wearing blouse. They wore their sarees in such a manner that they covered their breasts with a portion of their sarees. However, the Harijan women were not allowed to cover their breasts. The lower caste men and women were not allowed to imitate the garments of the upper caste people. It may be noted that the Harijan and Nadar women were prohibited from wearing blouse. Dr. Eugene F. Irshick, author of Tamil Revivalism in 1930s, has stated that the Harijan women were prohibited from wearing upper garments and jewels, especially on the occasion of local festivals by the kallars. The reason was the kallars were unable to
distinguish the untouchables from others at the festival time. It is obvious that gold ornaments and silk sarees, and blouses marked the symbol of higher status in the Indian society. It is clear from the following incident.

The **Nadar** women of Travancore (formerly known as Shanars) were not allowed to cover their breasts as per the existing customs. The high caste people objected to the wearing of upper garments by the **Nadar** women and their Christian counterparts. The Nadar women were stripped in the market places and false cases were foisted against them. It ended in looting of their properties and torturing the persons. The British government intervened in this matter and the Nadar women were allowed to wear upper garments through official order issued in 26th July, 1859.

The European contact with the Indians led to the imitation of European dress. Pants, shirts, trousers and overcoats were worn by educated Indians, especially converted Indian Christians. These changes were visible in the 19th and early 20th centuries due to spread of Western education and employment as clerks, teachers, lawyers, soldiers etc. in the British government.
CONTRAST BETWEEN EAST-WEST CULTURE - THE IMPACT OF WESTERN CULTURE IN THE INDIAN SOCIETY

The use of tight pants, shirt, and trousers were common among European men. They wore hats. Their women wore long sleeved gowns stretching to the feet, skirts and petticoats. The economic and political status was reflected in their dress. Owen C. Kail, when writing about the Dutch society in India has mentioned that the wearing of embroidered clothes and display of lace or velvet coats were regulated by ordinance. The chief woman of a Dutch household acted like a princess. Whenever they went to church or appeared in public places they decked out in silks, satins, and jewels. The Portuguese ladies wore silken skirts and lace mantillas. The men dressed in flowing plumes and satin cloaks. Long sleeved garments characterised the dress of the English women. The tight pants, overcoats and shirts were generally worn by English men. The Hindus, especially the educated people and Indian Christians began to imitate the dress of the Europeans.

Ornaments: The ornaments made of gold and silver such as finger rings, ear rings and bracelets were worn by Indian men and women. Besides the ornaments mentioned above Indian women wore anklets, nose-studs, ear studs, bangles and girdles. Indian women were crazy in wearing ornaments as it was considered symbol of their status. While the rich
people used ornaments made of gold and silver, the Poor people, especially from the lower strata of society wore ornaments made of inferior metals such as copper and tin. Some tribal women wore ear-stead made of palmirah leaves. The gold and silver ornaments marked the social and economic status among Indians.

The excessive use of ornaments induced robbery and murder. The increasing theft and highway robbery in this region was due to the importance given to the jewels made of gold and silver by Indian women. Francois Bernier observed that the crimes of burglary, house breaking and dacoity were connected with jewellery. It is interesting to note that the Dutch women, who were of Indo-Portuguese descent developed interest in wearing ornaments. The value of jewellery which the ladies could wear was regulated by an article. It was stipulated that those husbands who were below the rank of councillor could display jewellery worth no more than Rs. 12,000; wives of senior merchants being limited to jewellery worth Rs. 8,000; merchants Rs. 6,000; and junior merchant’s wives to Rs. 2,000. Like their Indian counterparts, the Dutch also spent most of their income in ornaments and cloths. It is interesting to note that the European Women, especially the Dutch women were greatly influenced by Indians in wearing ornaments made of precious metals.
There was a sharp distinction between Indians and Europeans regarding their dress and ornaments. While the caste to which an Indian belonged decided the type of ornaments or dress an individual should wear, the status-economic, official and political formed the basis for European's dress and ornaments. However such distinctions were not found among Europeans in wearing of shoes and boots. But in the Indian society wearing of shoes (leather or wooden) was confined to dominant castes. The lower castes were prohibited to use them. They had to walk barefoot. According to custom, even the shoemaker could not wear shoes as he belonged to the lower caste. Thus the caste dominated the Indian society.

Hair Style: The Indian men either shaved their heads or rolled up their hair in the form of Kudumi. The Indian women put kondai or plaited their hair after oiling it. The European men cropped their hair. The cropping of hair among Indians might have been popularised in the middle of the 17th century as it was influenced by Europeans. The European women, especially the Dutch women oiled their hair and rolled up in a konde or chignon and held in place with several gold pins. Other European women had their hair popped.
FOOD HABITS OF INDIANS AND EUROPEANS

The Indians were divided into vegetarians and non-vegetarians. The vegetarians were considered superior to non-vegetarians. Rice and corns constituted main diet of the Indians. Fish, meat, chicken, rabbits, hare, egg and birds were consumed by non-vegetarians. Even among the non-vegetarians the eating of beef and pork was looked down upon. The lower caste people were placed in inferior position due to the consumption of pork and beef in the Indian society. The vegetarians took all kinds of vegetables and fruits. Rice, curry, butter or gingelly oil constituted main food items. These items were served on plaintain leaf. The Indians used their fingers for eating the food. As already stated the Europeans were not influenced by the food habits of the Indians. The latter used earthen wares, plantain leaves, wooden plates, containers and vessels made of metals like brass, bronze and copper. The Europeans used dishes made of metals, glass and porcelain.

The staple food of the Europeans was wheat. They also consumed rice. They were all generally non-vegetarians. Non-vegetarian meant person consuming meat, fish and birds in addition to vegetables and food grains. Further, the inclination of the English for non-vegetarian
food is evident from the fact that they had spent 39% on non-vegetarian items mentioned in the table-24. The food items of the Europeans included bread, milk, butter, plantains, lemons, vegetables and sugar. They also took meat, pork, fowls, eggs, temper ducks, pigeons, rabbits, chicken, hares, snipes and fish. Table-24 given us an idea of percentage of various food items consumed by the English in the 18th century.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Charges Fanam-Cash</th>
<th>Percentage to total charges</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bread</td>
<td>138 -</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>13 - 54</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter</td>
<td>122 - 10</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>31 - 60</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fowls, pigeons, ducks, mutton, eggs, fish, rabbits, hares, chicks, snipes, fish</td>
<td>261 - 29</td>
<td>39.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantains and lemons</td>
<td>(2 - 60)</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>70 - 11</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>668 - 43</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table indicates that the English took large quantity of non-vegetarian food. The vegetables are not found in the Steward's diet list. The absence of vegetables indicates that the English were not accustomed to use the vegetables grown in this region. Plantains and lemons constituted regular items in their diet. 10.5% spent on sugar indicates the limited use of sugar by the English due to its scarcity as sugar industry in this region was established in the middle of the 19th century. The English spent 20.6% on bread and 2% on rice. It shows that they adhered to their food habit of consuming more quantity of wheat. The meagre percentage of 2% spent on rice shows that the English were not interested in taking more quantity of rice even though it was available in plenty at low cost. It is found that their expenditure on fish formed 1% of their total expenditure on non-vegetarian items. The English differed from the Indians as the latter consumed large quantities of rice, fish and vegetables than the English.

The Europeans took their food with the help of spoons, knives and forks. They generally used large dining tables. The Indians (except the royal families) sat on mats spread on the floor and took their food. The use of dining tables among the rich Indians might be the outcome of their contact with the Europeans. They considered the habit of using fingers for eating inferior. This may be due to
their habit and the fear that they would fall sick due to virus when fingers were used for eating. The English chose their food items in such a way that they did not change their food habits. The Europeans did not discriminate persons on the basis of food habits. The consumption of beef did not divide them. But they were divided by ranks and economic status. On the contrary the beef eating created cleavage in the Hindu society.

ENTERTAINMENTS

Entertainments formed significant part in the life of Indians as well as Europeans. But the nature of music, songs and dance differed between the Indians and Europeans. Music and dance were the favourite entertainment of the local people. Folk dance, folk music and folk songs were popular among Indians. There were Therukoothu (Street dramas) in which the scenes from Ramayana, Mahabharata, Valli Thirumanam (Lord Murugan's marriage with Valli, the hill tribal woman), scenes from Arichandra, the Indian King who lost his throne and was separated from his wife and child for speaking the truth were enacted. Carnatic music and the classical dance, such as 'Bharatanatiyam' was popular among Brahmins. The common people were interested in folk dances like Kuravankurathi Attam, Karaka Attam,
Mayilattam, Oyilattam, Poykkal-Kuthirai attam and Kummi adithal. "Cock fighting" was popular among the weavers.

The Europeans found pleasure in drinking and listening to the music and dancing. The Europeans drank wine arrack and toddy freely. The European soldiers, when they had no work drank and strolled in the streets. Gambling was a favourite hobby of the English. Sometimes gamblings resulted in quarrel. At Fort St. David a gambling incident occurred in which Robert Clive was defeated. He refused to pay the losses on the ground that he was cheated. It is stated that Fordyce the Chaplain, had abused Clive. The old soldiers found recreation in fishing. The young soldiers enjoyed hunting. The invalid soldiers, sick, young and old Europeans enjoyed the climate of Cuddalore and were found in large numbers in the lawn at Manjakuppam. It was almost English in general appearance and was surrounded by roads shaded with fine avenues. The climate of Cuddalore was so healthy that the sick officers on leave and invalid soldiers of the company quickly recovered from their illness. Thus the maintenance of lawn, parks, gardens and avenues during the colonial period helped not only to beautify the town of Cuddalore but also made Cuddalore into a health resort. In other words Cuddalore was considered as 'Switzerland' of English possessions in India during the 18th and 19th centuries.
The Tamils were known for their hospitality. Sunday was considered to be a feast day\textsuperscript{34}. The important festivals were Deepavali, Pongal and Tamil New Year day. Besides, Lunar and solar eclipses were celebrated with great enthusiasm. Temple festivals were celebrated throughout the year. Most of the temple festivals were celebrated during the night time. These festivals lasted throughout the night. The various entertainments such as folk dances were performed. Pataleswarar temple festival at Tiruppapuliyur was famous. Ananda Ranga Pillai, the dubash and Chief Officer to Dupliex mentions in his private diary about the 'Tiruvendipuram festival'\textsuperscript{35}. At that time the Palayakarars of Tiruppapuliyur used to rob the houses of the people in and around Tiruppapuliyur and Cuddalore.

The Europeans' observation that the Indians had no music under their black skins\textsuperscript{36} is not correct. The Indians had cultivated a taste for music and dance. They had irresistible fascination for festivals despite the danger from the robbers to their proportion during the festival time. The reason might be that the temple festivals gave confidence and happiness to the Indians who were caught in the cross-fire of the Carnatic Wars between the English and the French in the 18th century. The
frequent robberies in the indigenous part of the town indicated that the Indians were not given sufficient security. The people used to purchase fashionable things, household articles, toys and utensils made of clay, wood, and metals, cloth and other things in the Thiruvizhakadai (Festival Market) which lasted throughout the festivals. These festivals attracted peddlers from different parts of this district. The festivals brought income to the municipality of Cuddalore by means of taxes levied on the goods sold in the festival market in the latter half of the 19th century.

The Europeans and a very few Indian Christians celebrated ceremonies such as Baptism and festivals such as Christmas. During these occasions military and gun room crew were feasted. Palanquin bearers, peons and dancing girls were given presents as a reward to their services. The servants employed in the houses of the Europeans were fed sumptuously with foreign liquor on these occasions. The Europeans, both young and old irrespective of sex drank and danced during these occasions.

The English conducted feasts very often. 'Tiruppapuliyur feast'\(^{38}\) 'Peons' sword feast'\(^{39}\) and 'Military and gun room crew feast'\(^{40}\) are mentioned in the Company Records. These feasts were conducted in order to
encourage the East India Company's officials and soldiers. There was no wonder that the poor Indians employed in the English East India Company anticipated the Christian festivals with great interest as they were freely feasted, supplied with foreign liquor free of cost and given presents. The relation between the English and the Indians was based on inequality. That is the Europeans did not take part in the festivals of Indians such as Diwali or Pongal. They abstained from taking food from the house of the Indians. It might have been due to difference in food habits, customs and superiority complex of the Europeans.

The feasts, festivals and entertainments helped the Europeans to strengthen their friendship and relationship. They had the same effect on the Indians also. However, the feasts and festivals conducted by Indians and the English did not result in fusion of East-West culture. It might be due to their ethnic and cultural variation. Further, the feasts were non-reciprocative. As far as the Indians were concerned these cultural functions imbied courage and confidence in the minds of the people who were frustrated and torn by the incessant wars that were fought on the soil of Cuddalore in the 18th and early 19th centuries. They served as catalytic agent for the survival and continuity of the humanity. The young men and women had
an opportunity to meet during these occasions and exchange their love. They served as an outlet for their suppressed emotions.

MARRIAGE AND SOCIETY OF CUDDALORE

As already stated the Portuguese and the Dutch appeared in Cuddalore towards the close of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century. The Portuguese once they came to India never thought of returning home. They married Indians and settled in India. The Dutch also followed the Portuguese and married the women of Indo-Portuguese origin. The English soldiers at Cuddalore also married Indian women. F.E. Penny states that after the end of Anglo French wars, the barracks at Cuddalore were converted into 'residence' of the invalid soldiers. They were married into the country and lived comfortably on their pensions. The Europeans married Eurasian women living in Cuddalore. The Dutch had Indian women as concubines. Concubinage was a significant feature found among the ruling class. It may be observed that the Europeans married lower caste women in India.

The upper caste Hindu women or Muslim women did not marry Europeans for three reasons.
1. In the Hindu society upper caste women who married outside their castes lost their prestige in the society.

2. They were not ready to marry their daughters to the beef and pork eaters.

3. Finally, the women who married the Europeans had to become a Christian or Calvinist believers. Hence there was no chance of Europeans marrying high caste women due to the rigidity of caste system.

The Indian marriage system was based on caste and fidelity. Inter caste or inter religious marriages were strictly prohibited. There was no change in the Indian society. The marriage restrictions led to concubinage. However, the matrimonial alliance between Indian women and European men brought about some changes in Hindu society. In due course the rigidity of caste system began to erode when the upper caste Hindus were converted to Christianity.

The English also followed the Dutch and kept concubines in India. Mr. Patrick Warner, East India Company official at Fort St. George in his letter dt. 31-11-1676 to East India Company lamented over the behaviour of the company's servants. According to him, most of the servants of the company who were sent to India were either unmarried or married persons who had left their families in England.
They led a scandalous life in India. The company's servants either married the Indian women or kept them as their concubines. In some cases they sold the whores who were mostly Popish christians to the lust of infidels and moors. Mr. Patrick Warner also observed that among the company's servants there were murderers, thieves, gamblers, drunkards and adulterers

The observation of Mr. Patric Warner regarding the treacherous lives of the company's servants implied that the Englishmen were forced to marry Indian women or keep them as concubines as they had left their families abroad. Further, concubinage was not an alien institution in India. However, we cannot generalise that all the Englishmen who lived at Cuddalore led scandalous life. The cemeteries located in Cuddalore Old Town bear testimony to the fidelity and love of the English people. The tablet stands in the cemetery at Christ Church tell the moving story of Charles Edward Macdonald, M.C.S. murdered by Mussalmans in 1832 in a riot at Cudapah in the 24th year of his age and of Agnes his wife, who died three weeks later "of a broken heart" aged twenty. This showed that there were also good natured English people in Cuddalore.

It may be implied that the British soldiers who had left their families abroad had indulged in immoral
lives. The immorality of the English East India Company's soldiers led to the increase of prostitutes in Cuddalore in the 18th and 19th centuries. The Devadasis once attached to the temple service and honoured in the society were despised because of their degradation. Though they lived among others they were looked down upon in the Indian society. When Ananda Ranga Pillai wanted to convey the news that the wife of a clerk lived adjacent to the house of a prostitute named Alamelu in Akamuudayan Kakila Street in Pondicherry gave birth to four male children, he used the inferior term 'Alamelu Devadiel' to denote that the latter was the neighbour of the clerk concerned.

The description of the British soldier by a Eurasian boy throws considerable light on the life of the English in the 19th century. According to him the British soldiers used to ride in a carriage around the town after their work was over. They were quite drunk in the evening and fought the natives in the bazaar until the police took them away.

The old soldiers of the company married Indian women and lived comfortably on their pensions. Among the pensioners there were Hanoverians, Swiss and English. Swiss mercenaries, like the English married the Indian women. Thus there was an increase in the Eurasian population in
Cuddalore. The caste Hindus were also being converted into Christianity in the 19th century. This is evident from the fact that Lower Secondary Schools for European and Eurasian girls at Cuddalore was run by the priest. The welfare measures undertaken by the British to improve the condition of the Eurasians showed the encouragement extended to the Indian Christians who married the Europeans.

In the early 20th century, the Indians being encouraged by the freedom movement in India violently resisted the atrocities of the British. Butchering and murdering English men and children by the Indians were not uncommon during the troubled times. It may be observed that the Indians who were timid in the 18th century grew troublesome and terrified the English in the early 20th century. The change of attitude was the reaction of the Indians against the English who exploited Indians who lived in Cuddalore since 17th century.

Consequently, the British administration began to take up welfare measures in Cuddalore such as establishment of Banbury market at Tiruppapuliyur, a Bank at Cuddalore old town and kothawal chavadi at Manjakuppam in order to please the inhabitants of Cuddalore. The change of attitude of the English towards Indians in the beginning of the 20th century marked the urbanization of Cuddalore. The awakening
of the Indians weakened the English settlement at Cuddalore. According to F.E. Penny 'The town of Cuddalore, that once hummed with military life and shook at the cannon's roar has sunk into quietude. .... A few tough old pensioners occupy the bungalows in the Old Town that were once the residences of the English officers'. He added that Fort St. David was a group of deserted mounds over grown with coarse grass and those tough milky juiced plants that came under the order or Euphorbiaceae when he visited the place in the early 20th century.

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

The main religions of this region were Hinduism, Islam, Jainism, Buddhism and Christianity. While majority of the Indians were Hindus, some of them had embraced Jainism and Buddhism. The Europeans were all Christians. As there was no census during this period, it is difficult to assess the number of Christian converts in this region. However Christianity found its way into the coramandel coast even in the beginning of the 17th century. The Muckwas or the fishermen were converted into Christianity by St. Thomas and his successor St. Xavier. F.E. Penny observed, "When St. Francis Xavier, the friend of Ignatius Loyola, arrived in the middle of the 16th century he found primitive form of Christianity in existence among the Muckwas".

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existence of Roman Catholic church in Devanampatanam and Christ church in Cuddalore port town show that there were christian converts in this region. As stated elsewhere the fishermen of Devanampatanam were not influenced by Christianity.

According to F.E. Penny, the muckwas who were staunch christians, performed pujas and made sacrifices to virgin Mary. Their ceremonies resembled that of Hinduism. The fishermen of this region might have remained in Hindu fold as there was not much change in rituals. Further they trusted that, the Hindu Gods they worshipped protected them from danger on their venture to fishing in the sea.

The muslims of this region belonged to various divisions such as Maraikayar, Ravuthar, Chulia muslim, Lebbai and Pattanai. The increased strength of the muslims in Cuddalore is known by the fact that once it was called Islamabad, meaning habitation of the Muslims. The inequality among these divisions existed on the basis of economic status.

Thus the society of Cuddalore consisted of different religious and ethnic groups. The latter included Europeans, Persians, Armenians and Eurasians.
DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

The evil practice of Sati was prevalent among Hindus on the Coramandal Coast. Tavernier, in his book titled, Travels in India, stated that on the coramandel coast women were terrified by the cruel practice of burning them alive along with their deceased husbands. Instead of being burnt alive they preferred to be interred while alive. Tavernier observed that the Brahmin priests encouraged the women to commit sati so that they could go to other world where they could live happily along with their husbands. The cruel practice of sati on the coramandel coast is described by Tavernier as follows: "A large hole of 9 or 10 feet deep, and 25 or 30 feet square, is dug, into which plenty of wood is thrown, with many drugs to make it burn quickly. When the hole is well heated, the body of the husband is placed on the edge, and then his wife comes dancing, and chewing betel, accompanied by all her relatives and friends, and with the sound of drums and cymbals. The woman then makes three turns round the hole, and at each turn she embraces all her relatives and friends. When she completes the third turn the Brahmanas throw the body of the deceased into the fire, and the woman, with her back turned towards the hole, is pushed by the Brahmanas, and falls in backwards. Then all the relatives throw pots of oil and other drugs of that kind, ... so that the bodies may be
sooner consumed". The inhuman practice of sati might have forced the women living on the coramandel coast to be buried alive along with her deceased husband. But burying the woman alive was also an equally inhuman and barbarous practice. The only advantage was the reduction of pain and anguish experienced by the victim.

There prevailed a custom among Indians to take the dying man near the cow. It was believed that a man who died holding the tail of the cow would live happily in future life. The Hindus either cremated or buried the dead bodies on the banks of the river Pennayar or Gadilam. Thus ignorance and backwardness characterised the 18th century Hindu society. However, the superstitions mentioned above gradually disappeared in the 19th and 20th centuries due to the efforts of the great social reformers such as Rajaram Mohan Roy and dynamic Governor General Lord William Bentinck.

The dead bodies of the Christians and Muslims were laid in the wooden chest and were buried. The cemetery was close to the residential area of the Europeans. The dead bodies of the Muslims were buried in the vicinity of the mosque. The Europeans spent more money on funeral functions. Cannon ball was fired to mark the death of company officials at Cuddalore. For instance, when
Mr. Robert Brooke, a sea customer of Cuddalore, was buried, forty guns were fired at his funeral. The different types of funeral ceremonies reflected the respective culture of Indians and Europeans.

**COLONIAL RULE AND ECONOMICS CHANGES**

Cuddalore had a rural economy in spite of Europeans' commerce in the 18th century. It comprised of fourteen mozhäs or large villages and twenty-five muzrahs or small village. This small territory was in a highly cultivated and flourishing state prior to the war of 1780. The population of Cuddalore was large and the cattle were numerous. The lands were completely cultivated. Mr. Fallofield, the British official by granting the lands in perpetuity or long leases at a moderate assessment. The revenue of Cuddalore was mainly derived from agriculture. It is evident from the fact that the loss incurred by the company due to draught amounted to Pag. 1375 in the year 1711 and Chuckram 1795 in 1712. Besides, according to Fort St. David records, paddy was cultivated in various parts of Cuddalore such as Tiruppapuliyur, Cuddalore, Chellankuppam, Karayevavittacuppam, Semmandalam, Vilwarayanatham, Manjakkuppam, and Sorkalpet.
It appears that the lands of a part of the villages of Cuddalore district were favourable to the culture of garden production, so long as the year 1772. It is stated that there were 396 gardens in Cuddalore district. These gardens produced fruits, small grains, vegetables, paddy, coconuts and flowers. Later on agricultural lands in Cuddalore were acquired by the government for the extension and development of the town. Thus the town emerged at the cost of nature.

The occupation of agricultural lands by city dwellers is a common feature. In the beginning of the 20th century the cultivable lands in Cuddalore were acquired by the government and municipality for the construction of markets, educational institutions, police lines, police drill grounds, hospitals, fishermen's quarters, and veterinary hospitals. Further lands were acquired by the government for cremation grounds and night soil depots. The urbanization in Cuddalore was brought about by Europeans and its allied activities since 17th century.

Besides agriculture, fishing, boat building, net making, coin making, blacksmithy, brasssmithy, carpentry, masonry works and ratton works were carried out. These are all common features of urbanization patterns.
The agricultural lands of Cuddalore might have shrunk after the establishment of municipality in 1865. construction post and telegraph offices and railways in 19th and twentieth centuries resulted in the disappearance of agricultural lands in its main parts.

EUROPEAN TRADE AND OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE

The conduct of cloth trade by Europeans since 17th century brought about occupational change among the inhabitants of Cuddalore especially in the higher strata of society. The lower castes continued their traditional occupations. The occupational changes among the lower castes commenced in the latter half of 19th century, when they were absorbed in various governmental jobs such as midwives, teachers, clerks, tailors, peons and watchmen.

It is interesting to note that the cloth trade conducted by the Europeans especially the English eroded the existing social structure of Cuddalore. The Indians were employed as soldiers, peons, dubashes, arrack and toddy farmers, rent farmers and accountants. From the ancient times the chettis were engaged in business. The people belonging to the Right hand castes such as Pillai, Reddy etc. registered their names as cloth merchants under English East India Company. The new situation created by cloth
In the 19th and 20th centuries more people began to engage in works other than agriculture due to trade, industries, transport facilities, municipal administration and employment opportunities created by Western educational system. The hierarchy in the social structure of Cuddalore had its expression in the governmental jobs. That is the higher posts next to the Europeans were held by the Indians belonging to higher strata of society. Most of the lower caste people occupied inferior posts such as scavengers, sweepers, watchmen and gardeners. As discussed elsewhere, while accepting the menial services of the lower castes, the higher caste people were reluctant to accept the services of lower caste people working as teachers and midwives.

The occupational change among the higher castes was admitted in the society. On the contrary the occupational change among the lower castes (inferior to superior posts) met with stiff opposition. However, the change of occupations effected by the colonial economy caused some changes in the structure of the indigenous society which contained some element of urbanism.

Entertainments, feasts, festivals, food habits, customs and habits in the society reflected the distinct feature of European and Indian society of the time. The heterogeneity of society of Cuddalore indicated that
Cuddalore was being urbanized. The change of occupation and increase of non-agricultural population, Western influence on dress, manners, food habits, life style marked the beginning of social change. The buildings-residential, official, educational, public and military reflected the urban atmosphere of Cuddalore in the 19th and early 20th centuries. In short, the social structure of Cuddalore on the eve of Indian independence was different from that of the 18th century Cuddalore.
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