CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSION

The urbanization of Cuddalore spanning over a period of about two hundred and fifty years since 1700 A.D. is summed up in this chapter. The urban development of different parts of Cuddalore such as Cuddalore Port Town, Devanampatanam, and Cuddalore New Town have been influenced by various factors such as geography. European trade especially the British, establishment of British rule in India, development of transport, communication, education, judiciary and medical facilities, reorganisation of police, and government and municipal administration. The introduction of electricity also played an important role in urbanising Cuddalore. These factors contributed to the development of the infrastructure facilities of Cuddalore. Besides, they acted as agents of social transformation. However, the process of urbanization was checked due to the incessant wars fought in the soil of Cuddalore during the 18th century. The urbanization of Cuddalore, Pondicherry and Madras are identical in the sense that these coastal towns grew around port and fort. The driving force behind their urban development was trade and commerce.

The geography and location of Cuddalore played vital role on the urbanization of Cuddalore. The location
of Cuddalore in between the French settlement at Pondicherry and Dutch settlement at Portonovo induced several European nations especially the English to compete for establishment of a settlement here. The success of the English in establishing a settlement at Cuddalore and purchasing Devanampatanam from the ruler of Ghengee country led to its urban growth.

The commercial activities of the English in Devanampatanam and Cuddalore resulted in the construction of civil and military architecture. The connection of Cuddalore port with Bengal, Masulipatnam, Balasor, Madras, Pulicat, Sadraspatanam, Coonimedu, Pondicherry, Portonovo, Tranqubar, Karaikal, Nagore, Nagapatanam, Thondi, Musiri, West coast, South East Asian countries and European countries facilitated the trading activities of the Europeans as well as Indians in the 18th and 19th centuries. Cuddalore served a resting point for the European sailors. They stayed at Cuddalore till they procured their provisions of cloth and foodgrains. The man power required for import export, and manufacture of cotton clothes was supplied by the migrants from the neighboring villages. The internal migration accelerated the urbanization process in Cuddalore.

The European traders, particularly the English were responsible for urban development of Cuddalore since
18th century. The fortification of Cuddalore and Devanampatanam and construction of barracks, bastion, rampart, and guardroom in those places in the 18th century indicated that Cuddalore was transforming into a military town. The gun shots fired at Devanampatanam on the occasion of arrival and departure of ships, declaration of wars appointment of Deputy Governors and death of important officers and company merchants including Indians underscored the military nature of the towns of Devanampatanam and Cuddalore. The encouragement given by the East India company merchants for the settlement of weavers, washermen, dyers, palanquin bearers, accountants, dubashes, masons, carpenters, brass smiths, gold smiths, dancers, taliaries (village police) arrack farmers, coolies merchants, money lenders and middle men added to the non agricultural population. Thus the trading activities of the Europeans resulted in the increase of population. The company merchants, money lenders and rich farmers lived in comfortable houses which had terraced and tiled roofs.

The coming of European traders to Cuddalore had changed its spatial pattern. Earlier, the locality of the Indians were divided according to their castes. The temple was in the middle of the town. The Brahmins usually lived around the temple. The caste Hindus according to their
social status occupied the space around the Brahmin locality. In other words, the spatial distance of the habitation marked the social distance of the people.

After the English had settled at Cuddalore and Devanampatanam, the settlement pattern in which they lived was changed. The change in the settlement pattern altered the shape of the town. As Don Martindale wrote 'There are moments in every city dawn when the circles, rectangles, polygons and triangles, the geometry of the city-seem to float in the mist, like the essence of the human spirit emancipated from the earth'. The shape of Cuddalore town underwent several changes since 1600 A.D. (Map)

It is interesting to note the shape of Cuddalore town between 17th and early 20th centuries. In the 17th century the shape of Cuddalore Port Town was a parallelogram. The island villages such as Sonagankuppam, Singarathope and Gori were in the form of an ellipse. Tiruppapuliyur and Manjakuppam were in the shape of a triangle and an ellipse respectively. At the dawn of the 17th century Devanampatanam was not inhabited by the people.

The shape of Manjakuppam and Tiruppapuliyur had developed into an irregular pentagon and a trapezium respectively at the dawn of the 19th century. It may be noted that the villages like Vilwarayanatham, Semmandalam,
and Pudupalayam were added to the Manjakuppam village in between 1600 A.D. and 1800 A.D. By this time the Cuddalore Old Town expanded towards west and it took the shape of an ellipse. The shapes of Cuddalore Old Town and island villages remained the same. In the beginning of the 19th century Devanampatanam was well developed. Official and residential building came into existence. Devanampatanam assumed the shape of a rectangle.

In 1900 A.D., the villages around Manjakuppam were included in Cuddalore municipality. This part of the town expanded towards the river Pennayar so as to include Uppalavadi. Some more part of Semmandalam and Udaramanickam came under municipal limit. The northern bank of the river Gadilam was inhabited. The town located on the northern side of the river Gadilam assumed the shape of a irregular pentagon. The lands between Cuddalore and Tiruppapuliyur were inhabited to give an irregular geometrical shape with ten sides. A small portion, west of Fort St. David in the form of a parallelogram became residential area. The shape of Devanampatanam and the island villages remained the same. The development of the Cuddalore New Town might have taken place after the establishment of Cuddalore Municipality in the year 1865 A.D.
By 1947 A.D., Cuddalore New Town on the northern bank of the river Gadilam attained the form of a geometrical shape with 17 irregular sides. By this time all the lands on the northern bank of the river Gadilam, upto Fort St. David were occupied by the people. Tiruppapuliyur was further extended towards West. Some more portion West of Cuddalore was converted into residential area. By this time Cuddalore municipality assumed the shape of a polygon with twelve sides. The shapes of Devanampatanam and the island villages were unaltered. The changes in the geometrical forms of Cuddalore within a specified period of three and half a century denoted its growth. The unaltered shape of Devanampatanam since 1800 A.D. showed the under development of the latter (Map 3).

The European sector of the town had good streets, roads, street lights, church, schools, clubs, library, hospitals and dispensaries. The grave yard of the Europeans was close to their habitation. They followed their own lifestyle, customs and habits. They enjoyed sea bath. The English as well as French, Portuguese and the Dutch celebrated the festivals such as Christmas with great enthusiasm. Feasts and entertainments were common in such occasions. They employed Indian dancing girls to entertain themselves. Thus the European traders were also responsible
for urbanization of Cuddalore in 18th century. Apart from the Europeans there emerged another section of the society namely Eurasians due to matrimonial alliance between Indians and Europeans. Generally the fathers of the Eurasians were Europeans and the mothers were Indians. The Eurasians did not live in the colonial sector. But they lived in the periphery of the White Town. The European fathers visited their Indian spouses. Thus the presence of Europeans in Cuddalore brought about some changes in the Indian society.

The indigenous sector of the town had undergone major changes after the inception of the Cuddalore municipality. The Andhrites migrated to Cuddalore and held high offices such as Deputy Collector and Municipal Chairman. Some of them were nominated as non-official members of the Taluk Board during the last quarter of the 19th century. In 1890 C.S. Streenivas Row Garu was the Chairman of Cuddalore. P.Krishna Rao was the Deputy Collector of Cuddalore in 1891. Rama Reddiar was the non-official member of the Taluk Board, Cuddalore. The Andhrites added to the existing population of Cuddalore.

Scavengers, coolies, masons, carpenters, painters, merchants, money lenders and people employed in municipal and governmental services came in large number to Cuddalore. Further, Christians, Muslims and the Eurasians occupied the
houses in the Hindu locality. The Hindus who were divided on their occupation as Right and Left hand castes forgot their hostility and learnt to adjust with each other. The migrant groups also weakened the rigidity of these divisions as they held high positions in the society.

**URBAN FEATURES OF CUDDALORE**

Some urban characteristic were visible in Cuddalore during the period of our study. Commercial activities, credit associations, guilds, administrative and military buildings, hospitals and dispensaries, post office, Traveller's Bungalow, barracks, markets, police offices, industries, warehouses, factories, churches, temples, mosques, educational institutions, philanthropic societies, rest houses, parks, play grounds, slums, better roads and streets, bridges, drainage and sanitary facilities, municipal offices, cart stand, veterinary hospitals and railway stations; improvement in lighting facilities due to electricity, better transport facilities by water and land, garden houses of the Europeans, residential buildings, use of flush out and dry latrines, drinking water supply change of attitude and belief of the indigenous people marked the urban characteristics of Cuddalore. As stated earlier, the urban crimes such as theft, murder, prostitution and business frauds were committed in Cuddalore.
As Dharmakumar\(^4\) says, the commercial activities of the Europeans in India during the 19th century was guided by the British Economic policy in India. Commercialization of agriculture and establishment of large scale industries such as cotton and jute mills, Iron and Steel industries, coal mines and metal industries reversed the process of their trading activities. Besides, the introduction of railways in 1854, when the first railway line was constructed from Thana to Bombay and its rapid growth towards the close of the 19th century, and the free trade policy of the British converted India as a major exporter of raw materials (cotton), and food grains, and major importer of machines made products. In other words, the export of cotton textile goods ceased and India became a market for the textile goods of Manchester and machine made products of European countries. The statistics given for the sea borne trade in Cuddalore port during the 19th and early 20th centuries (see table-25) provide evidence of the British economic policy.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Port</th>
<th>Imports - Articles</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Value Rs.</th>
<th>Exports - Articles</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Value Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unrefined Sugar (CWT tons)</td>
<td>33628</td>
<td>2,67,016</td>
<td>Ground-nut seeds (CWT tons)</td>
<td>472953</td>
<td>33,15,261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coal (tons)</td>
<td>23744</td>
<td>2,66,184</td>
<td>Ground-nut oil (galls)</td>
<td>1225147</td>
<td>17,24,621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rice not in the husk (CWT)</td>
<td>40422</td>
<td>1,48,011</td>
<td>Refined Sugar (CWT)</td>
<td>149142</td>
<td>17,01,328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rice in the husk (CWT)</td>
<td>20574</td>
<td>55,593</td>
<td>Cotton coloured piece goods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2653013</td>
<td>8,27,041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Betel nuts (lbs)</td>
<td>1746789</td>
<td>1,76,043</td>
<td>Oil Cake (CWT)</td>
<td>148337</td>
<td>5,40,039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gunny bags (Mos)</td>
<td>719159</td>
<td>1,56,312</td>
<td>Spirits (Galls)</td>
<td>47171</td>
<td>3,04,571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manufactured wood</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,23,173</td>
<td>Others Articles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2,77,527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pulse (CWT)</td>
<td>27089</td>
<td>99,256</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seeds gingelly (CWT)</td>
<td>6847</td>
<td>45,898</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seeds other sorts (CWT)</td>
<td>8947</td>
<td>35,582</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Salt (tons)</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>36,379</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wood teak (CWT)</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>15,676</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wood other timber (CWT)</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>14,074</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gram (CWT)</td>
<td>6949</td>
<td>26,420</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cotton twist and Yarn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cotton white piece goods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cotton twist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yarn</td>
<td>19620</td>
<td>18,022</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cotton twisted Yards</td>
<td>71711</td>
<td>15,888</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other Articles</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,18,403</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>16,17,930</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>86,91,188</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The chief items of import was coarse sugar. They were brought from Indian ports, the straits and Java to the Nellikuppm factory to be refined. Coal was imported from Bengal for the South Indian railways and Messrs. Parry and company. Areacanut, gunny bags and palmyra logs were imported from Calcutta and Jaffna respectively. Rice was another item of import. The average value of the exports from Cuddalore in the five year ending 1902-03 was as much as Rupees 87 lakhs and in 1901-02 it touched Rupees 138 lakhs.

The ground-nut seeds and ground-nut oil were the main items of business in the port of Cuddalore. The seed were mainly exported to Marseilles. The groundnut oil were used for soap manufacturing. The oil exported to Rangoon was put to various uses. Manure produced from the oil cakes was exported to Java. Other items of exports included refined sugar from Nellikuppam (17 lakhs) and cotton piece goods (mainly the Kambayam cloths which are sent to Penang and the straits) valued 8.25 lakhs. The outward trade was mainly conducted by the steamers of the British India and Asiatic steam Navigation company.

From the table-25 we infer that the British maintained balance of trade as the export value of goods was about 5.4 times that of the import value. The major item of
The export were ground-nut seeds, ground-nut oil and refined sugar. The export value of cotton from Cuddalore port in five years (1898-1903) was Rs.8,27,841. At the same time the value of import of white piece goods amounted to only Rs.15,888. This shows that the weavers in this region were still given encouragement. The hand woven cotton fabrics produced in South Arcot district was superior to anything then produced in Europe (1871-1902). The English East India Company had given encouragement to weavers to come and settle within the boundaries. However it may be seen that the export in cotton piece goods was greatly reduced as the company merchants transacted with the English East India company in cotton goods at Cuddalore during 1734-36 for the value of Pag. 1,73,128. The export of commodities like ground-nut oil, refined sugar, spirit indicated the establishment of sugar industry and oil mills in this region. It also implied that more and more people were engaged in cultivation of ground-nuts and sugarcane for export by colonial government. The pressure on land was due to the withdrawal of British government's support for manufacture of cotton piece goods and handicrafts. However, the weavers and artisans produced goods mainly for local needs. The leisure and unemployment created by the economic policy of the British caused thrust on agricultural land. The weavers and artisans lived in Cuddalore and worked in
the land surrounded by it. Some people worked in oil, sugar and rice mills. Masons, carpenters and coolies had sufficient work in Cuddalore as streets, roads, bridges and buildings were constructed during the period.

Cuddalore was transforming into a flourishing port in the 19th century. New buildings were arising in many parts of Cuddalore. The trade of Cuddalore port flourished due to business activities of several European firms such as Messrs. Parry & Co. and Messrs Volkart. 'In the collection of goods for export, whether by road, rail or sea, and in the distribution to the villages to the various articles of import the weekly markets play an important part.' Thus the weekly markets attracted people engaged in different occupations. The establishment of New Town of Cuddalore in the middle of the 19th century contributed to the urbanization of Cuddalore. This period marked the beginning of construction of road from Cuddalore to Salem.

The emergence of new towns was a worldwide phenomena in the middle of the 19th century. The government's sanction for building a road from the port of Cuddalore to the Salem frontier at a cost of Rs. 66,000 through Pantruti, Ulundurpet, Tyagadurg, Kallakurichi and Chinna Salem in 1852 inaugurated the emergence of New Town in Cuddalore, which was located on the junction of the roads
leading to Salem, Pondicherry, Madras, Chidambaram and Thanjavur. Laying of new roads facilitated trade by land. Besides roads, railways also played an important role for the development of trade in Cuddalore during the last quarter of the 19th century. However, trade carried on by road is not officially registered and the traffic borne by the various railways is lumped in the returns with that of Thanjavur. It is not therefore possible to quote statistics for either, or to indicate with certainty the nature or quantity of the exports and imports through railways.\textsuperscript{10}

The New Town of Cuddalore consisted of Tiruppapuliyyur initially and later included Pudupalayam, Manjakuppam, Sorkalpet, Vilwarayanatham and Semmandalam. During this period administrative buildings, travellers' Bungalow, courts, hospitals, dispensaries, jails, educational institutions and new markets were established. These buildings, markets and bazaars changed the ecology of Cuddalore. Besides, the lawn at Manjakuppam, parks and avenues maintained by Cuddalore municipality added to the beauty of Cuddalore town and gave it an urban look.

Between 1823 and 1864 a European Pensioner's depot was maintained at old town for the company's army. The European officers on sick leave were benefited by the residence at Cuddalore. The establishment of two dispensaries in Manjakuppam and Cuddalore old town in 1840
and 1860 respectively denote the urban growth of Cuddalore. In 1852 another building was added to the existing dispensary in Manjakuppam. Opening of a dispensary in Tiruppapuliyr in 1886 showed that the New Town of Cuddalore was progressing. The decline of old town was evident from the fact that the hospital at old town was reduced to a dispensary in 1896. The Manjakuppam dispensary grew into hospital and was opened in 1874. The equipment of Manjakuppam hospital with accommodation for inpatients, detached wards for maternity and septic cases, and isolation sheds for infection cases revealed the urbanization of Cuddalore New Town towards the end of the 19th century.

The government house at Cuddalore was equipped with mats, blinds, glass windows, and punkahs. The accommodation provided for the pilgrims in the endowed choultry at Tiruppapuliyr and the satisfaction expressed by the travellers over their stay at the public bungalow at Manjakuppam clearly showed that Cuddalore was developing in 1870s. The establishment of servants in the bungalow, the income amounting to Rs.736 from fees showed a considerable number of travellers visited Cuddalore during this period. Supply of crockery and glass to the Public bungalow and charges amounting to 44% of the income of Rs.736/- derived
from fees for the maintenance of the bungalow implied interest of the government in providing comfort to the travellers staying at Cuddalore.

In 1864 A.D. Rs.15,474 was allotted for the construction of new buildings. The main building under construction was the court. The court-house completed in 1866 A.D. provided accommodation for the civil and sessions court, Cuddalore District Munsiff's Court and Court of a principal Sudder Ameen. Rupees 5,357 were spent on police huts station houses and subsidiary jails, the expenditure on which the latter buildings amounted to rupees 1000. The construction of above mentioned buildings contributed to the urban growth of Cuddalore. The completion of collector's cutchery in 1897 in front of the Lawn in Manjakuppam added beauty to Cuddalore.

The buildings of secular and religious nature that came into existence in Manjakuppam during the 19th century gave an urban atmosphere to Cuddalore New Town. These buildings represented the architectural features of Roman, Indo-Persian and colonial style. Among these buildings Collector's Cutcherry facing the maidan is most impressive. This building was entirely constructed with chamber bricks which were joined with mortar. The speciality of the building is that the arch, vault and high walls were
not plastered. The arch, valut and high ceilings remind us of the Roman architecture. The six kiosks on its sides on the top of the building added to its beauty. The colonial style of the building is seen in the provision of number of rooms, halls, and verandah. This building resembles Swedenborg Squane, Stepney, London.

Besides, the blending of Roman, colonial and Indian architecture is manifested in the architecture of Government Guest house, Judge bungalow, postoffice, police office hospital and civil court in Manjakkupam. The Indian technique of using the mortar mixed with eggs and jaggery was employed. Utility was the main concern of these buildings.

As mentioned earlier the existence of regular markets in Cuddalore, Sandai Tope (the weekly market surrounded by trees) at Tiruppapuliyur, and development of bazaar street in Tiruppapuliyur attracted people from the neighbouring villages and added to the floating population. The municipal market in Cuddalore old town, Banbury market established on the temple land at Tiruppapuliyur, Kothaval Chavadi at Manjakkupam, Municipal market at Manjakkupam increased to the income of the municipality. The average income from the market between 1889 and 1893 amounted to more than Rs. 400. The development of markets and bazaar in
THE INCREASING TREND OF THE INCOME OF THE CUDDALORE MUNICIPALITY FROM 1888 TO 1893

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1888-89</th>
<th>1889-90</th>
<th>1890-91</th>
<th>1891-92</th>
<th>1892-93</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income (Rs)</td>
<td>36088</td>
<td>32553</td>
<td>42577</td>
<td>43760</td>
<td>45300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X axis 2 cm = 1 year
Y axis 1 cm = 10,000

Source:
(1) G.O. dated 25th November 1890 No. 1771 M. Local and Municipal.
(2) 16th September 1891 No 1510 M, Local and Municipal.
(3) 1st March 1892 No. 400 M, Local and Municipal.
Cuddalore marked the urbanization of Cuddalore in the 19th century. The increasing trend of the income of Cuddalore municipality from 1888-89 to 1892-93 showed its development. 

The prevalence of some common diseases in Cuddalore and the attitude of the people to undergo treatment in the hospitals shows the level of urbanization in Cuddalore. Fevers, rheumatisms, venereal diseases, anemia, cholera, conjunctivities, general dropsy, nervous afflictions, bronchits, dyspepsia, dysentery, skin diseases, ulcers, wounds and injuries and sprains were common diseases found in Cuddalore. Many people including some Europeans died due to cholera. The founder of Parry and Company, Thomas Parry was a victim of Cholera. The prevalence of cholera and fever revealed that the people of Cuddalore took unprotected water. The numerous arrack and toddy shops in Cuddalore were the source for nervous afflictions. The quarrelsome nature of the people was evident as wounds, and injuries were common cases.

The existence of skin diseases and itch showed the neglect of hygiene in general. The prevalence of venereal disease indicated the prevalence of prostitution in the society. The people who came to attend festivals, merchants indigenous and foreign, and the inhabitants of Cuddalore
THE INCREASING TREND OF PEOPLE BEING VACCINATED 1886 TO 1890 IN CUDDALORE MUNICIPALITY

Year    1886-87  1887-88  1888-89  1889-90
No.     851      1073   919   1196
Vaccinated

X axis 2 cm = 1 year
Y axis 1 cm = 200

must have indulged in prostitution. The prostitution was not abolished in Cuddalore municipality until 1940. The existence of organised prostitution was an urban attribute.

The medical report¹⁵ pertaining to Cuddalore municipality given by C. Robertson District surgeon in 1876 stated that the inhabitants of Cuddalore were reluctant to avail medical facilities for the treatment of cholera and child birth. However, the upper classes availed the medical facilities from private clinics. The Indians believed that Cholera was caused by the wrath of goddess Kali. The reluctance to accept medical facilities for the treatment of child birth showed that the Indians did not develop full confidence in Western medicine. Besides, casteism and pollution were two important factors which prevented them from availing medical facilities. The Indians came to the hospitals to take treatment for other diseases. Later they accepted the vaccinations for the prevention of cholera and small pox. They also understood the importance of obstetrics and preferred being treated for childbirth in hospitals. The graph (2) shows the increasing trend of people being vaccinated in Cuddalore municipality from 1886 to 1890. The increase in the number of in-patients and out patients among Indians showed their attitudinal change.
### Annual Report of the Civil Dispensary at Cuddalore

**for the year ending 31st December, 1872**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Europeans and East Indians</th>
<th>Natives</th>
<th>Total in</th>
<th>Total out</th>
<th>% to total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IP</td>
<td>OP</td>
<td>IP</td>
<td>OP</td>
<td>Patients</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Remained</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31st Dec 1871</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Admitted in 1872</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>8067</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Proceedings of the Madras Government Financial Department, 1st October, 1873, p 112/5
The increase of educational institutions run by the government, municipalities and private individual towards the end of the 19th century showed the interest of the people in learning and their support to Western system of education. The schools and colleges served as media for the spread of western thought and culture. The encouragement given to the christian converts to study in the schools and colleges run by Roman Catholic mission produced scholars who imitated western habits and customs. As stated earlier these institutions admitted non-christians also and provided accomodation to them.

The attitude of the people to donate generously for constructing educational institutions and the formation of 'Town committee' to manage the middle school department at Manjakuppam showed the public interest in promoting education. The college department attached to the school, though delinked in 1887 and 1902 rendered great service for promotions of education in this region

The high school at Cuddalore old town maintained by the society for the propagation of the Gospel, St. Joseph's school in Tiruppapuliyur, the branch schools of SPG school, old town, located at Tiruppapuliyur and Manjakuppam, the college located at 'Colonel Garden' Manjakuppam did immense service in the spread of education.
The Government training school for masters at Cuddalore and the training school for mistresses maintained by Roman Catholic mission at Cuddalore and the technical school maintained by SPG school at Cuddalore contributed to the progress in education. The development in education is evident from the maintenance of lower secondary schools for European and Eurasian girls and vernacular lower secondary schools at Cuddalore by chaplain and the government respectively. The proposal of the municipal council to open a special school for the untouchables in Cuddalore in 1892 inaugurated a new era in education. The significance of starting such school was transparent when the Christian converts from scheduled castes and the untouchables occupied posts such as teachers and midwives even in 1860s.

As mentioned earlier the educational institutions maintained by the Cuddalore municipality and private individuals contributed to the spread of education in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The development of education had played vital role in urban development of Cuddalore as it brought about change of attitude, customs habits, style of life and manners among the inhabitants of Cuddalore. In other words education imparted by the British prepared the people's mind for attitudinal changes.
The architectures of temples, churches and mosques in Cuddalore attracted people in and around Cuddalore through festivals and prayers. The Pataleswarar temple at Tiruppapuliyur, Vynudkinarru Amman koil at Cuddalore and Vinayagar koil at Old Town and Perumal koil at Tiruvendipuram were prominent temples. Roman Catholic chapel (1760 A.D.) and Christ church (It was taken from the Jesuits by the English East India Company in 1749 and given over to the society for Propagation of Gospel of Christ as the Jesuits helped the French in the war which was going on between the English and the French) were significant churches. The Roman Catholic church at Devanampatanam, Portugese church at Sorkalpet, church of South India and Roman Catholic church on the Western and eastern sides of the Manlakuppam maidan respectively added beauty to the town of Cuddalore. The mosques at Old Town and Manjakuppam showed the growth and development of Muslims in Cuddalore. The Muslims who engaged in trading, activities contributed to the urbanization of Cuddalore through construction of mosques, palatial houses and school for muslims.

The construction Gadilam and Penniar bridges started towards the close of the 19th century. The acquisition of land for widening Napier Road at Manjakuppam for public convenience in 1910 indicated the increase of
population as well as vehicles. The roads and street in Cuddalore municipality were metalled.

Efforts were taken by the municipal administration of Cuddalore, to supply protected water to the inhabitants of Cuddalore. The supply of protected water is an urban attribute. Urbanization was detrimental to water resources and caused health hazard. The letter addressed to superintendent of police, South Arcot district by municipal health officer, Cuddalore disclosed that the Gadilam water was used by the people for bathing and drinking purposes. The river water was spoiled as the police line sewage at Pudupalayam was discharged into the river Gadilam. The use of cess pools and sewage carts could not prevent the pollution of Gadilam water.

The fact that the people used river water for bathing and drinking purposes implied that the protected water supply was not extended to all. Moreover the people were so ignorant that they were not aware of the consequences of drinking unprotected water. However the affluent section of the society used protected water for drinking purposes. The change of attitude of the people towards drinking water was an aspect of urbanization.

The establishment of police force and construction police huts, police office, police stations,
and jails in Manjakuppam, Pudupalayam, Tiruppapuliyyur, Devanampatanam and Cuddalore Old Town added to the urban attributes of Cuddalore. Acquisition of lands for the development of police implied the necessity of police force in Cuddalore in the beginning of the 20th century.

The acquisition of 2.59 acres of dry land from Rangasamy Pillai of Pudupalayam, hamlet of Manjakuppam village, Cuddalore for a drill ground for the Reserve police in Manjakuppam showed that the growth of police department in the early 20th century. An area of 0.78 acres of land was acquired in Tiruppapuliyyur from Srinuvasachari of Tiruppapuliyyur for constructing police station and quarters for constables and one acre was acquired, at Manjakuppam for building Reserve police Inspectors' quarters at Cuddalore New Town. Further the acquisition of 1 acre and 45 cents in the village of Tiruppapuliyyur acquired for the construction of police lines and of 1.25 acres of dry land acquired for construction of police huts at Vilwarayanatham, clearly indicated the development of police department. The re-organisation and development of police force, showed that urban crimes such as murder, cheating, and theft were increasing.

The murder of John Packer, the Deputy Governor, Fort St. David in 1727 by his Indian servant named Peddu
might perhaps, be the first racial murder committed against the British. Theft of cotton piece goods in choutries took place in 18th century. The other offences committed included encroachment of streets, roads, communal lands, robbery and prostitution. The Deputy Superintendent of police, Cuddalore, in his letter addressed to the District Magistrate, Cuddalore pointed out that living, engaging or trading in girls for purposes of prostitution was bound to exist to an appreciable extend in Cuddalore, as the Immoral Traffic Act of 1930 was in force only in Villupuram and Chidambaram. The women of ill fame and prostitutes migrated to Cuddalore. Hence the Deputy Superintendent of Police requested District Magistrate, Cuddalore to enforce the Act in Cuddalore also. As a consequence of the increasing crimes of various nature more and more people were convicted. The development of jail department was evidence of the increase of urban crimes.

The District jail at Mount Capper and fifteen subjails at the head quarters of the seven tahsildars and eight deputy tahsildars indicated the development of jail department in this district. Weaving of various kinds cloth, carpets, towels and tape were manufactured by the convicts. The manufacture of oil was carried out by the convicts who drove the machine. This showed that the
weavers and coolies who were deprived of their livelihood due to the destruction of Indian handloom industries might have indulged in theft and other crimes.

As discussed earlier changes in the attitude of the people regarding their customs and habits marked the urban culture. British rule and Western education served as connecting bridge between rural and urban culture. It is very difficult to say whether urbanization brought about social change or social change resulted in urbanization. As far as Cuddalore is concerned urbanization and social change went hand in hand.

The gradual disappearance of Right and Left hand castes divisions towards the close of the 19th century showed that some changes of attitude regarding caste divisions had taken place. The change in attitude was the result of western education. However, the disappearance of caste divisions gave birth to a new order in Hindu society. The suffixing of Hindu names with their respective castes such as Pillai, Mudaliar, chettiar, Iyer etc., implied that caste was more important than the occupation of an individual. This was primary attitudes take time to change. The position of an individual was judged by caste and occupation. The condition of the outcastes continued to be the same inspite of education and change of occupation. As
discussed earlier the inferior position of the scheduled castes forced them to convert to Christianity. The privileges given to these converts tempted the caste Hindus to become Christians. The society of Cuddalore consisted of Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Jains, Buddhist and Parsis. The heterogeneity in faith was an urban feature.

Development of hatred towards the use of open air latrine and dry latrine by certain section of the society was part of urban culture. The encouragement given by the municipality to the flush out latrine users induced more and more people to have better facilities. The development of civic conscience among the inhabitants of Cuddalore was another attribute of urbanization.

The differentiation of urban people from the rural people can be seen through the articles and furnitures they used. The pre-colonial society of Cuddalore used mats kattil (cot made of wooden or bamboo frames and legs, woven with coir) to sit or sleep. Tables and chairs were rarely used. The enthusiasm shown by some Indian merchants to purchase wooden furnitures, glasswares and articles such as porcelin vessels and utensils made of metals from the company through auction shows the development of urbanism in Cuddalore towards the middle of 18th century. It indicated the desire of Indians to use articles and furnitures of the West.
The hair style and dress of the Indians also underwent some changes in the middle of the 19th century. The pony tail of the males was replaced by modern hair style (Krap). The use of trousers pants, shirts, belts and shoes by Indian men showed European influence. The Eurasians closely followed the hair style, dress, food habits, social behaviour of the Europeans. The indigenous people who observed the customs and habits of Europeans were tempted to change their habits and customs to some extent. However, these changes occurred in the rich and middle class Indian society. The lifestyle of the lower classes remained the same. In short the educated Indians and Christian convets were proud of following the life style and customs of Europeans.

The introduction of railways towards the close of 19th century in this region, the increasing use of carts drawn by horses and bullocks out dated the use of Palanguns which characterised 18th century Cuddalore. Use of electricity, replacement of Kerosine lamps by electric bulbs not only brought about external change in Cuddalore but also made some changes in the outlook of the people. The people who electrified their houses and used electric appliances such as fans and radio belonged to European community and affluent section of the Indian society. It may be noted that the public supply of electricity in several of the more
advanced countries appeared in the 1880s. The 'world wide interest in artificial illumination gathered momentum with the beginning of the 20th century'. "As the industrial revolution started in England, the benefits of the revolution first reached England and from there spread to other parts of the world. As Wallerstein says from 1750-1917 A.D. industrial capitalism, was both a sign and cause of England becoming dominant in the core. As India was its periphery under the direct control of the British, the benefits of industrial revolution such development in transport system, electricity, lighting, electric appliances were extended to India. It may be noted that the modernization of India was for the betterment of the British especially better life condition in India. However Indians were also benefitted by the British administration. Thus colonial rule was a mixed blessings.

Urbanization is a world wide phenomena. The advancement in medicine, science and technology, sanitation, hygiene, use of flushout latrine, changes in transportation and communication, and architecture in Cuddalore were in fact the extension of western technology to India. A comparative idea of development of infrastructure facilities may be had from the details given below.
Towards the close of the 19th century, Cuddalore Old Town consisted of buildings that were secular and religious in nature. They included Sea Customs Office, Roman Catholic Church, Dispensary, Parry and Company, G.T.S Flag Staff, Parry's Office, Christ Church, Stuart Bridge, District Jail (Mount Caper) and Jail Superintendent's quarters. (Map)

Mariammankoil, Choultry, Tollgate, Kaja Sir Ramasamy Mudaliar's Dispensary and New town railway station were located in Tiruppapuliyur. Municipal hospital was located in Manjakuppam. Travellers banglow, Police lines, Choultry, Mosque, St. Josephs College, Raquet Court, District Engineering office, Post office, Garden house, Police office, Protestant church, Collector's cutchery, District court and Manjakuppam Maidan were situated in various parts of Manjakuppam.

Besides, there were Town college, Roman Catholic Chapel Municipal office Taluk cutcherry and judge bungalow in Manjakuppam. (Map) Thus it is seen that by the close of the 19th century Manjakuppam became an administrative and educational centre; With the emergence of New Town, Cuddalore Old Town and Fort St. David lost their significance as administrative centres. Fort St. David, Agency house, Official buildings and the Club reminded the historical past of Fort. St. David.
NEW Town HOSPITAL COMPLEX

Survey No. 31

C.G.R.A. No. 11
Rec No. 13/00/4495 Letters & 13/9/07.

Survey Record Office, Cuddalore.

Semmandalam Road

OUT PATIENT BLOCK

NATIVE MUSEUM

Eroor Hospital

Land to be acquired

Boundary Line

Punja Land

HOSPITAL ART SUPPLIES

Dental Section

Institute Land

T.T. Hospital

P.O. Hospital

Land to be acquired

River Gushing

HOSPITAL VILLAS
In between 1871 and 1920 some additional buildings were added to the existing buildings in various parts of Cuddalore. In 1903, Devanampatnam was improved. There were two temples, residential houses, well, school and flower garden in Devanampatnam. In 1908, there were port Officer's quarters in Devanampatnam.

In 1904, Sub-jail was added to the existing buildings in Manjakuppam and a site was acquired for the construction of Meteorological Station there. In 1905 land was to be acquired for new cart track along western and northern sides of St. Josephs College Compound. By 1907, New Town hospital was well developed. This hospital consisted of out patient's Block, Native Male ward, European female ward, Native female ward, office, Police Hospital, Hospital Assistant's quarter, Isolation sheds for males and females and Dead house. (Map No. 6) By 1908, S.P.G. Mission school and Maro Spirilings Bungalow were added to the existing physical structures. (Map No. 7)

Pudupalayam was well developed in 1908. Executive Engineers office, Post office, House of Land, Revenue Superintendent, House of Executive Engineer and S.P.G Mission Primary school were constructed. There was also a Tennis Court in Pudpalayam. (Map No.7)
The survey map dated 24/11/1912 shows that a salt factory was located, West of Singarathope. The factory was established in 1912. Merchants godowns' and houses of the Maricars were located on the Western side of the factory. The unmetalled passages led to the back of the houses. Assistant inspectors quarters were located on the South Western corner of the factory.

By 1920, some buildings of administrative importance were added to Cuddalore New Town. Among them were Sub Registrar office, Police station and Post office at Tiruppapuliyur. The bazaar at Tiruppapuliyur was developing. Taluk offices were established at Pudupalayam along the road leading to Fort St. David. In Manjakuppam, quarters of District superintendent of Police, Police Reserve quarters, Reserve Sergeant quarters, Reserve Police lines, Office of the District Superintendent of Police were established in between 1870 and 1920. (Map No.8)

The Jubilee Club was established in Cuddalore Old Town in 1935. In 1938 Gandhi Park was opened there by V.V. Giri, then Labour minister to the Government of Madras. In 1932 water tank was constructed in Cuddalore Old Town and it was opened by Houlton, Collector of South Arcot.
POPULATION TREND FROM 1871 TO 1911 IN CUDALORE MUNICIPALITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>40290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>43545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>47355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>52216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>56574</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X axis 2 cm = 1 year
Y axis 1 cm = 10,000

The increase of population over a period of time is an urban feature. The population of Cuddalore gradually increased from 1871 to 1911. (graph)

Another feature of urbanization was explicit in the presence of Printing press in various parts of Cuddalore. Among them, the Patriot Press established in Cuddalore, St. Mary's Printing office (estd. in 1919) at Pudupalayam and Sri Krishnavilasam Press at Tiruppapuliyur are worth mentioning. These Press brought out books journals and Newspapers in Vernacular and English languages and created political awareness among Indians. Thus the Printing press urbanised the minds of the people of Cuddalore.

FLOODS IN THE 19TH CENTURY

There were high floods in the Gadilam in 1864 and in Pennayar in 1874. Of these floods the flood of 1884 was the worst. In 1884, rivers Pennayar and Gadilam were united due to heavy flood. Their waters swept through the town for twenty four hours. 'The current tore across the plain round which the offices stand to a depth of five feet, and a youth narrowly escaped drowning close to the Old time gun there.' Thus the floods were the source of de-urbanization of Cuddalore in the 19th century.
Like the rest of the shore of the Bay of Bengal, South Arcot is prone to cyclone. The hurricane of April 13, 1749 wrecked three vessels between Cuddalore and Fort St. David. Seven hundred and fifty men lost their lives. A cyclone in December 1760 caused damage to the six ships in the Pondicherry road. There were violent storms on the coast in 1752, 1784, 1795, 1808, 1820, 1831, 1840, 1842, 1853, 1871 and 1874. In the storm of 1853 seven vessels were wrecked between Cuddalore and Portnovo, besides native craft. Besides the floods and cyclones, the Carnatic wars also stood in the way of urban development of Cuddalore.

The de-urbanization of Cuddalore was due to the Anglo-French wars fought on the soil of Cuddalore and devastating a number of floods that occurred in the 19th century. During the Carnatic wars of 1749-61, the places like Cuddalore and Fort St. David in the South Arcot were the objects of repeated attacks and counter attacks. In 1758 Cuddalore and Fort St. David were captured by the French and they were razed to the ground. In 1760 Eyre Coote was able to re-capture Cuddalore and Devanampatanam after defeating the French under Lally at Wandavasi. In 1780 some fighting took place between Haidar Ali and the English at Cuddalore. In 1782, Cuddalore was again taken by the French. However it was returned to the English on the cessation of hostilities in 1784. Thus the Carnatic wars
hampere the urbanization to Cuddalore in the 18th century.

Finally, the decline of French power in India provided the peace for urban development of Cuddalore in the 19th and early 20th centuries. From the preceding discussions one can observe the presence of urban attributes such as criminality, juvenile delinquency, prostitution, recidivism, and senility in Cuddalore. Other features such as political parties, bosses, machines, credit associations, factories, churches, schools, colleges, philanthropic societies, lodges, parks, play grounds, slums, avenues, main streets, sanitation, water supply work, road and rail transports and electricity transformed Cuddalore into a municipal town in the early 20th century.

Thus we observe that the urbanization of Cuddalore, especially Cuddalore Port Town and Devanampattanam from the commencement of the 17th century till the end of the 18th century was trade oriented. It has been established that the urban growth of Cuddalore New Town since 1800 A.D. was mainly administration oriented. The trading activities assumed secondary importance in the 19th and early 20th centuries which also had its impact on urbanization of Cuddalore.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


6. ibid., p.164.

7. ibid., p.162.


10. ibid., p.163.


17. ibid., p.199.
18. District Record Centre, Cuddalore (Here after DRC) No. 9620 dt. 4/11/1910.


20. DRC 2986 dt. 31/8/1921.


29. ibid., pp.100, 121, 122.

30. ibid., pp.100-101.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arasaratnam, Sinnappa. Merchants, Companies and Commerce on the Coramandel Coast 1650-1740, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1986.


Balch, Kenneth and Harrison, John (ed.). The City in South Asia - Pre-modern and modern, Curzon Press.


Bhatnagar B.G. Municipal Administration and Finance in Pre-British days. The Indian Press Limited, Allahabad, 1936.


Kail, Owen C. *Dutch in India*.


Rajan P. *A Historical Study of the Pataleswarar Temple at Tirupapuliyur*, Department of History, Annamalai University, 1989. (M.Phil dissertation)


Thompson, Edward and Garrat G.T. Rise and Establishment of British Rule in India, Central Book Depot, Allahabad.


Wallerstein, Immanuel, World System.


RECORDS

G/19/1, India Office Record (Hereafter IOR), London - document dated 3rd October, 1677, National Archives (hereafter NA), New Delhi.

G/14/1, IOR, London, Cowle dated 1681, NA, New Delhi.


G/14/2, IOR, London. Folio-4, dated January 1685/6, NA, New Delhi.

Despatches from England 1670-1677, Pondicherry Archives, Pondicherry.


Records of Fort St. George - Fort St. David dated July 1709, Tamil Nadu Archives (hereafter TNA), Madras.

Records of Fort St. David, Vol. 42, Ledger Nos.23, 24 dated 1711/12, TNA, Madras.


Records of Fort St. George, Vol. 55, Year 1740, TNA, Madras. Folios: 34, 37, 38 and 72.


Selection from Madras Records - Letters from Fort St. George dated 1740.

District Record Centre (hereafter DRC), Cuddalore - 119/4495 dt 24/4/1903.

DRC - Cuddalore - 2046 / dt 17-9-1904.

DRC - Cuddalore - 2889 / dt 21-1-1908.

DRC - Cuddalore - 544/6688/12627 dt 28-1-1913.

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

326

DRC - Cuddalore - 20578 dt 28/2/1921.

Madras, Local and Municipal Department dated 15th May 1912
DRC 228/6688/12311 Cuddalore dated 14-10-1912.

DRC - Cuddalore - 41234 dt 2/6/1942.


DRC - Cuddalore - 5469 dated 9/1/1949.

General No. 7. DRC 362/1829/544b dt. 26-7-1949.

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

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

GOVERNMENT PROCEEDINGS

Proceedings of the Madras government, Revenue Department
17th July, 1861.

Proceedings of the Madras government, Revenue Department,
4th January, 1864.

Proceedings of the Madras government, Revenue Department,
3rd August, 1864.

Proceedings of the Madras government, Revenue Department,
23rd Nov. 1867.
Proceedings of the Madras government, Revenue Department, 1st October, 1873.

G.O. No. 3074, dated 20th December, 1873, Madras government.

Proceedings of the Madras government, Financial Department, dated 20th March, 1874.

G.O. No. 2069, dated 18th November, 1876, Madras government.


Government of Madras, Financial Department, 13th September 1886, Nos. 1122 L.F.

Detail of allotments for Public Works (Local Fund) in the South Arcot district for the official year, 1887.


G.O. dated 25th November, 1890, No. 1771 M. Local and Municipal, Madras government.

G.O. dated 28th August, 1890, No. 1260 M. Local and Municipal, Madras government.

G.O. dated 16th September, 1891, No. 1510 M. Local and Municipal, Madras government.

G.O. dated 7th September, 1891, No. 1437 M. Local and Municipal, Madras government.

Government of Madras - 16th September, 1891. No. 1510 M. Local and Municipal.
G.O. dated 1st March, 1892, No. 400 M. Local and Municipal, Government of Madras.

MANUALS


GAZETTEERS


DIARIES


Prathiyekamana Ananda Rangapillai Sostha Likita Dinappadi Sedhikurippu. 4, April (1750 – 29, October 1750), Sandanam Printing Works, Puduval. (Tamil).


CENSUS


PAPERS

Mathew K.S. Cuddalore on the Coramandel Coast and Maritime trade of India 1700-1800: A Survey of Port hinterland relations.

JOURNAL

The Indian Magazine of her people and culture Vol. 12, April 1992.