CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

Our knowledge of the society and economy of India during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has gained greater significance in the recent past. Much research has been done in the twentieth century, making the source material available for study and interpretation. Historians who are familiar with the socio-economic aspects of the above mentioned period have given different analyses.

Some opine that events in the period between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries have left a strong mark on the history of mankind. In the advanced European countries like Britain and France feudalism declined and the first bourgeois revolution triumphed, heralding the end of the Middle Ages and the advent of the modern period as far as India is concerned. During that period many Asian, African and American people became the victims of colonial exploitation by a number of European States.

A few others are of the opinion that capitalist activities were an inseparable part of transcontinental trade. And the maritime trade in the Indian Ocean from the
rise of Islam to the middle or the eighteenth century has to be understood in the light of the role played by capital in production and distribution. A scholar has come to the conclusion that India (or at least parts of India) was *peripheralised* in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. Prior to that point although it was engaged in trade, the trade between India and seventeenth century Europe was not of capitalism and that is what one means by the *peripheralisation* of India. It was a transition from being an external segment to being a peripheral area within the world capitalist system.

Further, Europe was considered as consisting of core states with India or Asia as the peripheral countries. In spite of this strong-core and weak-peripheral relationship all the European nations had trade relations with India. Europe in the pre-industrial era had great demand for eastern goods. Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and lastly the French entered the scene.

The fabulous wealth of the East captured the imagination of all maritime people in Europe. French sailors and merchants had set out as early as the first quarter of the sixteenth century on what was regarded as the long voyage but with enormous possibilities. France was perfectly within her
rights when she attempted to capture the Indian market. The recognised avenue of commercial profit in those days was monopoly and all trading nations of the west were frantically trying to secure the exclusive rights of trading with India. To be able fully to grasp the importance of this turning point in India's history and to define the place held by that great Asian country in the world's historical development during the epoch under investigation, a thorough study should be made of the level of socio-economic development attained by India in the sixteenth up to the end of seventeenth centuries before she fell a victim to colonial oppression.

Among the few historians a Japanese scholar has proved that, to a certain extent, the concept of feudalism may be the most appropriate one to describe the nature of the society and economy of India in the south. To understand the situation of a region one needs to examine the power structure which controls the means of production. Changes occur in any society as a result of the changes in the means and modes of production which culminate in capital formation. Therefore to study the factors that bring about changes in a society it is important to have a fuller and better understanding of the economy of any region. Although a lot of writings have appeared on the history of the French in India there are only a few writings on the history of Pondicherry during the French period and especially on
society and economy. In the past, scholars paid more attention to the study of the political history of the region neglecting the socio-economic aspects. There is practically no writing on the socio-economic history of Pondicherry in English during the early period of the French presence in Pondicherry when they struggled for survival. Moreover, the French sources dealing with the socio-economic role of the French in Pondicherry have not been utilised fully. It is in this context that the present study is more relevant.

The French presence was felt in Pondicherry in the eighteenth century. Under Francois Martin, Lenoir, Dumas and Dupleix Pondicherry had reached the pinnacle of glory. Suddenly it seemed that the whole of India would become part and parcel of the French overseas Empire rather than the British. But the table turned against the French in 1754 and there was a reversal of everything planned and carried out by him. As such the year 1754 turned out to be a significant turning point on the political and commercial prospects of the French East India Company in India in general and in Pondicherry in particular. It would have definitely affected the socio-economic life in Pondicherry. This is another reason why the period for the present work is fixed from 1674-1754.

Hence an attempt is made in this work to throw light on the agricultural pattern followed in cultivating certain cash
crops by the *Compagnie Des Indes*. The French also paid attention to non-agricultural production like the production of cotton textiles. It aims at analysing the impact of the French on social satisfaction based on different professional groups. It examines the gradual transformation of the society of French Pondicherry from being an insignificant village into a commercial town. From this point of view it intends to observe the changes in the volume of the supply of commodities in accordance with the increased demand. Finally an effort is made to investigate the role played by indigenous merchants in the growth of the commercial activities of the French.

In the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, Pondicherry witnessed a period of transition from being a forlorn fishing village into a flourishing commercial centre bustling with a network of trading activities connecting it with the whole of India. Since the French were in close contact for a long time with the people one can rely upon the French sources for the reconstruction of the socio-economic history of Pondicherry.

Among the archival source material that relates to the history of French India, the first category consists of the archives accumulated in France since the establishment of the French East India Company. These include Royal Edicts,
Decrees, Ordinances, Memoires and copies of the correspondence despatched to India. The second category of records is that which was accumulated in the French settlement in India. This includes Documents relating to the French East India Company, correspondence between the governors and the administrators of various French colonies of India.

Le Centre De Recherche Des Archives Nationales Paris has a large quantity of source material related to the various French colonies. For example - in C^2 Colonies Series - all the information related to the French colonies in India are found. C^2-1-42 is a valuable source of information relating to the administration of the company in France. It includes the company's correspondence and Memoires about the administration of the company. C^2-56 consists of Indes Orientales Commerce, (1686-1788). C^2-62-101 has general correspondence (1666-1770), C^2-116-117 relates to Memoires Generaux, (1716-1784) and C^2-272-276 are found relevant in connection with the shipping and naval activities of the company.

In the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, Salle Des Manuscrits Ancient Fonds Francais Nouvelles Acquisitions Francais - contains several important volumes of the correspondence of Dupleix and some scattered references to the Compagnie Des Indes, which are also useful.
The Bibliotheque Nationale De Paris, Salle De Livres has a large number of old books covering the activities of French colonies all over the world both in the West and the East.

Among the primary sources, Depot Des Archives D'outre Mer, Aix-en-Provence, France is one of the best equipped for the history of Pondicherry. It has full documentation available in the form of original papers and microfilms from the arrival of the French in Surat upto the end of the Second World War.

In the collection of A/1, A1/2 and A1/3 Registre des deliberations du Conseil dela Compagnie tenues a Pondichery a commencer le 1er Fevrier 1701 a 1705, Fevrier 1701-1725, Mai 1725 a Decembre 1739, Juin 1759 - Novembre 1760, there are four registers which cover the period mentioned above. These collections constitute a mine of information about the daily events of the company's commercial activities in Pondicherry, and they gives in great detail the manner in which the company executed its contract with the merchants of the company.

Correspondence Du Conseil Superieure De Pondicherry (C.S.C.C.) contains collections which furnish valuable information about the proceedings of the company and the the company's governor and his counsellors.
The various deliberations of the Superior Council of Pondicherry covering a period of about forty years from 1701 to 1739 were published in three volumes under this title *Proces-Verbaux des deliberations de Conseil Superieur de Pondichery, Pondichery 1911-1914*. These throw a considerable light on the organisational, financial and diplomatic activities of the French company in India. The Governor in the Superior Council was the highest body which dealt with almost all the affairs of the company in India.

Closets d’Errey has collected and published several letters written by the Superior Council of Pondicherry to the local powers and the chiefs of other European companies. This was titled as *Resume des lettres du Conseil Superieur de Pondichery a Divers (du 1er aout 1725 au 31e Decembre 1742 et du 8e Decembre 1749 a 14e Novembre 1760)*. On the whole this book is of great importance for the present work.

*Memoires de Francois Martin (3 vols.*)* published by Alfred Martineau describes Francois Martin as the leading figure of the French activities of the French company in India. It gives a graphic picture of the early activities of the French in Pondicherry as well as their colonies and their relations with the native powers.

The *British India Office Library, London, too has useful records relating to Anglo-French rivalry, Records of Fort*
St. David, Cuddalore, and Records of Fort St. George, Madras serve as a source of useful information on the role of the French in India.

The National Archives of India, Delhi has also a number of microfilms collected from Paris - Manuscripts Francais and Fond Nouvelles Acquisitions Francaises deal with the Company's commerce in India.

The French Institute in Pondicherry and the Romain Rolland Library, Pondicherry have inherited a number of valuable collections of books which serve as an important source of information about the French in India. They are published mostly in the 18th century. The Historical Society of Pondicherry founded in 1911 has made a great contribution by publishing about 17 volumes of its journal, Revue Historique De Pondicherry. They contain a lot of useful information.

Further, among the secondary sources, Henry Weber's La Compagnie Francaise Des Indes (1604-1875), deserves special mention. It was published in Paris in 1904. This had been a good work on the French East India Company's activities for nearly thirty years. The work of H.Castonnet des Fosses, L'Inde Francaise Avant Dupleix, Paris, 1887 deals with the early period of the French in India, Paul Kappelin's, La Compagnie Des Indes Orientales et Francois Martin, Paris,
1908, gives a graphic description of the formation of the French East India Company, M.V.Labernadie, *Le Vieux Pondicherry*, (1664-1815), Pondicherry, 1936, dwells on the growth of Pondicherry and more details are found about the social life, festivals of the people, the urbanisation and also the Fort life in the Pondicherry settlement are found in this work. Henri Froidevaux and Alfred Maitineau in their, *Histoire Des Colonies Francais Tom V*, Paris, 1932 deal with the French in India and they furnish useful information about the French activities in India.

G.B.Malleson has published three books during the last quarter of the nineteenth century bringing to light the fact that the French achievements in the colonial sphere were no less impressive than those of their victorious counterparts like the English in India. However, Malleson has given more importance to the military and political activities of the French in India. The work of S.P.Sen, *The French in India, First Establishment And Struggle*, Calcutta, 1947, explains the early struggle of the French at Madagascar and later on their arrival to India. His second book *The French in India, (1763-1815)*, is the first attempt to provide a comprehensive history of the French in India. W.H.Dalglish, *The Perpetual Company of the Indies in the Days of Dupleix*, (1722-1754) covers the company's organization and its administration in France and in India. Virginia Mc Lean Thompson in her
Dupleix and His Letters (1742-1754, New York, 1933) gives importance to the policies and the achievements of Dupleix as the governor of India.

The works of Jacque Weber and Philip Haudre about the French in India are of vital importance. Philip Haudre's work is voluminous with lots of details about the ships sent from different colonies to France. He has also given an exhaustive bibliographic material that would provide any research scholar with an easy access to the places where source material can be had for the French studies.

V.T.Hatalkar has worked on the Franco-Maratha relations. His work too is of political in nature and has no bearing on the economic and commercial activities of the French in India. Indirani Ray has worked on the commercial activities of the French privateers in India and the relations between the French and the local merchants in Bengal.

J.F.Price and Dodwell brought out the Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai in English. It is an indigenous source material for the study of the socio-economic history of Pondicherry. As Ananda Ranga Pillai was a Dubash to Dupleix, he enjoyed the confidence of Dupleix and his council. He had access to the secret correspondence and confidential papers. As the native chief he has practically touched upon all the
activities, political, commercial and everything which went through his hands.

C.S. Srinivasachari's work on Ananda Ranga Pillai - The 'Pepys' of French India is another work that covers the political career from La Bourdonnais till the fall of Pondicherry. It would interest the reader for the political career of the French in India.

Immanuel Divien's French Pioneers in South India 1664-1706 and The Development of Tamil Society in Pondicherry 1706-1898, furnish details about the early commercial ventures of the French and the social life of the people in Pondicherry. Dr. B. Krishnamurthy has studied the early ventures of the French to reach India and their commercial activities with much details about the volume of import and export of commodities and so on. The work of Dr. R. Natarajan, has used fully the Diaries of Ananda Ranga Pillai on the Social History of Pondicherry.

In order to understand better the nature of society and economy under French in Pondicherry it is essential to have a glance at the socio-economic background of the region before its take over by the French. It is assumed that the French who had already broken the shackles of feudalism in France encountered the society in Pondicherry which was feudalistic in nature.
The present study is restricted to the society and economy of Pondicherry during the second half of the seventeenth and the first half of eighteenth centuries. The thesis is organised into seven chapters as given below.

Chapter two deals with the Indian situation in the seventeenth century and the French expansionist policy in India. French commerce received its first encouragement from the crown during the period of Henry IV who with Richelieu as his minister took steps to establish colonies in India. Later it was Louis XIV as King of France with his able and enterprising minister Colbert who founded the French East India Company in 1664. The Company received the commercial rights and privileges from the crown.

The French King, the princes and the principal courtiers took an active part in floating the concern and they were good enough to subscribe largely to the investment. High ecclesiastical dignitaries condescended to patronize the East India Company; the prospectus was advertised in the churches and recommended from the pulpits, while royal proclamations exhorted all true Frenchmen to seize this opportunity of making their own fortunes and contributing to their country's prosperity. Further Colbert, a man of ability and wisdom called on the famous academician Charpentier who was made to publish a pamphlet at the expense of the crown, calling all Frenchmen to undertake commerce in distant lands.
1. Tindivanam
2. Thiruvannamalai
3. Vilupuram
4. Cuddalore
5. Thirukoylur
6. Kallakurichi
7. Vridhachalam and
8. Chidambaram

South Arcot district covered an area of 4946 sq. miles.

GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF SOUTH ARCOT

Most part of South Arcot is plain. There are sandridges near the sea coast. Some laterite formations near Cuddalore and Pondicherry are found. There are isolated rocky hills in the west and North West of South Arcot. Kalvarayan hills belong to the group of Shevaroys. The heights of these hills vary from 3000 to 4000 feet. These hills are located in the west. The Javadi group of hills of lesser height are situated in the North West of South Arcot. The Chengam pass which runs between these two groups connects Salem district with South Arcot. Thiruvannamalai having an altitude of 2668 feet is an isolated hill with steep rocks and a fine peak. It is
covered with jungles and brush wood. The Chengee hills consisting of huge and round isolated boulders free from soil and vegetation are scattered South-Westwards for about fifteen miles.

The Capper plateau lies west of Cuddalore. It forms a part of belt of red-lateritic ground formed by "Cuddalore Sand stones". The lateritic ground runs from a point about ten miles North of Pondicherry, South-southwestward to near Sri-mushnam in South Arcot District. Mount Capper was earlier known as Bandapollam hills. It was named after the village of Bandipalayam which lies at the foot of the hill. The local people called the village as "Vandipalayam". The English pronounced it as "Bandipalayam". The Europeans used the term "Bandi" for Vandi which meant cart. Later Vandipalayam was named after Francis Capper of the Infantry consisting of Indians. He acquired some land in this hill to construct a house in 1796 A.D. Thus towards the close of 18th century the habitat of some of the Englishmen was shifted to the periphery of Cuddalore town.

**FOREST AND FOREST PRODUCTS**

Chengee and Thiruvannamalai regions contain large tracts of forest reserves covering an area of about 42,000
The main jungle products included honey, bees-wax, gall-nuts, avaram (1) and Velam (2) barks. Avaram and Velam barks were used for dyeing purposes and in the manufacture of arrack respectively. Honey and bees wax were collected by a class of people called Irular who earned their livings by selling these products. The forests of this region do not yield considerable revenue. The uncultivable lands with tiny jungles were used for pasture.

ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The wild animals of this region were tigers, cheetahs, elephants, bears, sambur, spotted deers, antelopes, hyaenas, wild dogs, pigs and porcupines. Among these, tigers, bears and elephants were rarely found. There were several varieties of small games such as partridges, hares, quails (3), pea-fowl, jungle fowl, rock-pigeons, floricken, teal, wild duck and snipe (4). Thus South Arcot district was rich in fauna.

Fish

The main sea fish included Pomfret, the sole, the seer, the whiting, the rubal and the valai (4). The main

\( \text{(1) Tanner's cassia (cassia auriculata), (2) Acacia leucophloca, (3) Cuckoo, (4) (Ribbon fish)} \)
back water fish were mullets and eels. Oysters were also obtained varal (1), shelkendai (2) and eels were the most common fresh water fish* of this district. Hence sea fish and fresh water fish were abundant and had varieties.

Agricultural Products

Of the total area of this district, 68% were cultivable land and 32% were uncultivatable. Of the cultivable land 42% were waste land. Long stemmed rice such as Madu-muringi, Thiruvarangam, Adukam Porikar and Kurumba (3) were cultivated in the plains of South Arcot. The green crops cultivated in this region were Tovarai (4), Kollu (5), Ulundu (6), Pachai payir (7), Karamani (8), Kadalai (9), Mochakollai (10), Amanakku (11), Ellu (12), Kadugu (13) and Kothamalli (14). The dry land crops raised in this region were Kambu (15), Varagu (16), Ragi (17), Cholam (18) and Samai (19). The other crops cultivated were cotton (20),

(1) Ophiocephalus, (2) Catla, (3) Variety of paddy (Oryza sativa), (4) Pigeon pea (Cajanus cajan), (5) Horse gram (Dolichos biflorus), (6) Black gram (Vigna mungo), (7) Green gram (Vigna radiatus), (8) (Vigna catjang), (9) Ground nut (Arachis hypogea), (10) (Dolichos tetrapermus), (11) Caster oil plant (Ricinus communis), (12) Gingelly (Sesamum indicum), (13) Indian mustard (Brassica juncea), (14) Coriander (Coriandrum sativum), (15) Pearl millet (Pennisetum typhoides), (16) French millet (Paspalum scrobiculatum), (17) Finger millet (Eleusine coracana), (18) The great millet (Sorghum vulgare), (19) The little millet (Panicum miliare), (20) Cotton (Gossipium arboreum)
sugarcane (21), indigo (22), betel (23), onion (24), chillies (25), turmeric (26), pumpkins (27), sweet potatoes (28), tapioca (29), plantains (30) and Brinjals (31). Thus South Arcot had variety of foodgrains, pulses, vegetables, fruits and roots. Besides, commercial crops such as sugarcane, cotton, indigo, betel and canja were cultivated.

Minerals

Iron, lime, laterite and building stone are the only four minerals of any marketable value in this district. River-sand is available in plenty in Gadilam and Penniar rivers. The rich minerals of this region contributed to the urban growth of Cuddalore during the period of our study.

JUNGLE PRODUCTS AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The forests located in South Arcot brought about sufficient rain. The jungle products were taken to
Cuddalore and sold. The **avaram** and **velam** barks were used for dyeing and manufacture of arracks respectively. As Cuddalore was an important weaving centre during 18th and 19th centuries, the availability of **avaram** facilitated weaving industry. The supply of arrack to Cuddalore was made easy as the **Velam** trees were found in plenty in the forest region of South Arcot. The **Velam** trees were used in boat building industry. The forests supplied timber for construction of buildings in Cuddalore. In the latter half of the 19th century, railway was introduced in this part. The forests supplied 'fuel' to the steam engines which were used in industries, railways and wood for rail-sleepers. The Iron company at Portonovo received fuel from the brush wood jungles of Sirkali Taluk and at Point Calimere near Chidambaram and Vedaranyam respectively\(^{12}\).

Thus the promotion of weaving, boat building and liquor industries helped the urban development of Cuddalore. The forests of this region contributed to the urbanization of Cuddalore through development of railways and Iron and Steel Company.

**ROLE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS AND MINERALS IN THE URBANIZATION OF CUDDALORE**

The Sugarcane cultivated in South Arcot was sufficient for sugar production in Cuddalore, Nelliuppam and
Kallakurichi in the middle of the 19th century. The food-grains and vegetables raised in various parts of South Arcot fed the local population and were brought to Cuddalore. There was a practice of storing food grains in the fort during war times. The people from the surrounding villages came to the weekly fair held in Cuddalore and purchased necessary things. Thus Cuddalore attracted people from the nearby villages. The indigo cultivated in this region was used for dyeing purpose and thus helped the growth of textile industry in Cuddalore. The availability of lime, laterite and building stones in this part facilitated construction of buildings, bridges and roads. The alluvial soil along the banks of the rivers Penniar and Gadilam was suitable for brick making. The river sand available in this region was used for construction of buildings and helped in the urbanization of Cuddalore. In short, the natural resources of South Arcot quickened the process of urbanization in Cuddalore.

RIVERS OF SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT

The main rivers of South Arcot district are the Coleroon (Kollidam), Vellar, Paravanar, Gadilam, Penniar and Chengee rivers.
Coleroon or Kollidam, which serves as drainage for surplus flood in river Kaveri flows into the sea about three or four miles South of Portonovo (Parangipettai). The Chengee river, also known as the Varahanadi originates from the Naranamangalam tank in the Tindivanam taluk. After passing Chengee, it receives the water of the Tondayar and Pompayar and mingles with sea about two miles near Ariankuppam and Chinna Virampatanam in Pondicherry.

The Vellar has steep banks and receives the water of Manimuktanadi near Vridhachalam. It is disturbed by tides for about five miles from its mouths and runs into the sea at Portonovo, about 30 kilometers south of Cuddalore. Its course near the town was straightened by the Department of Public Works in 1848. The length of the river in South Arcot district is eighty two miles.

The river Gadilam is 59 miles long. It once received vessels of 100 tons near its mouth. It mingles with the sea in two branches, one about a mile north of Cuddalore running close to Fort St. David and the other in Cuddalore old town. It is fed by the river Malatar which links Penniar with Gadilam river. Gadilam river has sandy beds and low banks for most part. The Gadilam river or Garudanadi originates from yegal tank in the Kallakurichi taluk. As Yegal tank receives water from a rock called
'Garudan Parai' (Eagle rock) near Kallakurichi, the tank might have been named by the English as 'Eagle tank'. Later the word 'Eagle' might have been corrupted as Yegal. The purity and holiness of the river attracted the saiva saint Appar, also known as Thirunavukkarasar. He was one of the four saivite saints. Appar was the contemporary of the Pallava King, Mahendra Varman.

The Penniari or Dakshina Penakini runs into the sea about three miles north of Cuddalore. Its bed is sandy and its banks are low. It originates on the Mysore plateau near Nandidurg and enters the district near Manikal in the Thiruvannamalai taluk. It has no tributaries worthy of mention throughout its course of seventy five miles in South Arcot district. Paravanar which takes its source in the Vridhachalam taluk flows eastward and runs into Bay of Bengal, south of Cuddalore old town. Paravanar is identified as 'Cuddalore river'. In the official records related to Cuddalore pertaining early 19th century, 'Cuddalore river' is mentioned. It is at a distance of about five miles to the South of the river Gadilam. It has considerable breadth near the sea. The Paravanar is always full though its depth is affected by tides.

It deserves to be mentioned that the rivers of South Arcot were used for irrigation as well as
transportation of goods. The rivers flowing across Cuddalore such as Gadilam, Penniar, and Paravanar were useful for enriching the ground water though they were flooded during rainy seasons. The rivers contributed for the urbanization of Cuddalore through transportation and irrigation. However, they also served as a source of de-urbanization due to floods. The role of these rivers in urbanising Cuddalore is discussed in a later part of this thesis.

THE CANALS OF SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT

The main canals in South Arcot were Khan Sahib's canal, Coast canal, and Iron Company's canal.

Khan Sahib's Canal

Khan Sahib's canal links Coleroon river and Vadavar river with Vellar river. This canal was cut about 1728 A.D. for irrigation. In 1854 A.D. it was rendered navigable for small country boats and some locks were built. The canal was named after Khan Sahib, a rich Muslim of Lalpet, near Chidambaram in South Arcot. He was a revenue collector and wielded influence under the British rule. Khan Sahib might have used his position to have the canal named after him. It is said that Khan Sahib had matrimonial
alliance with Maricar of Parangipettai (Portonovo). He traversed through this canal by means of a small boat to visit his daughter at Parangipettai.\textsuperscript{17}

**The Coast Canal**

The construction of the Coast canal was started in 1853 A.D.\textsuperscript{18} However, this canal was incomplete, despite digging it for about five miles from Portonovo to Paravanar river. The canal was called Coast canal as it ran along the coast. Boats passed through it during high floods. It linked Cuddalore with Portonovo. Later it silted up as it was abandoned after the introduction of the railways in this part.

**The Iron Company's Canal**

The Iron Company's canal was dug by that company at Portonovo to connect the Vellar with the mouth of the Coleroon. The Iron Company at Port-Novo was promoted by a former East India Company servant named Heath in the 1830 A.D. He was supported by the East India Company and the government of Madras. It is obvious that the technology was not advanced much. Charcoal was used as fuel. Bullocks were employed to run the machinery used for the making of iron\textsuperscript{19}. The Iron Company's canal was constructed for the
purpose of transporting the manufactured goods and other necessities for the production of iron. Later the canal silted up due to disuse. It is interesting to note that the Portonovo enterprise at South Arcot was perhaps the earliest of the Iron Companies started by the British in India.

The English excavated these canals for transportation of men and materials. The canals were also used for irrigation. Later they were abandoned due to development of transportation through land, especially railways. J.H. Garstin anticipated the opening of the railway traffic from Madras to Portonovo by the middle 1877 A.D.\textsuperscript{20}.

The introduction of canals and feasibility of transportation through water helped in the urbanization of Cuddalore.

INDUSTRIES IN SOUTH ARCOT

The main industries of this district were weaving (Cotton and Silk), hand printing, dyeing, manufacture of sugar, salt, jaggery, pottery, oils, mats, coir and country spirit.

Sugar was manufactured in Messrs Parry and Company's sugar factories at Nellikuppam and Kallakurichi.
about 15 kilometers and 70 kilometers West of Cuddalore respectively. There was a small sugar factory in Vandipalayam (Cuddalore) which belonged to Messrs Parry and Company. It was established in the early 19th century. The sugar factory at Cuddalore was the earliest sugar factory established in South Arcot. The ruins of this factory are still found at Vandipalayam village in Cuddalore. The establishment of sugar factories at Vandipalayam attracted people from the nearby villages. Many people gave up their agricultural work and joined as workers in the sugar factory. In the 19th century, the warehouse at Cuddalore port town was purchased by the Parry and Company from the English East India company and was used as store house for the sugar produced in South Arcot. The sugar industries brought about urbanization of Cuddalore by attracting workers and officials connected with it.

Salt was manufactured under the supervision of the government. The Principal salt factories in the South Arcot were located at Marakkanam and Cuddalore. Jaggery was an important palm product of this region. Ground-nut and gingely oils were produced by an indigenous device called Chekku. Besides this, neem oil was extracted. Neem and gingely oil were used mostly for medical purposes. Mats were woven at Cuddalore and Portonovo out of the wild pine
apple (par unus odo-ratissima) and Korai grass (Cyperus rotundus). Coir industry was brisk in Cuddalore old town. Coconut fibre was used for making coir. Women's garments were made at Chidambaram 50 kilometers south of Cuddalore. The pots were made of clay by the people belonging to Kuyavar caste. Besides these, there were metal industries as well. The presence of iron smiths, brass smiths and gold smiths in this region provides testimony to the existence of metal industries. Stone cutting, brick making, thatch making and basket weaving were some of the minor industries of this region. The significance of these industries are discussed in a later part of this thesis.

The above mentioned industries helped in the increase of non-agricultural population in and around Cuddalore as a number of people were involved in them.

ETHNOLOGY

People belonging to different races such as the Europeans, Eurasians and the Indians lived in this part of the country. The Malayalis, the hill tribals inhabited the Javadi and Kalrayan hills (These Malayalis were different from Malayalis of Kerala). They cultivated the lands. The only semi-aboriginal low castes were Irular, Kuravar and
Villiar. Besides agriculture, the Irulars gathered jungle products such as honey and wax. The Kuravars were wandering tribes who made baskets and reared pigs. The Villiar were hunters. As Cuddalore consisted of the migrants from the different parts of South India, its population was heterogeneous. Heterogeneity of population is an urban feature.

SOCIETY IN SOUTH ARCOT

The society of South Arcot consisted of different religious groups. There were Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists and Jains. The Hindus were mainly divided into the Right and Left hand castes. They were the followers of either Saivism or Vaishnavism. The Brahmanas and the low castes such as Harijans were not included in this division. (This aspect is discussed in the chapter titled 'Urbanization and social change'. Besides, the colonial society of Cuddalore consisted of the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the English. The customs and habits of the Indian society and the European society were distinct. (See the chapter on Colonial society of Cuddalore 1700-1947). Among Christians there were Catholics and Protestants. The Muslims had many divisions such as Maraikayar, Lebbai Chulia Muslim, Pattani and Ravuthar. It seems that these divisions
among the Muslims were based on economic status. However, equality of all these divisions among Muslims was maintained during the ceremonies even though inter marriages among these divisions were not encouraged. The trading activities of the Europeans in Cuddalore gradually led to the disappearance of the Right and Left hand caste divisions in the 19th century.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SOUTH ARCOT

South Arcot was called by different names such as Gadilanadu, Malainadu, Maladu, Nadu-Nadu, Thirumunaipadinadu, Sedhinadu, Jagannatha nadu, Sananatha nadu and Magatha nadu in ancient days.

In the 6th century A.D. Appar calls South Arcot, as Gadila nadu, as the river Gadilam flows in this district. During the Sangam age the rulers of Malayaman dynasty ruled this country, having Thirukkoylur as their capital. Hence it was called Malayaman Nadu. Maladu is the corrupt form of Malayaman Nadu. South Arcot received the name 'Nadu-nadu' as it is located in between Chola Nadu and Thondai Nadu. The lands lying to the North of South Penniar was known as Thondai Nadu. The lands lying to the south of the river North Vellar was called Chola Nadu. It is also said that the rulers of Malayaman dynasty were neutral to Cheras,
Cholas and Pandyas. Therefore, it was called Nadu-Nadu. Since many battles were fought in this region, South Arcot was called Thirumunaipadi Nadu. In Periyapuranam, this country is mentioned as Sedhinadu. The terms Sannatha Nadu and Jagannatha Nadu are found in Thirukkoylur inscriptions. As the rulers of Vanar dynasty reigned in this country with their capital at Atrur in Tirukkoylur taluk, it was called Magatha Nadu. The inscriptions belonging to Pallavas, Cholas and Pandyas found in various parts of South Arcot indicate that the local rulers were controlled by powerful kings such as Cholas and Pandyas. The Pallavas of Kanchi had control of northern part of South Arcot.

Towards the close of the fourteenth century this part of the country passed into the hands of four chiefs, called Udaiyar. The inscription dated in 1382 states that South Arcot was conquered by the Vijayanagar king, Harihara II. By the end of 16th century South Arcot came under the rule of the Nayakas of Ghengee and it was called Ghengee country. About 1646, the Bijapur Sultans took control of this region. The Mahrathas under the leadership of Shivaji captured Ghengee in 1677 A.D. Then it passed into the hands of the Mughals and still later the British. Narayani Gupta observes: "The justification for studying South Indian case is that it was here that British military
was established though it was not till the 1820s that the administrative settlement of Madras Presidency was made. From 1698 A.D. (when the Mughals conquered Ghenghee) to 1806 (when the last stage of the South Indian revolt was suppressed) India south of the river Krishna was the arena for the 'struggle for supremacy'. In such a situation of prolonged instability, the urban areas played an important part. It may be remembered that most of the Carnatic wars were fought on the soil of Cuddalore. These wars were responsible for de-urbanization of Cuddalore in the 18th century.

CUDDALORE - LOCATION AND GEOGRAPHY

Cuddalore was bound by Southern Pennayar on the north, Cuddalore old town on the south, Bay of Bengal on the east and, Tiruppapuliyur and Mount Capper on the West and South West. River Gadilam bisects the town of Cuddalore.

Cuddalore was a cluster of villages. Cuddalore old town consisted of fourteen villages viz. Brookspet, Galow Paracheri, Ghori, Kinchinpettaí, Kodikalkuppam, Komarappachetti, Agrabaram, Malumiar-pettai, ManjInipalayam, Sanarapalayam, Singaratoppu Sonagankuppam, Suthukulam and Vasantrapalayam. All these villages lay south of the river Gadilam. Among these villages Ghori, Singaratoppu and
Sonagankuppam were island villages. They were surrounded by the two branches of Gadilam and Bay of Bengal.

Cuddalore New Town consisted of villages such as Semmandalam, Manjakuppam, Vilwarayanatham, Uppalavadi, Devanampatanam, Vannarapalayam, Pudupalayam, Sorakalpet, Udaramanikam, Cuddalore, Tiruppapuliyur and Vandi—palayam. Among these villages, Cuddalore, Tiruppapuliyur and Vandi—palayam lay south of river Gadilam. Devanampatanam where the Fort St. David was located was a coastal village. The total area of the Cuddalore municipality was 13.33 sq. miles.

Cuddalore Old Town was located on the estuaries of Gadilam and Paravanar rivers, in north latitude $11^\circ 43'$ and East longitude $79^\circ 45'$ on the bank of the river or back water which connects the Gadilam and Paravanar rivers and, about 1.25 miles due South of Fort St. David. In our study Cuddalore Port town and Devanampatanam can be considered as one unit due to their proximity to sea.

Cuddalore was called by different names in the past. As Cuddalore was located very close to sea it was called Cuddalore which means sea town. In Tamil language Kadai means sea, Ur—town. As it was located on the junction of the rivers Gadilam and Paravanar it was called Gudalur. (In Tamil Gudal means junction). In the
seventeenth century Muslims called this place as "Islamabad" which meant habitation of the Muslims. Pondicherry was located about 22 kilometers north of Cuddalore on Cuddalore - Marakkanam road. Portonovo and Chidambaram were about 30 and 50 kilometers south of Cuddalore respectively. Tiruvendipuram was about two kilometers west of Tiruppapuliyur on the land route leading to Palur, Nellikuppam and Panruti in South Arcot.

Cuddalore taluk included Annavalli, Ramapuram, Tiruvandipuram, Tiagavalli, Thondamanatham, Kumaramangalam, Maligaimedu, Melpattampakkam, Kilgavarapattu, Siruvattur, Thorapadi, Bandrakottai, Pungunam, Karunguli, Kalur, Kurinijipadi, Parvathipuram, Vegakollai, Viraperumanallur, Tiruthalur, Mandagapattu, Chennamaickan palayam and Naduvirapattu.

CUDDALORE AND ITS HINTER LAND

Pennayar link Cuddalore with Dharmapuri and Salem. The tributaries of Pennayar viz. Pullampathar, Bemmandhakuppamar, Vanjiyar, Pambanar, Atiar gave access to the production centres of textiles by water ways. Portonovo was connected with this part through sea and river, and land through Mettupalayam. The expedition undertaken by some East India company merchants through a river to Portonovo
towards the end of the 17th century endorses the river connection between Cuddalore and Portonovo²⁷.

Access to the production centres from Cuddalore by land was also rather easy. The route from Cuddalore to Salem, Erode and Coimbatore via Tindivanam, Ghengee, Tiruvannamalai and Vellore brought the port in touch with some of the important regions producing cotton and textiles. Similarly, Bangalore, an important centre of textiles had access to Cuddalore via. Hosur, Dharmapuri, Krishnagiri, Vellore Tiruvannamalai, Ghengee, Vilupuram, Villianur and Pondicherry. Textiles produced in hinterlands were sent to Cuddalore for dyeing in the 18th century²⁸. Besides textile goods, food grains such as rice, maize and millet were sent to Cuddalore from the hinterlands.

Thus agricultural and non-agricultural products from different centres of production in the hinterland were brought to Cuddalore through various means of transportations. The people who lived around Cuddalore came there to purchase the goods needed by them.

EUROPEAN TRADERS IN CUDDALORE

The accessibility to the hinterlands where production of cotton and cotton textiles was going on, and navigational facilities attracted the Europeans and induced
them to establish settlements at Cuddalore in the sixteenth century. The Portuguese appointed Damiao Paes as the Captain of the harbour in 1584 who rebuilt the Port with the approval of the Nayak of Ghengee.  

By 1597 Devanampattanam developed into an important centre for the Portuguese. It had 300 Christians and two churches. Here was the only Catholic Parish between Nagapattanam and Santhome. The first church in Devanampatanam came into existence by 1574.  

The Dutch who had already established themselves in places like Masulipatanam and Pulicat on the coramandel coast, set up a factory in Devanampatanam. In 1608 the Dutch obtained permission from the Nayak of Ghengee to reconstruct an old fort at Devanampatanam and to open a factory at Tiruppapuliyur. The Dutch wanted cotton piece goods according to the specifications required in Malaysia and Indonesia. Such commodities were produced in Tiruppapuliyur. These goods were not available in Masulipatanam nor in Petapoli. There was therefore, a Dutch counter at Devanampatanam from where the Dutch in third quarter of the seventeenth century sent ships to Malaca. The Dutch issued passes to merchants like Sherkan to send their ships laden with commodities to other parts of India, Ceylon and beyond.
Subsequent to the foundation of the Fort St. George in 1639 by the English at Madras, they were invited by the Muhammad Khan, the local ruler of Ghengee on behalf of the ruler of Bijapur to start factories and build forts at Portonovo and Valudavur. This offer was made in 1674. Robert Freeman was appointed as the first chief of Cuddalore in 1681 and based on his report the English set up a factory in 1682 at Cuddalore. Though this factory was temporarily closed down, it was reopened in 1683, and in 1687 a cowle was received by the English from the Maratha ruler Shivaji for the right over the port of Cuddalore. The English at Madras were successful in purchasing Devanampatanam village along with a small castle and fort in 1690. The Dutch had already been in possession of a factory at Devanampatanam. In addition to it they had taken the village of Manjakuppam on lease, from the ruler of Ghengee country. They objected to the control over it by the English.

In 1678, the Dutch abandoned Devanampatanam owing to the refusal of the Dutch government at Pulicat to agree to the demand of the Subedar of Portonovo to pay dues for the Dutch vessels touching at that port and due to the reduction of salaries of Dutch officials by the government of Batavia. Only a few, the chief and two or three men remained in Devanampatanam. The attempt of the Dutch to recapture Devanampatanam failed.
The French attacked Madras and captured it from the English in the year 1746. The English were constrained to convert Fort St. David into the head quarters of the English on the coramandel coast from 1746-52. The attempt of the French to capture Cuddalore was not successful. Fort St. David was twice besieged by Dupleix, but without success. The English re-established their head quarters in Madras, in 1752. In 1758, the French occupied the town and destroyed the fort of St. David. It was recaptured by the British in 1760, but again it fell into the hands of the French in 1772. Cuddalore was unsuccessfully besieged by the British in 1773. Devanampatanam was finally restored to the English under the Treaty of Versailles in 1785.

In 1788 the old garden house at Devanampatanam was converted into the official residence of Collector of South Arcot. The English paid more attention to develop Fort St. George at Madras than Fort St. David. Cuddalore remained as the head quarters of South Arcot. The development of Cuddalore as an urban centre was largely due to the fact that the colonial administration was located there from the end of the 18th century. The establishment of Cuddalore municipality in 1865, accelerated the urbanization of Cuddalore. (This aspect is discussed in the chapter Municipal Administration and Urbanization of Cuddalore).
As Cuddalore developed into an urban centre during the colonial period, colonial 'city theories' deserve special attention. The colonial city theories help us to understand Cuddalore as a colonial town even from the commencement of 18th century. The colonial port town is a type by itself. The city theories of European scholars are discussed in connection with urban development of Cuddalore in the ensuing pages.

COLONIAL CITY THEORIES AND CUDDALORE

The colonial city theories propounded by eminent urban historians throw considerable light on urbanization. They can be applied to the study of urbanization of Cuddalore with necessary modifications according to the social structure and political system. The administration and welfare measures taken by the colonial rulers directly or indirectly contributed to the urbanisation of colonial towns such as Cuddalore. The colonial city theories can be used as a scale for the measurement of urbanization. However, those theories are subject to test and modification. For example, Max Weber's view that the urban milieu tends to breakdown and to complicate class structure38 is subject to test. As far as India is concerned, the social structure is based on caste system. The urban development of Cuddalore did not complicate the social structure inspite of
some changes that took place in the attitude of the inhabitants of Cuddalore. (See chapter on 'Urbanization and Social change') Many city theories developed in the late nineteenth century in Europe. Inspite of many differences there is some commonality among them. They are (1) Any unit of social life is determined by institution (2) Human society is a historical product. The evolutionary character of the society contributed to urban development. The prediction of Max Weber regarding the decline of moral standards and increase of crimes associated with city life such as forgery, perjury, embezzlement and business frauds is discussed in the succeeding chapters. They are very useful in evaluation of urbanization of Cuddalore.

Max Weber's view that the presence of a city fortification and city army is an essential components of fully developed urban community, was applicable to Cuddalore. Further Weber's concept of a city as a collection of one or more separate dwellings but a relatively closed settlement and market settlement holds good to Cuddalore town.

The trading centres of the Europeans such as Dutch, French, Danes and the English on the coramandel coast consisted of a port and a fort. The presence of a fort and a port in all the trading centres - Madras, Pondicherry,
Devanampatanam, Cuddalore, Portonovo, Tranquebar and Nagapatanam endorses the view of Weber that colonial port towns consisted of a port and a fort. As trading activities of the Europeans were carried on through these port towns, forts were essential for safe conduct of trade.

Martindale\textsuperscript{43} states that the destruction of the city does not involve the extinction of the institutions of social life. The view of Martindale is relevant to Cuddalore as Cuddalore was ruined by Carnatic wars. In spite of it, the institutions of social life were not destroyed. The continuity of the social institutions helped the growth of Cuddalore as an urban centre.

Anthony D. King in his book \textit{Global Cities} states that the city becomes a major vehicle for political, cultural and ideological transmission, an instrument for effecting economic and cultural change\textsuperscript{44}. It may be noted that Cuddalore served as administrative headquarters of the English even before the establishment of British rule in India. The presence of the English at Cuddalore effected economic and cultural change to some extent. The colonial city as major destination for national and international migrations of skilled labour\textsuperscript{45} and commercial centre, are relevant to Cuddalore. The urbanization of Cuddalore was the consequence of internal migration and trading activities.
The city is distinguished from the village by its population. The special characteristic of the population of colonial city is the presence of diverse ethnic groups i.e. colonists, and indigenous inhabitants. (This aspect is discussed in the chapter titled 'Urbanization and Social Change'). It is true that in colonial cities, exogeneous groups are in super-ordinate positions and indigenous in subordinate ones. It is also a fact that in the colonial city, state and municipal spending favoured the colonial elite. (See the chapter on 'Administration and Urbanization').

Finally the confrontation between the English and Dutch, and English and the French proves King's view that colonial city provides for the confrontation and encounter between representatives and institutions of different nations, ethnicities, races, religions and cultures.

Thus the various colonial city theories help us to comprehend the urbanization of Cuddalore during the pre-industrial and industrial period.

ROLE OF COLONISTS IN URBANIZATION OF CUDDALORE

The major cities like Bombay, Calcutta and Madras and small towns such as Cuddalore were established by the British to serve their interest. It may be admitted that
the colonial cities and towns served the colonists in trading and military activities besides administration. The port at Cuddalore and the port at Devanampatana facilitated the trading, military and administrative functions between 18th and early 20th centuries. According to Immanuel Wallerstein India (or at least parts of India) was peripheralised in the late eighteenth or early 19th centuries. Earlier the trade between India and seventeenth century Europe was not part of Capitalism. But trade in the nineteenth century between England and India was part of Capitalism. Immanuel Wallerstein uses the term 'peripheralization' to denote the growth of towns and cities in India. As he pointed out the Indian towns and cities developed prior to the late 18th century even though India was not linked with World Capitalism. The emergence of large scale industries such as cotton textile mills jute industries, Iron and Steel industries and Coal mine industries in the 19th century brought India within the World's Capitalist system.

Small towns such as Cuddalore were given great importance prior to late 18th century as these towns served the colonists for their conduct of trade. When India was linked with world capitalism, the minor towns such as Cuddalore were neglected and the major cities such as
Bombay, Calcutta and Madras expanded rapidly. In both the cases town and cities developed.

However, the Indians were of the view that the colonial towns and cities were parasitical and extractive. The Indian urban areas grew at the expense of the villages. The agricultural products were sent to the towns and cities. The farmers and the common people could not purchase their daily necessaries in their villages. They had to go to the towns for purchase of food grains and other articles. Thus the self sufficient villages which existed during the pre-colonial period disappeared under the colonial rule. The growth of towns led to the impoverishment of rural mass. As the colonists were responsible for the development of urban areas and under development of rural areas, they were parasitical and extractive, and not the towns and cities by themselves. The villagers were not happy about the growth of new towns as they helped merchants, middlemen and capitalists. Even though the colonial towns and cities served their masters, they were benefited by good roads, transport facilities, educational institutions and administrative offices. The new towns attracted the villagers who were interested in non-agricultural occupations during the colonial period. In the 19th century, the destruction of Indian handicrafts by the British stimulated urban to rural migration. The artisans
worked in the fields and the pressure on the land increased due to reversal of cloth trade and shifting of the head quarters from Cuddalore to Madras. However the importance given to Cuddalore as the head quarters of the South Arcot was responsible for its development in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The 'push and pull' factors were responsible for the growth of urban areas. Prior to the middle of the 18th century, the push factor was rural poverty and the pull factor was facilities and employment opportunities in towns. The rise of heavy industries in the 19th century caused urban to rural migration, as the machine made textile goods and articles deprived the Indian artisans of their livelihood. The industrial cities such as Bombay and Calcutta were expanding. Madras continued to expand as the head quarters of the presideacy in the 19th century. Cuddalore flourished as the centre of the British administration in South Arcot, in spite of the urban to the rural migration. The pre-colonial towns and cities gave protection to the people at the time of wars. But the colonial towns, especially Cuddalore did not give security to Indians during the carnatic wars. The people deserted their houses in Devanampatam and Cuddalore during these wars. However, colonial Cuddalore protected the Europeans during the critical period.
Thus the development and under development of colonial towns can be attributed to trade and wars respectively in the 18th century. In the 19th century the expansion of the town was due to industrialisation and the fact that they were capital cities. The smaller town such as Cuddalore faced stagnation due to lack of space for its expansion and decrease of administrative importance.

OBJECT AND HYPOTHESIS

The aim of this research is to assess the urban growth of Cuddalore from 1700 A.D. to 1947 A.D. and to analyse various factors which contributed to the growth of Cuddalore. It is hypothesized that the first phase of urban development of Cuddalore up to the middle of eighteenth century was trade oriented, and the second phase of urbanization from the middle of 18th century to the early part of the twentieth century was administrative oriented.

SCALES USED FOR MEASURING THE URBANIZATION OF CUDDALORE

1. Buildings: Administrative, military, educational, residential and religious.
2. Shifting of cemeteries, burial and cremation grounds to the peripheral area.
3. Changes in communication and transportation.
5. Articles used by the people.
6. Changes in food habits, hair style and dress.
7. Increase of population.
8. Heterogeneity of population.
9. Changes in religious faith and attitude of the people.
11. Development in policing and judiciary.
12. Increase of crimes and establishment of jails.
13. Weakening of joint family system and rise of nuclear families.
15. Development of lighting facilities.
17. Drinking water supply.
18. Development of streets and roads.
20. Land acquisition problems.

SOURCES CONSULTED FOR THIS RESEARCH

The primary sources used in this thesis are factory records of Fort St. David and Fort St. George available in Tamil Nadu Archives, Madras, Central Archives, Pondicherry and National Archives of India, New Delhi. Municipal and financial G.Os issued by Madras government.
Gazetteers of South Arcot district, Manual of South Arcot district, diaries of Ananda Rangapillai (the dubash to Dupleix) and Census of India. The inscriptions found in the cemeteries at Cuddalore, Portonovo, the inscriptions found on the foundation stones at Pennayar Bridge, Collectorate of Cuddalore and Fort St. David are used in this research. Besides the sources mentioned above, the contemporary literature related to Cuddalore available in English and Tamil books on urban history, economic and cultural history are consulted.

METHODOLOGY

This thesis is mainly supported by historical evidence. The historical method of collection, verification and tabulation of data are used to enable clear understanding of the subject. Our period of study pertains to the colonial times and urbanization of Cuddalore during the period selected for study and how urbanization was brought about through English settlements at Cuddalore and Devanampatanam. This thesis is influenced by European and American theories of urbanization modified according to the Indian situation.
CHAPTERIZATION OF THIS THESIS

This thesis is classified into seven chapters viz.

1. Introduction
2. Cloth trade and urbanization of Cuddalore 1700-1799
3. Administration and urbanization 1800-1947 A.D.
4. Municipal administration and urbanization of Cuddalore 1865-1947 A.D.
5. Urbanization and social change
6. Social structure of colonial Cuddalore 1700-1947 A.D.
7. Conclusion

The first chapter gives location, geography and natural resources of Cuddalore. The primary and secondary sources and Methodology employed in this thesis, are furnished in this chapter. In short, this chapter introduces some factors responsible for urbanization of Cuddalore from 1700 to 1947 A.D.

The second chapter deals with cloth trade of English merchants in Cuddalore in the 18th century. The purchase of Fort St. David, establishment of trading settlement, at Cuddalore and of conduct of cloth trade in this region are discussed. The fortification and militarization of Cuddalore and Devanampatanam are furnished with evidences. This chapter establishes that the urban development of Cuddalore in the 18th century was due to cloth trade.
The third chapter highlights the governmental activities in Cuddalore. The construction of offices, hospitals, travellers' bungalows, post and telegraph offices, schools, and other works such as construction of roads and bridges resulted in the urbanization of Cuddalore in the 19th and early twentieth century. Further, the establishment of office and police stations in different parts of Cuddalore and re-organisation of police resulted in the urbanization of Cuddalore. The trading activities in the port of Cuddalore made Cuddalore old town very busy. The establishment of judicial courts and jails in Cuddalore led to the urbanization of Cuddalore.

The fourth chapter on 'Municipal administration and urbanization' throws considerable light on the contribution of Cuddalore municipality in urbanizing Cuddalore. The municipal activities of construction of roads, streets, water works, dispensaries, municipal office, parks, markets (vegetable, meat and fish markets), acquisition of lands for building educational institutions and above all the sanitary measures taken by it in the later half of the 19th century gave an urban look to Cuddalore. In short, municipal administration of Cuddalore played a primary role in transforming Cuddalore into a town.

The fifth chapter on 'Urbanization and social change' describes the change of attitude of the people in
accepting western style of living, western education and sanitary measures in Cuddalore. Further, the change of occupation of the people was due to the employment opportunities created by the municipal and governmental administration of Cuddalore. The urban development of Cuddalore contributed to the increase of non-agricultural occupations. The change was manifested in the housing designs, spread of female education, acceptance of western medicines, use of protected water for drinking and local support for sanitary measures.

The sixth chapter is on 'Social structure of colonial Cuddalore'. The chapter portrays the structure of colonial society of Cuddalore since 1700 A.D. The social life of the English and the Indians is discussed. The feasts, festivals and religious ceremonies of the Indians and Europeans are critically analysed. It is found that the relation between these two ethnic groups was based on inequality in which the British were masters and Indians, servants. This was reflected in the habitation pattern. The part of Cuddalore town the European masters lived was known as White Town. It is contended that the gradual change in the structure of society was the outcome of the British rule in India.
The concluding chapter consolidates all the factors relating to urbanization of Cuddalore. It has been established that the urbanization of Cuddalore in the 18th century was mainly due to cotton cloth trade. Its development in the 19th and the early 20th century was due to the combined efforts of governmental and municipal administration. In short, the hypothesis relating to urban development of Cuddalore is justified in the light of various factors.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


3. ibid., p. 187.


8. ibid., p. 177.

9. ibid., p. 177.

10. ibid., p. 176, 185-186.

11. ibid., p. 176.


14. ibid., p. 23.


17. Interview with Vaheed aged 70, of Melachavadi in Thillai (Vidangam Panchayat).


27. G/19/2 Cuddalore January 1685/6 India Office Record (Hereafter I.O.R.) London, National Archives, New Delhi.


33. Sherkan was an Afghan and veteran of the Adil Sahi campaigns in Carnatic and was the lieutenant General of the commander in chief of Bijapur around 1675. He represented the superior authority of Adil Sahi of Bijapur - *ibid.*, p. 360.


36. Marble stone at Fort St. David reads "Fort St. David was the capital of the English possessions on the Coramandel coast from 1746-52.


39. *ibid.*, p. 46

40. *ibid.*, p. 59

41. *ibid.*, p. 60

42. *ibid.*, p. 65

43. *ibid.*, p. 61


45. *ibid.*, p. 39

46. *ibid.*, p. 40

47. *ibid.*, p. 42

48. *ibid.*, p. 45

49. *ibid.*, p. 44