CHAPTER II

CLOTH TRADE AND URBANIZATION OF CUDDALORE 1700-1799

This chapter attempts to highlight the urbanization of Cuddalore due to the cloth trade (Cotton and Silk) in the 18th Century. The English continued their trading activities in this region even though the cloth trade was not profitable. One of the reasons being control of Cuddalore, the settlement acquired by the English next to Madras also called Chennapatanam on the Coromandel coast or Cholamandalam. Cuddalore served as a base to combat their European rivals such as Portuguese, Dutch and the French. The demand for the Indian cotton cloth in European and Asian nations tempted the English to carry on cloth trade.

The European competition was a great challenge to the English. The advantage of the English traders over the Portuguese, Dutch and French merchants led to the monopoly of the English trade. The victory of the English over the French at Plassy in 1757 A.D enabled the English to found an empire in India. The political power enjoyed by the British since 1757 A.D made the English East India Company unchallenged in the sub continent of India.

The cloth trade and its allied activities directly or indirectly contributed to urbanization of Cuddalore.
Mention may be made of the security, transportation, establishment of new settlements, migration of labourers due to rural push and urban pull factors and marketing centres for cotton and silk cloth in the 18th century. The hitherto non-urban area of Cuddalore was slowly transformed into an urban area with European style of architecture (both military and civil) which found its expression in fort, guard rooms, barracks, quarters for soldiers and invalids, hospitals, schools, church, store houses, residential and administrative buildings.

The need for protecting the people of this region engaged in various occupations from the robbers necessitated security measures. The soldiers, peons and Taliaries were employed by the English East India Company to police the town and village in the 18th century. Besides, cloth trade and its allied activities led to the increase in the number of people engaged in non-agricultural works in Cuddalore.

EUROPEAN TRADERS IN THE CORAMANDEL COAST

The Europeans such as Portuguese, Dutch, Danes, French and the English were competing with each other for establishment of trading settlements in the Coramandel Coast in the 17th and early eighteenth centuries. The Portuguese and the Dutch began to divert their attention from the West
coast to East coast. The latter was considered to be an ideal place for cloth trade. They created settlements in Masulipatanam, Madras, Pulicat, Cuddalore, Portonovo, Tranquebar and Nagapatanam by means of purchase or lease. The Dutch founded a fortified castle in Pulicat in 1612 A.D. The English settled near the old village of Chennapatanam (Madras) in 1639 A.D. and it was fortified within a couple of years. The fort was popularly known as Fort St. George. The Danes after securing the port of Tranquebar in 1618 built a fortified castle and a godown. By this time the Portuguese were holding settlements in Nagapatanam and Santhome. They had a civilian settlement at Portonovo and Devanampatanam. The English and the Dutch had established many factories (warehouses) on the coramandel coast. But the position of the Portuguese was shaky in this region. The Dutch were found in Devanampatanam as early as 1608 A.D. after defeating the Portuguese. The Dutch evacuated Devanampatanam in 1678 A.D. due to the refusal of the Dutch government at Pulicat to pay dues for the Dutch vessels crossing Portonovo and due to the reduction of salaries for the Dutch officials employed on the Coramandel coast by the government of Batavia. Yet, the Dutch who remained at the coramandel coast continued their trading activities. Encouraged by these developments, the English were contemplated establishing trading settlements at
Cuddalore and Devanampatanam which they thought would give them control of trade in the middle Coramaneal coast.

ESTABLISHMENT OF TRADING SETTLEMENTS AT CUDDALORE

The English realised the fact that trading settlements and factories with fortification were essential for conducting trade safely in an alien land. Accordingly, they tried their level best to acquire trading settlements in this region. This view is substantiated by the English factory records. The Factory Records of the English dated January 1685 A.D. states:

"... and our design therein was only to secure ourselves from foreign enemies and robbers of the country, and not to offer anything of violence to the government, as he well knew we never did where we had fortifications and that was always at the Prince's pleasure command us to withdraw when he pleased. Our fortifications being insignificant where we were debarred of trade ...".

The English achieved their goal and the cowle granted by the Subedar Major on behalf of the ruler of the Ghengee country in 1681 A.D. placed the merchants of the English East India company in an advantageous position. The cowle reads as follows:
"I do hereby grant the English nation to settle factories and houses and godowns for the trade security and defence of their Cuddalore and Coonimere, thereto reside safely and to be treated with civility and respect, and freely to trade with whatever merchants, weavers, painters they please and to sell their goods to them and to buy of them what they shall have.... as well callicoes, grains or any other thing whatsoever. Neither shall they in any way be obliged to contact with any subedars, avaldars or any other officers of the donor, nor any merchants whom they please but with whom English please themselves and take what merchants they list best as they shall find convenient, and no other Christian nation shall ever be allowed to have factories or trading in the said places, but the English may have a free and unhindered trade in all places of Maharajah's country within land and also house and factory at Portonovo, and none of the subedars, avaldars or officers whatsoever may upon any pretence stop provisions coming or going to them, or to, or from any of their houses or factories and doer shall be obliged to make restitution or satisfaction to the English of any losses of money, goods or persons they shall
sustain .... the doer's subjects or people are to help protect and defend the English and they shall not suffer any damage in the persons' estates or goods and if any of the doer's subjects or people shall be delivered to aid, abet or in any manner to help or assist the enemies to the English, they shall be severely punished§.

It seems that the rulers of Ghengee country granted lavish concessions to the English to trade and establish settlements in their country for various reasons. The Ghengee rulers, were weakened after the conquest of Ghengee country by the Maratha King, Sivaji in 1677 A.D. They needed money for strengthening their power. Their economic condition might have driven them to grant permission to establish settlements or to sell villages like Devanampatanam in lieu of money and presents. The hospitable nature of the rulers of Ghengee might have been one of the reasons for the granting of concessions to the English, who had undergone hardships during the course of their commercial activities. Another reason was that the kings might not have anticipated that the humble English traders would establish an empire in India in future.

The **cowle** granted to the English ensured full security of trade and bound the ruler of the country for any
wrongs committed by his subjects against the English. The cowle was carefully worded in order to ensure monopoly of English trade in this region. It also prevented the indigenous merchants from conducting their trade freely. In other words, the historic cowle envisaged colonial rule of the English in future in India.

EMERGENCE OF CUDDALORE INTO A MILITARY TOWN

The development of Cuddalore into a port town was closely related to cloth trade in 17th and 18th centuries. The establishment of trading settlement at Devanampatanam quickened the process of militarization of port town of Cuddalore through construction of fort and military architecture in 18th century.

The first factory buildings were put up in 1683⁶. The town of Cuddalore by the middle of 18th century was fortified on three sides. J.H. Garstin, collector of South Arcot states as follows.

'The town of Cuddalore was at this time surrounded on three sides by a wall with bastions and with a small redoubt at the north east corner'⁷.

The company's agents at Fort St. David established a mint at Cuddalore in 1747 A.D. for minting gold and silver.
coins. The French who captured Cuddalore in 1782\textsuperscript{8} damaged its buildings. After it was restored to English under the treaty of Versailles in 1785\textsuperscript{9} Cuddalore choultry, houses in Cuddalore and banksal were repaired and maintained\textsuperscript{10}. The fortification in Cuddalore was whitewashed and mended. The letter from Fort St. David administration dated 12th November 1733 reads as follows.

'The fortification in Cuddalore want chunaming the walls and mending some decayed parts with bricks, plank, timber and the curtain wall and filling up between Metchlepatam and Golcunda point about 250 yards, very necessary to secure the wall and communicating from point to point. Paving of Dieu point finishes. That and a part of the wall towards Golcunda point wants finishing at top. The foot banks to fire over the wall are not finished and takes a good deal of chunam and bricks. The guard at Gondapa on the north side of Pennar river much decayed, and considering there is little to secure there, it is hardly worth repair and is accordingly computed. An hospital being much wanted for the sick people may be built on the old hospital ground, or rather on a spot joining the carpenters' yard for conveniency of a guard from
the fort to secure the people at night. It is proposed to enclose a compound with a brick Wall and make a hall of 24 feet long and 12 feet broad and each end room-12 feet square, a veranda of 12 feet broad all terraced.

This letter indicates that Cuddalore was transforming into a military town in 1730s. It seems that the English were preparing Cuddalore port town by building military architecture such as fortification, firing points, terraced halls and hospitals to fight against their commercial foes, the French in Pondicherry. Besides Cuddalore Port town, military architecture was raised at Vandipalayam, Tiruppapuliyur and Semmandalam. It may be observed that materials such as bricks tiles, plank, timber, lime, tar, nails, reapers, jaggery, sheathing plank, palmyra, rattans and iron were used in construction of buildings. A considerable portion of revenue was spent on garrison, repairing the fort and military architecture in Cuddalore. Out of a total estimate of 2336 pagodas for building military architecture 85% was to be spent on Cuddalore Port town alone in 1733. Besides these buildings washers' choultries were constructed in Cuddalore, Tiruppapuliyur and Vandipalayam in order to facilitate the trading activities. The washers choultries were constructed in the intention of promoting the cloth trade. They helped
the washers to wash and **conjeing** (application of starch to cotton clothes) and dry specified quantity of cloths within specified period. Accordingly platforms were built to dry cloth and pavements were laid to keep them. Washermen from the nearby villages migrated to Cuddalore due to the employment prospects and provision of facilities for washing clothes.

**PURCHASE OF DEVANAMPATANAM**

The English were encouraged by the settlements made by them in Cuddalore in 1681 A.D. The castle along with a fort motivated the English traders to purchase Devanampatanam. The castle belonged to an indigenous merchant called Chinniah chetty. He was a merchant of English East India Company. The intention of the English was to convert the castle into an Agency House as well as godown for cotton textile goods. Another objective was to use the fort complex as a garrison. The English thought that Devanampatanam would help them as a military base to combat the French in Pondicherry, about thirty kilometers north of Cuddalore. Besides the strategic location of Devanampatanam, in between Pondicherry in the North and Portonovo in the south, tempted them to acquire it.
Negotiations went on between English East India company officials and Soundee Ballogee, the representative of Rama Raja, the ruler of Ghengee country at Madras. Finally an agreement was reached.

The English took possession of Fort St. David on 22nd, September, 1690 A.D. The next day the 'random shott' was fired and the cannon ball fell beyond Cuddalore. The villages included within the 'random shott' are still called "Gundu gramam" or "Cannon ball villages". Some of the villages of Cuddalore viz. Gundu Uppalavadi and Gundu salai stand testimony to this fact. It is said that neither the inhabitants of Cuddalore, nor the ruler of the Ghengee country objected to the demarcation by means of random shott.

In F.E. Penny's view, the extent of the settlement was decided according to oriental method. Among the frontier tribes there was a practice of enlarging their territory by means of "random shot". The same method was followed by the English in Cuddalore. The select cannon was sent by the sea with the most expert gunner from Fort St. George. The cannon balls were fired and carefully marked down. The demarcation included some villages and intersected others. This resulted in a dispute between the English and the people who lived in border villages as the
ruler of Ghengee and the English demanded tax from them. However, the problem was solved, when the English purchased these villages from the ruler of Ghengee.  

It was Elihu Yale, Governor of Fort St. George who gave Devanampatanam, the title of Fort St. David. It is still a mystery whether he named it so to honour his Welsh patron St. David or his son, David whom he lost shortly before acquisition of Devanampatanam.  

Thus the aim of the English was fulfilled towards the close of the 17th century. Their first task after the purchase of Devanampatanam was the ejection of Dutch merchants from there. Soon there after Devanampatanam was converted into a military town. All the infrastructure facilities were provided to make Devanampatanam suitable for cloth trade in this region.  

DECLINE OF DUTCH TRADE AND MONOPOLY OF THE ENGLISH TRADE  

Some Dutch officials remained at Devanampatanam even after quitting it in 1678 A.D. The Dutch had already possessed a factory and some buildings at the time of the purchase of the fort by the English from the rule of Ghengee. They also held Manjakuppam on lease for three years at an annual rent of 300 chackrams. The Dutch helped the English in demarcation and never objected to the
land being taken over by the English in this process. In 1691 the Dutch threatened the English that they would convert their factory into fortification. They sought the help of the king, Rama Raja. Accordingly the king advised the English that Manjakuppam did not come under their limit and directed the English to abstain from disturbing the Dutch in their business. But the English did not honour the advice of the king. They were even ready to seize Manjakuppam in case of refusal of the Dutch to pay Custom dues. The Deputy Governor of Fort St. David was ordered to seize Manjakuppam. Garstin says:-

The Deputy Governor of Fort St. David was ordered to seize Manjakuppam if the Dutch refused to rent it from him, on the same terms as from the Diwan. In case of resistance, the Deputy governor was empowered to levy custom dues to force them to reason. However, the English did not want blood shed. The order issued by the Madras Agency to the governor of Fort St. David also contained a charter for the first civil and criminal court established by the English at Cuddalore. 

The Dutch were helpless. In due course they did not show much interest in Cuddalore. It may be noted that the English openly defied the advice of the king, Rama Raja
within a year of the purchase of Devanampatanam, even though there was justification in the king's action. The inability of the king to check the growing power of the English indicated the decline of the power of the Gheergee ruler. The Dutch had no other option except to withdraw from Cuddalore. The gradual withdrawal of the Dutch from Cuddalore made the English as the only strong European power, next to the French in the middle coramandel coast.

GROWTH OF DEVANAMPATANAM AS A MILITARY TOWN

Trade security and defence from the French attack were some of the reasons for converting Devanampatanam into a cantonment in the first half of the 18th century. Fortress and the garrison played a vital role in the rise of military towns.

The castle at Devanampatanam was converted into an Agency house. The building was also used as a warehouse. The fort was 500 feet long and 400 feet broad. There were many buildings and conveniences in it. The fort was surrounded by a branch of river Gadilam. After the purchase of the fort, repairs and additions were made. In 1725, a bastion on its eastern face was erected. In 1739, a powder magazine was built in the island lying in between Devanampatanam and Cuddalore. In 1745 extensive
improvements were made to the fort. The course of the river Gadilam on the Western side of the fort was changed in 1747. Bomb proof barracks were built. A horn work on the north and two lunetts in the east and west were also commenced. The hospital and other buildings within 800 yards of the fort (except Dutch factory) were demolished in order to construct thatched sheds to accommodate soldiers, peons and merchants. A battery near the burial ground was constructed. The outposts of Devanampatanam were fortified. The English built a 'Garden House' at Devanampatanam. The Roman church was still intact. There stood a obsolete redoubt at chuckle point fitted with eight guns. The shelters for the guards were built in this area.

A redoubt was constructed on a small hillock called Paracheri. There was a gate way with a narrow rampart and battlements on the edge of the canal connecting rivers Gadilam and Penniar. A bridge across the canal led to the gate-way. By the middle of 18th century Devanampatanam was converted into a military town. The buildings close to the fort were pulled down and new ones were built at a considerable distance from it.

The habitation of Devanampatanam was divided into indigenous and European sectors. The indigenous sectors of the town was generally known as Black Town and the European
sector of the town was called white town. In the European sector of the town lived the Europeans and Eurasians. It was divided on occupational basis. The socio-spatial structure of indigenous settlement differed from that of European sector of the town.

The view of A.D. King is relevant to colonial society of Cuddalore to some extent. When Devanampatanam was purchased by the English, the first job they did was clearance of residential buildings near the fort. The intention of the Deputy governor of fort St. David was to separate official buildings from the residential buildings. The people engaged in various occupations settled in different parts of Cuddalore and Devanampatanam according to their functional specialization. The weavers, washers, soldiers, peons, officials - Indians as well as Europeans, Pallanquin bearers, merchants, workers engaged in loading and unloading of goods, fishermen and the people engaged in menial service had separate localities. A.D. King, in his article on 'Colonialism and the Development of the Modern South Asian City. Some theoretical considerations', stated that the functional specialization of land use had taken place, resulting in separation of place of work from place of residence in the early colonial settlements. He added that the elite-mass dichotomy, characteristic of
pre-industrial society had been replaced by a social structure which was based on occupational hierarchy as far as metropolitan society was concerned.

The elite-mass dichotomy continued in colonial society of Cuddalore, as the economy of Cuddalore was in transition. That is, Cuddalore was changing from agricultural economy to market economy depended on certain agricultural products such as cotton, indigo, and paddy. The reason for the persistence of pre-industrial characteristic in Cuddalore was due to the fact that industrial urbanization did not take place in Cuddalore in the 18th century. The customs and habits of the above mentioned sections were different. The residential houses of these groups also varied according to their economic and social status. It may be noted that the military boundary was extended to the edge of the town. The residential area of Adi-Bravidas were pushed beyond the limits of the town of Devanampatanam and Cuddalore as a result of this.

One major cause for the extension of military boundary was that the Fort St. David administration had the moral responsibility of providing security to the people under their control and the company merchants. Another cause was the threat from the French in Pondicherry. Above all, the English wanted to make Cuddalore as a base to fight
other intervening European powers. Cuddalore enabled the survival of the English when they were in distress. Indeed Cuddalore served as a breathing place for the English when they were driven out of Madras by the French in 1746. The shelter provided by Cuddalore gave the English, the strength to win the battle of Plassey in 1757, which laid the foundation of the British empire in India.

THE CLOTH TRADE

The cloth trade in this region was conducted by a set of company merchants. There were head merchants. Each head merchant had under him several petty merchants. These petty merchants procured cloths through the brokers. Sometimes they themselves contacted the weavers and purchased cloths. They were sorted out according to quality and brought to Cuddalore and Fort St. David with the help of coolies, animals and carts. The agents of the English East India company received the cloths after due examination and settled the accounts. The company bore no responsibility for the damage of cloths due to several causes such as rain, vermin and carelessness of the washermen. The merchants were called by the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David. They were advised about timely procurement and quality of the cloths to be purchased.
The agents of the English East India company entered into contracts with the local merchants. The purpose behind these contract was to ensure timely supply of cotton goods. It also prevented the Cuddalore merchants trading with other European merchants. Advances were made to the company merchants to enable them to fetch cloths in time. The Fort St. David administration held periodical meeting with the indigenous merchants. In these meetings abatement in cotton prices due to competition of European merchants, delay in procuring cloths, shortage of cloth supply, damage of cloths, penalty for the delay and specification of cloths were discussed in detail. When the merchants supplied damaged cloths, the company's agents put them up for auction and the difference was paid by the merchants concerned. The English gained at the cost of Indian merchants.

The terms and conditions of the contract were very harsh and the merchants had to comply with them. Sometimes they decided to stop supplying cloths. The merchants expressed their difficulties over the new contract. The Fort St. David Records of 1734 reads as follows:-

"That as they bought the cloth in the country, each several species one with the other at the same price without sorting them to several numbers they were willing to
come into a contract for delivering it in the same manner to the company, at a certain price as should be agreed on, but they can't agree to have the cloth valued according to different numbers, but that there should be one price only for the Salem Long Cloth or cloth of 9 cauls, another for the ordinary, and so far the other goods without regard to the numbers they were usually sorted to.21

The explanation given by the merchants was not accepted by the English. They were told to calculate the price "by knowing the prices of several species of cloths cost them and observing to what numbers it had been taken in at this year, to settle a price for every number, without the danger of prejudicing themselves. Finally the merchants were asked to propose some prices for the several numbers of each sortment in the usual manner and those on the lowest terms they can venture to engage for.22

The contract made by John Davis, Chief, on behalf of the East India company with Chinee chettee (Chinniah Chetty?) merchant in January 1685 is self explanatory of the severity of the terms and conditions. The terms and conditions of the contract are as follows:

"That are the said John Davis shall advance to the said Chinee Chittee with the sum of twenty thousand pagodas, and relieve to the amount of pagodas twenty thousand in
European goods. That the said Chinee Chittee merchants are obliged to bring in and investment to the amount of pagodas eighty thousand in the following goods six months after the delivery of the aforesaid forty thousand pagodas in money and goods. That the John Davis and Company are obliged in behalf of the Rt. Hon'ble Company to allow the said Chinee Chittee and merchants nine percent interest (or what shall be allowed at Conimere for forty thousand pagoda advanced them) three months after the commencement of the investment till concluded ..... The said Chinee Chittee and merchants are obliged that they, nor none in trade with them shall not trade nor traffic with any interloper upon penalty of forfeiture of their joint stock ..... That if it shall appear to us the said John Davis and company that by wars in the country the said Chinee Chittee and merchants, shall be obstructed in their trade as not to be able to comply with their investment in the limited time, in such case to be allowed the aforesaid interest for what they shall in advance from the time aforesaid, till the investment be concluded, and if there shall happen any difference between the Rt Honble Company, and the Diwan and the merchants goods impeded thereby then the Rt. Honble Company to clear them, but if between the merchants and Diwans, then the merchants to clear them"23.

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The above contract clearly indicates that it was made in favour of English traders. The Indian merchants had to face many difficulties as they were not paid in money fully. They had to sell the European goods which they received from the English traders to make good their half of the investment. Delayed procurement of cloth due to drought, flood, famine or wars was not taken into account for the removal of penalty. The goods brought by the merchants could any time be rejected by the their masters. These conditions of the merchants made them uninterested in textile trade. Consequently there was a decline in cloth trade towards the close of the 17th century on the coramandal coast.

It may be observed that the hardship faced by the indigenous merchants put a check on their progress. But it did not cripple their business as the terms and conditions of the contract were relaxed in the 18th century. Cloth trade continued as usual till the middle of the 19th century when there was a growing demand for raw cotton in Lancashire as a result of industrial revolution in England. The monopoly of cloth trade enabled the English to become masters of the land in which they landed as traders. Percival Spear writes: "Nothing would have surprised the founders of the East India Company more than to have been told that they would one day be held responsible for the
moral and material progress of the whole country. It is interesting to note that the cloth trade conducted by the English on the coramandel coast contributed to the urban growth of Cuddalore in the 17th and 18th centuries.

CLOTH TRADE AND URBANIZATION OF CUDDALORE

The close examination of fortification of Cuddalore and Devanampatanam, development of ports in the above mentioned places, establishment of weavers' settlements, schools, churches, mint, residential and official buildings, construction of bridges, improvement of water-ways and roads, and re-organization of policing work reveals the association of cloth trade with the above mentioned activities.

BUILDINGS

As already pointed out the fortification of Cuddalore and repair of fort at Devanampatanam, erection of buildings - ware houses and residential, barrack schools and missionary schools and markets in the 18th century had changed the appearance of Cuddalore. It may be observed that the residential and official buildings were constructed in large numbers during the 18th century in order to accommodate English merchants and transact business on
cloth. These buildings were built on British style and provided with latrine, drainage, street facilities. The colonial sector or white town thus came into existence.

WEAVERS SETTLEMENT

In the early 18th century, there was tough competition among the European merchants especially between the French and the English. The procurement of cloth, with specified quality was very difficult due to the competition among these merchants. The French in Pondicherry interfered in the trading activities of the English at Cuddalore. The English decided to create a weavers settlement at Cuddalore in order to avoid the competition of other European merchants and make the weavers to work for the English East India company and procure cloth of fine quality and specified quantity in time. Besides, securing fair price for the cotton goods which would favour the English East India Company checking the corrupt practices of the Indian merchants, making cloths according to the specification of the company, and monopolising cloth trade were the objectives of the English traders.

The head merchants suggested ways and means of settling weavers at various parts of Cuddalore and
Devanampatanam in order to reduce their difficulty and unnecessary delay in procuring the cotton goods. They expressed their desire to bring as many weavers as possible into the bounds of Cuddalore. They also made a subscription of two thousand pagodas. They said that they could build four hundred houses out of the amount collected. Accordingly they prayed for permission from the Deputy Governor for accommodating the weavers.

In another case, Shivanaiak Reddy, son of Odaganayak, who had deserted the town of Devanampatanam due to misfortune of his father expressed his desire to return to Cuddalore along with one hundred and fifty weavers if he was given protection. He also assured that he would assist the company's business. His petition was favourably considered.

Earlier in 1714, the Fort St. David administration surveyed most of the waste grounds within the bounds of Cuddalore. The officials had already granted plots to several inhabitants from Portonovo. The majority of them were sea-faring merchants. The latter had correspondence with several parts of India and desired to bring their shipping and consigns to the port as they formerly did to Portonovo. As the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David had promised the settlers honourable and unmolested life, there
was every possibility of many tradesmen, weavers, dyers and painters settling at Cuddalore in 1742. Earlier food grains were imported to attract the inhabitants. The weavers were drawn from various castes such as Saliars, the Kaikolars, the Sedars, the Padayachis, the Gounders, the senguntha mudaliars, the Devanga mudaliars and the Muslims. Many of these castes were traditionally weavers. The main weaving centres of this district were Chinnapannayakan palayam, Bhuvanagiri, Sangitha-mangalam, Udaipatti, Tittagudi, Avalurpet, Sri mushnam and Chinnna Salem.

INTERNAL MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION OF CUDDALORE

The people living in near by villages and distant places began to migrate to Cuddalore in order to seek employment connected with cloth trade. As cited above skilled and unskilled labourers came to Cuddalore and settled down there. The reason for their migration was the rural push and urban pull. In other words the rural poverty forced the villagers to move to Cuddalore and the employment opportunities created by the English East India Company was the main pull factor. The migrant population was engaged in non-agricultural occupations. The interaction between the inhabitants of Cuddalore and migrant population contributed to the change in the attitude of the people. In Haraprasad Chattopadhyaya's view, rise of towns and cities led to
social and cultural changes. In other words, urbanization of a place causes a change in the outlook, habits and customs of the people living there. Internal migration is an aspect of urbanization in the sense that it resulted in the increase of non-agricultural population and rise of nuclear families in place of joint families. Thus internal migration and urbanization are interrelated phenomena.

The encouragement and protection given by the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David to the weavers, washers, dyers and painters to settle at Cuddalore and the enthusiasm shown by the head merchants of Cuddalore to bring weavers from outside Cuddalore, led to the urban development of Cuddalore in the ensuing years.

The weaving and its allied industries such as spinning, dyeing and hand printing induced non-agricultural population to settle in and around Cuddalore. The needs of these people paved the way for the growth of other industries such as mat weaving, ratton and bamboo works, coir industry, ceramic industry, wood carving, fishing, palmyra leaf - mat making, the weaving of thatties from water reeds, paper making and oil pressing in Cuddalore. Thus the subsidiary industries associated with weaving and cloth trade brought about the urban development of Cuddalore.
Besides weavers, dyers, and painters, the washermen also migrated to Cuddalore. In 1738 they numbered about 160. They washed clothes for the English as well as French agents. The increase of washermen at Cuddalore added to the non-agricultural population. A separate settlement was created for them. A place in Cuddalore, on the way to Devanampatanam is still called Vannarapalayam which meant locality of washermen.

It will be appropriate to mention that the security given to the people of Cuddalore before Carnatic wars, encouraged Andiappa, a merchant of Portonovo to buy a large house in Cuddalore to settle his people in trade there. He also intended to build two large houses in Tiruppapuliur with convenient godowns for goods. He also purchased a piece of ground there to build houses for the weavers. Thus we find that cloth trade formed the basis for the urbanization of Cuddalore in the 18th century as it encouraged internal migration.

HETEROGENEITY OF POPULATION

People belonging to different nations - Portuguese, Dutch, Sweedish, Persian and Armenian and people belonging to different princely states in India - Marathas, Andhrites and Keralites migrated to Cuddalore. These people
were engaged in cloth trade. One Maratha family was engaged in making hand cloth. Along with these merchants and weavers the people associated with weaving industry such as washermen, dyer and coolies also migrated. The soldiers, peons and taliaries gave security for conduct of cloth trade. The palanquin bearers, accountants, stewards, sea and land customers, arrack farmers, dubashes and store keepers were employed in the office of the Deputy Governor Fort St. David. It may be noted that these workers lived in Cuddalore and helped cloth trade directly or indirectly during the 18th century. The heterogeneity of population was an urban feature. The increase of population in Cuddalore necessitated the development of medical facilities and drinking water supply.

MEDICAL FACILITIES

The development of medical facilities in Cuddalore was associated with cloth trade. The English did not establish a hospital at Cuddalore even towards the end of 17th century. This is evident from the fact that an English merchant who was wounded in an accident was taken to Portonovo for treatment under a Dutch doctor in 1685 A.D. The English did not believe in the indigenous doctors and medicine. The occupation of Cuddalore and Devanampatanam in
the end of 17th century and the increase of European population in Cuddalore induced them to open hospitals and dispensaries in Cuddalore, Devanampatnam, Tiruppapuliyur and Manjakuppam in the 18th century. The Europeans did not venture to come to India due to high mortality rate among Europeans due to Cholera and smallpox. The English might have thought of establishing hospitals at Cuddalore as it was one of the capitals of the English possessions on the Coramandal coast and for attracting more English and Indian merchants to Cuddalore to engage in cloth trade.

WATER SUPPLY

The water resources were found in tanks, lakes, rivers and wells. When the English came to Cuddalore they noticed the above mentioned resources for drinking, bathing and irrigation. The Fort St. David records gives us some information regarding water supply in Cuddalore.

A small brook from a certain tank called Dameradugo supplied drinking water to Tiruppapuliyur, Chellankuppam and other villages. Attempt was made to repair the banks of Condungy-maduga a spacious tank at Cuddalore. It was expected to contain a large quantity of water which could not be exhausted even by an extraordinary drought. The attempt to open new resources for water supply
implied the increase of population in Cuddalore. As regards population of Cuddalore in the 18th century, the development facilities such as water supply, construction of educational institutions, hospital and residential buildings can be taken as scales for measuring the increase of population as we are in want of census data during this period.

LIGHTING

The development of lighting facilities was also trade oriented. The lighting facilities were made in the towns of Cuddalore and Devanampatanam. Oil lamps and lantern were used. The mention in the records of oil godowns, candle glass, candles, lanthorn showed the poor lighting facilities available in those times. The lighting facilities in the port town of Cuddalore and Devanampatanam were increased. Import and export of goods, location of offices, hospitals and godowns, fort, port in the European sector of the town necessitated the development of lighting facilities in Cuddalore. Thus the development of lighting in Cuddalore in the 18th century might be linked with cloth trade.

TRANSPORTATION

Transportation has played a primary role in location of cities. As Charles H. Cooley observes, it is at
the mouths or key points of rivers, meeting points on hills and plains and other such areas that city formations appear. He adds that change of ownership also leads to the growth of a centre. 'When there is also a change of ownership with the possibility of temporary storage the centre grows by leaps and bounds with stevedores, warehouse-men, importers, exporters, merchants, money changers, accountants, secondary service personnel and many other forms and types. The great majority of the larger cities of the United States are located on navigable rivers. The lake ports are among the American cities experiencing most rapid growth: Chicago, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, and Milwaukee are some examples New York depends for its importance on its location at the juncture of both land and water terminals."

In India also, cities developed on account of their location on the river mouths, junction on hills and plains and near ports. The summer resorts such as Simla in the north, Kodaikanal and Ooty in the South developed as towns by virtue of their location on hills. Calcutta emerged into a town in the 18th century because of its location on the mouth of the river, Hugli. Bombay, Surat, Calicut and Cochin on the West coast, Visakapatnam, Masulipatnam, Madras, Pondicherry and Cuddalore on the Coramandal Coast gained importance as port towns due to their location.
A large number of towns were located on the plains. It may be observed that Cuddalore being situated on the mouth of the rivers Gadilam and Paravanar became significant in the 17th and the 18th centuries. The navigability of the river Gadilam, Paravanar and Pennayar enabled the growth of the town by facilitating transportation. The bars of the river Gadilam were constantly open and accommodated vessels of 100 tons of burden.36

Textile goods, food grains, timber, jute, iron and house-hold articles were brought from hinterland of Cuddalore - Trichinopoly, Thanjavur, Nagapatinam, Salem, Thiruvannamalai and Bangalore. Water ways were more convenient and safer than the land routes as highway robbery was common in those days. Bullocks, bullock carts and camels were chief mode of transport through land in the period preceding the introduction of railways towards the close of the 19th century in this region. Boats, ferries, catamaran and ships were important means of transportation of goods and men. The water ways and roads in and around Cuddalore were improved. The growth of transport facilities in the 18th century can be linked to military and cloth trade.
COMMUNICATION

Communication was in the beginning stage. Peons, soldiers, taliaries and messengers were employed for the purpose of communication. Generally Brahmins were employed as spies and messengers. Sometimes the messengers had to swim across the rivers where there were no bridges. Hence swimming was encouraged by the colonial rulers. Sometimes the peons lost their clothes while swimming across the river and were paid compensation. Money transactions were conducted through peons. The average amount paid for peons and servants towards the wages by Fort St. David administration varied between 221 and 278 pagodas per month from 1731 to 1741. The huge amount paid to the messengers indicated the volume of communication from the Fort St. David administration.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PORT AT CUDDALORE AND DEVANAMPATANAM

Devanampatnam and Cuddalore were historic ports of Tamil country. As Prof. Sinnappa Arasa-ratinam points out, Cuddalore in particular had a remarkable longevity and continuity as a port of trade. The strategic location of Cuddalore on the estuary of the Gadilam river, into which Paravanar flowed formed Cuddalore's backwaters, into which vessels could sail. According to Prof. Arasaratnam
Cuddalore was a wintering port for the merchant fleet of the area which could shelter inside the river and the backwaters in the monsoon season. Unlike other ports of the coast, it had developed as an urban settlement, with many brick buildings, a large population and services which a port offered. The boat building industry was carried on in Cuddalore along the sea shore and bars of the river Gadilam.

Sea borne trade was carried on to Malabar, Ceylon and South East Asia, from Devanampatanam. It was a flourishing port till the middle of the 17th century. But the port started declining towards the last quarter of the 17th century. The decline of the port of Devanampatanam might have been due to the fact that the branch of the river, Gadilam was shallow and silted at the river mouth. The advantageous position of the Cuddalore port, as stated earlier also led to the abandonment of Devanampatanam.

The number of ships and boats touching the port of Cuddalore per annum from 1731 to 1739 A.D. explain the significance of the port of Cuddalore. The average number of ships, sloops, boats and galley touched the port of Cuddalore per annum was 8341. These ships rested at Cuddalore for some time and departed to their respective destinations after fulfilling their needs. The coolies available at Cuddalore were engaged in loading and unloading of the goods into the ships or off the ships.
All ships and boats bound for inland ports and foreign ports touched Cuddalore. Ships from foreign countries such as France, Portugal, Holland, Pegue, Canton, East Indies, Sweeden, London, Manila, Marutius, Bantam, Bata via (Java), Mocha, Malacca, Maldives, Jaina, Acheen and Colombo passed through Cuddalore. In short, ships from European, Asian and South East Asian Countries sailed through Cuddalore port. Cuddalore was well connected with coastal towns such as Bengal, Masulipatanam, Madras, Pulicat, Sadraspatanam, Pondicherry, Portonovo, Tranquebar, Karaikal, Nagore, Nagapatanam, in the East coast, and Bombay, Surat, Goa, Dieu, Tellicherry, Calicut, Travancore, Anjengo in the West coast.

These ships carried a variety of goods. The various commodities that were imported into Cuddalore through land and sea were grain, piece goods, beetle nut, beetle leaves, indigo, greens and fruits, saltpetre, jaggary balls, tobacco, fire wood, butter, weighing goods, ginger, coracoids, pepper, callicoes, gingile seeds, jack-fruits, mangoes, salt, civet-cats, broad cloth, lamps, oil seeds, cotton and cotton threads and painting cloth. Besides these goods, these ships carried soldiers, merchants, arms and ammunition.
Thus the development of the port of Cuddalore resulted in the urbanization of Cuddalore in the 18th century by facilitating movements of men and materials. The growth of Cuddalore and Devanampatanam as military and port towns, rise of various industries associated with cloth trade and weaving, establishment of indigenous and colonial urban settlements in Cuddalore and Devanampatanam were the outcome of the cloth trade in the 18th century. Hence urbanization of Cuddalore in the 18th century can be attributed to cloth trade.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


2. ibid., p. 67


5. IOR G/14/1 cowle dated 1681, NA, New Delhi.


8. ibid., p. 156.


12. ibid., pp. 56-59.


16. ibid., p. 28

17. ibid., p. 28-29.

18. ibid., p. 64.

19. ibid., p. 63-64.


22. ibid., p. 27.


26. ibid., p. 62.


41. Records of Fort St. George, Fort St. David consultations (1731 to 1739 A.D.).