Urbanization and the Development of the Fort and Town.
CHAPTER VI

URBANIZATION OF PONDICHERRY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF
THE FORT AND TOWN-1673-1816

This chapter deals with the development of the fortifications and the town in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century in Pondicherry. The growth of Pondicherry required some additional actions of the government apart from administrative and economic endeavours. It provided more security measures through the construction of a city wall, the fort, ramparts, tower, enlargement of the defence contingent and the appointment of the police and the head of police. A considerable amount of the revenue was spent on the repairs and constructing additional public utility buildings, warehouses, storehouses, wells, ponds, tanks, chavadies and chatrams, bazaars, hospitals, gardens, houses and streets. The construction of those infrastructure facilities in Pondicherry, as well as trade and defence helped the urbanization of Pondicherry.

There was certain uniqueness in Pondicherry, as a colonial town. Before we probe into the details of Fort Barlong, Fort St.Louis, ramparts of the Eighteenth century, bastions, the town before and during Dupleix and the town after 1761, the development of the town deserves a brief analysis.

In Pondicherry, there was an Indian settlement, before the arrival of the French in 1673. Pondicherry emerged as a French colonial town from that settlement. It could be distinguished from neighbouring Tamil towns like Kanchipuram or Chidambaram, because, its location, right on the seashore was in sharp contrast with traditional Tamil towns, which were generally built inland. However, as a French town, Pondicherry was isolated from the whole development of the British towns. While other colonial towns like Madras or Bombay, gradually evolved into the present day metropolis, Pondicherry more or less kept the character of an 18th Century colonial town, which disappeared from most other colonial towns.

Before the arrival of the French, Pondicherry was more a village than a town. It was active in weaving and fishing. After a brief Portuguese presence in the 16th century, the first European building in Pondicherry seems to have been a house built by the Danes for
FORT BARLONG

9. Sketch
Fort BARLONG (1686-1706)

a. Chapel.
b. Convent.
c. House of François Martin.
d. First habitation of the capuchins.
e. The residence of officers.
f. Barracks.
g. Platform of the flag mast.
h. Gardens.
i. Well.
j. The church of the Malabars.
l. Platforms for the canons.
m. Brick houses.
n. Bazaar.
o. Well.

Source: Plan of R.F. Fauchez
NAI RCP. 6.557
8. Sketch
Settlement pattern in Pondicherry in 1706

1. Old fort.
2. New fort.
3. French quarters.
4. Capuchin Church.
5. Hospital.
6. Cuddalore Gate.
7. Weavers Quarters.
8. European Quarters.
9. Rue des Français.
10. Rue Saint Louis.
11. Ishwaran Temple.
12. Jesuit’s Church.
13. Indian settlement.

Source: Plan by R. F. Faucheux
NARCP P. 1:557.
2. Quarters for officers and soldiers, warehouse and a small church.
3. Lawlands =vegetable gardens.
5. Indian settlements.

Source: Plan of R.F. Faucheux
NAI RCP. f. 557.
commercial purpose (See ‘k’ of sketch 9, sketch of Fort Barlong)( see page 304a ) sometime during the 17th century. However, it was in disuse, when the French came there in 1673, which was one year after being offered the site for a commercial establishment.

Many new constructions came up between 1674 and 1691 to facilitate trade, defence and necessities of life. One of the buildings, which the French erected, was a small fort, Fort Barlong. (See sketch 9 and 8)(see page 304 a & b). It was not far from the sea. Its location determined the centre of the future colonial city. There were a few buildings, which provided quarters for officers and soldiers. A warehouse and a small church were also built. The warehouse helped cloth trade, because cloth was sorted and stored there. All of them were built inside a more or less rectangular brick wall. Some Frenchmen built single storey brick houses, not far from the fort. All were located on the dune, on a north-south line along the seacoast. On the west side, some fruit and vegetable gardens were established among low lands and swamps. The Indian town and bazaar were located to the west of those gardens. (See plan.1. Fig.1: Pondicherry around 1693. page 304c) (See sketch.7.Settlement pattern in Pondicherry around 1693. page 304d ). Other churches were built around 1690-91, when the European population was about 200.

Construction activities were stopped in 1693, when the Dutch occupied Pondicherry and resumed, when it was returned to the French in 1699. The earth rampart erected by the Dutch around the city was completed and strengthened. A new fort was built around the first one, on the plans drawn by Vauban, who drew for the Fort of Tournai. It was star shaped and was completed in 1706. (See plan 2.Fig: Pondicherry around 1706. page 304c).( See sketch.8. Settlement pattern in Pondicherry around 1706, and sketch.9. Fort Barlong, 1686- 1706 pages 304 b & a) The Capuchins built a new church, south of the Fort and along the coast. That area was developed into the French quarter, where several houses were built. The first street marked out was; the “Rue des Français” today Rue Dumas. The first city gate, ‘The gate of Cuddaloré opened on its western side. North of the fort, between the weavers quarters and the sea, another European quarter was progressively built up, along the present Rue Saint-Louis. On the North-west of the Fort, behind the gardens of the lowlands, the Jesuits built their church. They promoted a garden on the location of the present Cathedral, close to the Iswaran temple and Tamil quarter.
Extension of native and European settlements around 1740.

1. Fort.
2. French quarters.
3. French new quarters.
5. Ishwaran temple.
6. New south-west native quarters.
7. Hospital.
8. Ramparts.
10. Newly raised building sites.

Source: Plan of R.F. Faucheux, NAIRCP. b. 557.
11. SKETCH OF FORT

Source: Plan of R.F. Fauchaud
NAI RCP. 1.557

LOUIS (1706-1761)
PONDICHERRY
FORT LOUIS AND THE CONSTRUCTIONS (1706 - 1761)
A. Royal gate.
B. Dauphine gate.
C. Dauphine Bastion.
D. Bourgogne Bastion.
E. Bretagne Bastion.
F. Company Bastion
G. Berry Bastion.
H. Chapel.
I. Governor House.
J. Offices.
K. Warehouses.
L. Guard House and Prison.
M. Barracks.
N. Flag stage.
O. Mansion of the company.
P. House of Dupliex
Q. Capuchins’ church.
S. Capuchins’ convent
X. Grave yard
T. Maraine gate
U. Customs house
Z. Customs office(after 1761)

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305d
Fig. 9: Government palace, Pondicherry, built 1738-1752, destroyed 1761.
The most active building period was between 1725 and 1754 which gave impotance to defence, cloth trade and the development of a planned town. Priority was given to fortifying rampart, fort and the storehouses during 1724-1735, which fortified the city and which enclosed the new south-west quarter, with European gardens and Indian Houses (See plan 3. Fig.3: Pondicherry around 1740 page 305a). (See sketch.10. Extension of Native and European settlements around 1740 page 305b.) (See sketch 11. Sketch of Fort Louis (1706-1761. page 305 c & d ) For the city, the grid system was implemented during that time – straight streets were open, intersecting at right angle and bordered by trees. The opening of the two main streets involved evictions and rebuilding of several houses, mostly Indian. Those new streets today are called as Mahatma Gandhi Road and Jawaharlal Nehru Street. Town development ordinances were compulsory for building every new house, whose site had to be clearly marked by surveyors. The government ordered destruction of houses for encroachments or defective alignment. By 1754, the street plan was almost the same as today. The population reached 1,00,000 around 1730.

A moat development was undertaken around the city-fortification-wall. The earth that was dug out was used to fill the marsh and lowland on the west of the fort. Those newly filled lands provided new building-sites, which were allocated to compensate the Indians, whose huts, outside the city, had been destroyed to dig the moat. Public buildings, schools, churches, hospital and the mint, were built in the south quarters. The Governor’s palace was erected inside the fort between 1730 and 1752. It was an impressive two-storey building, which was richly decorated and furnished.(See Figures: 4. plan and elevation of the Government house. 5. Section and back elevation of the Government house. 6. Fig.9: Government palace, Pondicherry, built during 1738-1752, destroyed in 1761. page 305 e)

The English took Pondicherry after a four-month siege in 1761. In retaliation for the capture of Madras by the French in 1746, the town was destroyed. The walls of the Indian houses were generally kept standing. Reconstruction began after the return of Pondicherry to the French in 1765. Many were rebuilt exactly on the same location and on the same plan, since it was easier to re-use the previous foundations and wall bases. The government prohibited felling of trees, took care to respect the street pattern and
alignments, and to improve them whenever possible. The canal between the Indian and the French towns was begun then, but completed only around 1788. Since the fort was not reconstructed, a large area was vacated in the centre of the Government Square. Similarly, tree-lined boulevards were set up around the city, on the site of the former ramparts. Public buildings included the new Government House, today Raj Nivas, which was built in 1766-69, and the court that was built around 1788. They were mostly Indian. The city gates, markets, barrack and warehouses were also built.

The reconstruction, however, came to a stop, when the British occupied Pondicherry again from 1778 to 1783, and then from 1793 to 1816. Many buildings of the present Pondicherry were completed, built or rebuilt during the 19th century (See plan 4. Fig.4. Podicherry around 1880. page 305 a ) For instance the light house in 1836, the present Municipal office, originally the upper court, in 1870 and several churches, together with modern facilities, like drinking water supply to the city in 1863, or the railway link with the British India net work in 1879. The town developed gradually with its fort, bastions, rampart, port, public and private buildings, hospital, warehouses, tanks, streets and other infrastructure facilities till 1761. However, after 1816, the French had to redo most of the town building works to maintain its status as a colonial town.

6.1. THE PERIOD OF FORT ST. LOUIS AND URBANIZATION.

This part traces the development of Fort St.Louis, houses of the French, warehouses, cloth painters' workshop, weavers workpettai, church and ramparts which were built during the period of François Martin and which helped the urbanization of Pondicherry.

At the beginning of 17th Century, the Danes settled in India, at first in Tranquebar towards 1618 and then at Pondicherry to trade in the business of cloth. There was no certainty on the date of their arrival to Pondicherry, nor on that of their departure. Their presence is formally certified by the memories of François Martin. "The Danes had established there; there was the remains of a house constructed by them. One does not know the reasons, which made them, go back".
The first reference about Pondicherry was on the map of Samson d’Abbe Ville dated 1654 by the name ‘Pudecheira’. The most ancient author, who spoke about it, was the Dutch Gautier Shouten, who cites ‘Poule Cerè’.  

Martin acquired village Kalapet. It contained the native population, who worked for the factory. The whole formed a sort of town, which was at first called by the natives “Philcheru.” According to Brownès Carnatic Chronology, the native historians of those times and the times that were to follow, invariably write of the French settlement as ‘Phuljari’.  

Even before the arrival of François Martin, Pondicherry was a famous cloth centre and it also had a good port. The English records mention that the Pindaries, after the capture of Gingee, had plundered the cloth port of Pondicherry in 1648. Madam Y.R. Gaebele, the memoirs of François Martin and the researches of Jouveau Dubreuil point out that Pondicherry was a town of considerable importance even before the arrival of François Martin. François Martin founded that position of the town, where the Europeans lived. However, this was a controversial issue.

The French found some minimum requirements in Pondicherry thanks to the Danes. L’Espinay found a house, which was fairly agreeable. It was the house of the Danes. It was necessary for Europeans to live, to gather the mercantile goods and to defend in case of attack. The little shrine dedicated to ‘Manakula Vinayakar’ existed even at the time of the arrival of the French in Pondicherry in 1673.

François Martin lived in the house of the Dutch, where Bellanger de l’Espinay had resided during his stay at Pondicherry. According to his own information, that house was situated at fifty feet to the south of the Fort that he constructed. Its direction was East-West.

François Martin developed Pondicherry into a Fort town. He made a lot of efforts to build Fort (St.Louis) and defended the interests of the French. The Fort was built at 400 metres from the sea in bricks covered with lime. It had the form of lopsided very irregular square, with its four round towers. The biggest side was parallel to the sea. It was guarded only on one side, i.e. on the North, where it had a regular tower. The tower, in the fort, was constructed in 1676. After sometime, François Martin dug some ditches before the wall, and built the support wall. According to Challes, “the one, who had
PONDICHÉRY EN 1690
D'APRÈS UN PLAN DU R. F. FAUCHLUX
PLAN de la VILLE et de la FORTERESSE de PONDICHÉRY en 1683

3. Pondicherry.
constructed it, had little knowledge in fortification and in engineering.” Malleson shares this view. Pouchot de Chantessin also found that the wall and the position did not seem to be strong. 9

The period between 1675 and 1679 witnessed increase in the construction of houses, storerooms, cloth painters’ workshop and weavers settlement. Intensive construction works of the company continued in 1675. Therefore, workers were guaranteed work for one year. From September 1675, François Martin took a lease of Paakamudianpet. In January 1677, there were already 40 newly constructed houses. From September 1678 to Easter 1679, people worked day and night in the constructions. In order to attract the workers there, they were offered one year Franchise. 10 The painters attracted by François Martin, worked in a place quite big to make ‘chites’, a sort of cloth. The village of weavers was formed.11 (see sketch 9 page 304 a )

It seems that the natives took steps to arrest the growth of the French power in Pondicherry, but failed. On the north side, a small-detached tower was built in 1676. Towards 1688, a second tower was built on the land belonging to the Capuchins. Brahmins in Pondicherry influenced the Maratha ruler, not to allow the French to have their trade and fort in Pondicherry. However, they did not succeed. The French secured permission by paying money. The wall on the side of the land, i.e. on the west was completed in 1688. By the Firman of 1689, the French were authorized to fortify Pondicherry. However, due to the interference of the Brahmins, the works had to be stopped. The French paid 5000 chakras to the Maratha authority to secure the right to resume work. 12 In 1691, François Martin renovated the north side of the wall and constructed a half circle in the wall of the fort. (See plan: 6. Pondicherry in 1690 ( by R.F.FAUCHEUX) Plan of the town. Page 308 a )

The French signed an accord with Sher Khan Lodi on 9th January 1689 and gave a gift of 500 chakras to obtain a firman. According to that permission, the French had the liberty to close the walls of the town, with four towers at four angles. The height was predetermined. The works were completed in nine months, in October 1689. The total expenditure was 45,297 rupees (68000 livres). In fact, it was not a regular fortification, but it assured safety from the English and from an attack of troops of native princes. 13 (See plan; 5. Plan of the town and fortress of Pondicherry in 1688. page 308 b)
When the Dutch occupied Pondicherry in 1693, they demolished the church of the Jesuits, considered to be dangerous for the security of the fort. The French repaired the breaches caused by the Dutch to the fort and built round it a false wall to increase the force of resistance. A round path was laid in between the wall and the ditch. They surrounded the native town by a wall. They thought that that wall would defend them against the raids of the Muslims. That wall was stuffed with mud and stone. Hedge and thorns were cultivated on its sides, to cover the soldiers, who were guarding the fort. However, that ditch was neither broad nor deep to prevent the soldiers from entering it. 14

François Martin expressed the necessity to construct the wall to protect the French settlements, and especially to attract the natives there and make it a proper town. 15 It became important to defend Pondicherry, not only from the attack of the Muslims, but to resist the European forces as well. Martin made efforts to chase out the runners of Valudavur and Pillagers, who had stolen 300 oxen of the people of Pondicherry on 17th November 1699. 16 Hence, security became obligatory.

Martin employed company servants, created the Society of Merchants and promoted the weavers community. He made Pondicherry a production and collection centre of clothes. Nevertheless, when the Dutch captured Pondicherry, the native merchants, who were then working under the Company, dispersed. They owed to him some money since 1693 and it was not easy to bring them back to Pondicherry. It was only in September 1699 that a certain number of people decided to enter the service of the Company and a society of merchants was formed, after the departure of the Dutch. The town then had in it 500 weavers. 17

Martin gained the confidence of the natives and princes. 18 The development of the town was very quick between 1697-98. In a little more than a year, a hundred new houses had been erected. A person, who had seen Pondicherry in 1693, would not have recognized it in 1698. 19

When the war with the Dutch was over in 1699, trade gained importance. François Martin got constructed some storerooms. He made the employees of the manufacture of cloth painting to work under cover. The second building was the Bastion and it was quite symbolic. Mostly, the French were employed. At every stage, Martin struggled to extend
constructions due to Indian rulers pressure. François Martin obtained from Sherkhan Lody, the right to raise a sort of Bastion to the north of the house.  

The fort comprised 32 small rooms of canons. Martin installed a raised platform in the center of the fort carrying the flag mast and four canons of 10 pounds. He also built, on the East of the Fort, on the seashore, a new battery of 18 canons of 18 pounds. It was more for parade than for defense.

Between 1699 and 1702, besides the construction of the fort, François Martin put up buildings for the French to live, hospital, mainly for the soldiers and storehouses to help trade and commerce. Giving details of the interior of the fort is difficult. The buildings there were incomplete in 1689. Nevertheless, the directors, Officers and the troops lived there. The Capuchins were also living there. They officiated in the chapel, meant for the Europeans. According to the plan of Nyon of 1702, some warehouses and a well were situated near the gate of the Hospital.

The European town started emerging along the seashore. The fort was not the whole house, but it was only its fortified centre. There were some buildings near it. Some houses of French men were around the Fort. They were built with one floor with lime coating. Those houses were found especially along the shore. On an old map, one could count 14 of them. (see sketch 9 page 304 a)

Martin completed the construction of Fort Louis, which ensured security, shelter, strong administration, godowns, employment for thousands of building constructors, producers and traders of cloth and transformation into a fortified French colonial town. Besides the towers on the landside, South East and North East, the Fort contained several arched godowns. Nine of them were on the South East. Money was not lacking at the beginning of 1705. The name of the King was given to the Fort – Fort St. Louis. (See plan 7. Plan of Pondicherry at the Coromandal coast in 1705. page 310a)

The formation of the Tamil locality was not preplanned and it comprised poor quality houses. There was the bazaar and the Tuesday special bazaar. The houses of the Tamils were scattered, without any order or alignment. They were built by moist mud supported by pieces of branches mixed with them. The houses formed from East to West a street leading to bazaar. Shops, where the Tamil used to sell tobacco, pipes, sugar, onions, and other things, surrounded that street.
To the south east of the Fort, near to the sea, the Capuchins, the first Missionaries, possessed a small Church. It was in a piece of land surrounded by a wall. It had a garden with flowers, to decorate the church. The temple priests used to surround their temples by a garden with the same intention. Fr. Felix had constructed Capuchin church in 1688, with the funds given as a Souvenir for his conversion of Tamils, by Lazare de Motta, Interpreter of the Company. It was called as Malabar (Tamil) Church and sometimes also St. Lazare Church. (see sketch 9 page 304 a) Besides, they had land to the North of the Fort. They tried to build a new church and a convent with accommodation. Father Esprit was the author of the work. That church was situated on the north of the Fort.

In the development process, the construction of the Fort was given priority. François Martin felt that the new church might disturb the fort, so, he stopped those works and recommended the land be used for the erection of a tower. A graveyard was near to that tower.

The Royal door was opened between the ‘Bastions Bretagnè and the Bastion de la Compagniè. Arched ‘shops’ were constructed. ‘Shops’ were the storehouses. Gunpowder and bullets were stored there. All those fortifications were furnished with a large number of artillery. The Fort cost 183,983 rupees or 275,000 livres.

The construction of the fort was almost completed in September 1701. It was inaugurated in June 1702. On 8th June, François Martin christened the first tower constructed on the west as Bastion Dauphin. The first work was completed in the beginning of 1703. The second tower on the southern side was constructed along with the fortified curtain in the same year, from April to September. The second tower was named Bastion Bourgogne. A path covered with barricaded parapet surrounded the whole fort.

In February 1704 the tower on the north side, along with the semi-circle was undertaken to cover the fortified curtain of that tower and of Dauphin tower. It was the only side, which was still vulnerable. The three towers had the ditches, which could be easily filled up by six feet of water, thanks to the proximity of Oupar. The third tower was named as Bastion de Berry. Two provisional towers were constructed. When the works were finished, the old fort, Fort Barlong, which was inside, was demolished.
PONDICHERY IN 1754 (PLAN OF R. F. FAUCHEUX)

XI.—PONDICHÉRY EN 1754

D’APRÈS UN PLAN DU R. F. FAUCHEUX
The two last towers, the one in the southern side was constructed from May to October 1705, the other in the north was completed in May 1706. The first carried the name Philip D’Anjou. The fourth tower was named as Bastion de Bretagne. That tower of the fort was named as “Bastion de la Compagnie.”

François Martin obtained from the Muslims the village Kalapet, whose forests furnished the necessary wood for construction. He installed a big warehouse and a hospital, and made the provision for rice and salted mutton.

The first Catholic chapel was constructed in Ariyankuppam in 1690. The Chapel was called “Our lady of Conception.” It was built by the donation of a rich Hindu convert Tanappa Mudaliar. The architect of the chapel was a catholic Bishop of the Syrian rite, who, a little later, handed over the chapel to the Jesuit priests.23

The church of the Jesuits was constructed in 1692. Following that, the house for the priests was built. In April 1691 François Martin laid the foundation stone of their church situated at 500 feet to the west of the fort. The first mass was celebrated there on 15th August 1692. 24

The external circumstances did not help Pondicherry to have bright scope of business. However, a fort and the town helped business and population. A French fort town was born. 25 (See plan.8. Pondicherry in 1706 (R.F.FAUCHEUX) page 312 a)

The houses of the Europeans increased in number in 1706. Following the Italian pattern of flat roof, those houses were built of bricks, and white washed by shell lime. During the time of François Martin, Pondicherry became an agreeable town. He built the new citadel.26

Thanks to a plan of Ministry of Colonies of 1690 and the excavations of Jouveau Dubreuil, which laid open the entrance of the fort of 1705, we could situate Pondicherry of 1690. The Fort of 1690 had the same center that of second one, which encircled it. (see sketch 8 page 304 b ) The door of that first fort was in alignment, but in the exact extension of the door, which was excavated. The first fort covered, from East to West, the area between Suffren Street, and the former Mint street, and, from South to North, the half of the land of the United Commercial Bank and one-third of the public square of the Governor House. (see photos 1,2 & 18 pages 312 a & b ) One of the significant features of the seashore was the presence of two wells, which were about 100 feet from the Coast.
One of those wells was found on the quay opposite to the treasury and the other was adjoining to the house, which faced the South East corner of the present Town Hall.

Due to the lack of time and money, Martin maintained only the moat and the hedge, which was laid out by the Dutch. He also preserved the eleven small towers that defended the fortress. The total expenditure to maintain those small towers from 1699 to 1710 was only 8,622(ecus). 1 ecu was equal to 3 ancient francs. There were criticisms against the construction of the fort. Herbert felt that it was needless, because the Mughul rulers would never help a European nation to attack another fort on its lands. François Martin did not surround the town with a good wall, which would have costed 25,000 ecus. Nevertheless, there was a different view. François Martin was right in preventing the repetition of the events of 1693. He found that the surrounding wall would be insufficient against the attack of the Europeans. He established the security that the fort ensured to the town. He initiated the development of the town that the fort protected. 27. The construction of Fort Louis seems to be the work of far sightedness. François Martin founded the Fort within thirty years of the French settlement on the Coramandel coast. Then he transformed it into a strong French town. 28

Let us situate the town. There was an important landmark, the fort, which was the heart of the city. It was at that time the centre and source of energy. Thanks to the works of Jouveau Dubreuil, it was easy for one to determine its location. It was destroyed in 1761. The remains of the fort, like all other forts at Vauban, were buried, except all the walls above the ground. Guided by some old maps, Juveau Debreuil could bring to light, in 1929, that on the southern side of Government Public square, was the gate of the Fort or 'PorteRoyalè. It was through that gate that all men, François Martin, Dupleix, Bussy, and Lally Tollendal had passed from 1702 to 1761. The base of the drawbridge of the big gate of the Sally Port was at the right.

The fort was a regular pentagon measuring 450 toises of circumference. (1 toise = 1 m.95cm) Each side was separated from its two others by 90 toises. The Royal Gate was found opposite to the sea in between the two towers of Bretagne and Compagnie. (see sketch 11. page 305c & d )

It was relatively easy to determine the location of the features of the fort. It stretched from North to South, from the fountain of the Government Public Square to the street of
Rue de la Caserne, and from East to West from the Rue de Capuchin to the canal. It explains that the constructions grouped in that location The Hospital, Court, Bank of Indo China were relatively recent, because, they could have been constructed after the destruction of 1761. After the destruction, there was immense free space.

Bastion Dauphin was in the axis of the Royal Gate; behind the Hospital, in the canal. Bastion Bourgogne was in the south of the first one; in the garden of the Protestants church. Bastion Berry was to the North of the first one; in between the two gates of garden and court. Bastion Bretagne was to the south of the Royal Gate near the door of the Barracks, Capuchin Street. Bastion de la Compagnie was to the North of Royal Gate in between the fountain and the former place of the statue of Dupleix.

In between the Bastion Dauphin and Berry, the Dauphin gate was opened. The river Oupar, which was nearer to Bourgogne Bastion, helped to fill up the moat. In the basement of the Royal Gate at the North, there were some shops to stock provisions and gunpowder. To the south, adjoining to the prison, there was a regiment, to which the spiral staircase ended, and other shops for provisions. The basement of Dauphine gate was used in the same way. In between the Bastions Dauphin and Berry, a pigeon house was built.

The southeast tower of the fort was maintained to hoist the flag. Suffren Street gives us the situation of that part of the town. It was then named as Rue De Pavilion, because the street was facing the tower. The small Northwest Bastion had been reserved and served as prison.

The interior of the fort consisted of the small lopsided fort and its buildings. As and when it became necessary, reconstructions were done. Therefore, it is very difficult to reconstitute the details of it, because it was in continuous development. However, the main works undertaken were as follows. Some arched storehouses near the Royal gate were constructed. At the same time, defensive works took place. In 1703, François Martin built some barracks to shelter the new recruits. All those lead us to believe that the apartments were more or less the same as in 1690. We could not furnish exact details on Government house, which was on the NorthEast, the barracks in between Bastion Dauphine and Bastion Berry and the offices facing the Royal gate.
The St. Louis Chapel, which was constructed by Rev. Father Louis, a Capuchin was found on the East-west axis of the fort, facing the Royal Gate. It was situated on the same location of lopsided fort and its situation was very near to the small chapel, which was formed in the Colonial Hospital. Therefore, that chapel was one of the places in Pondicherry, which was the place of worship of the French, right from the beginning. The officers of the company and the garrison were lodged in the fort.

The king’s feast was on 26th August 1705. Port Louis was inaugurated on that day. The revenue of the government diminished at the completion of the fort. The Fort was neglected for about 15 years for want of revenue. There was no much progress from 1706 to 1721. The main area of improvement of the town from 1721 was the construction of fortifications.

6.2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PONDICERRY AND URBANIZATION AFTER FRANCOIS MARTIN AND BEFORE DUPLEIX.

During this period, Governors like Lenoir and Dumas built the necessities of the town such as: the well-laid streets, well built brick houses, the military barraks, granary for grains, new storehouses for provisions and gun powder, grave yard, two main roads, pess for bales of cloth, the bridge, arched hall, cloth godown and gunpowder godown, shelter for the port workers, the mint, native court, prison cells, gun powder grinding unit, houses for higher officials, churches and the promotion of the SouthWest district. These additions improved the textile-trade infrastructure facilities of the company, the requirements of the life of the people of the town and helped the urbanization of Pondicherry. (see sketch 11. page 305 c & d)

There was no mentionable development in the town after Martin and before Governor Lenoir. During the period of the Governor Lenoir from 1721 to 1735 construction of the town was resumed. The well-laid streets, well built brick houses, the promotion of the SouthWest district, influx and increase of merchant and artisan population featured the period of Lenoir. Lenoir got built a defensive wall. He designed the streets cutting at right angles, which reminds one of the new towns built in the Languedoc after the war of the Albigoeis. The wall extended to the south of the Oupar and permitted the creation of a new southwest district. The population, at that time, reached the figure of 100,000
The administration under Lenoir helped the planned development of the town. It preserved the alignment to maintain the beauty of the town, and laid out streets as a natural extension to the old plan. Pondicherry was a pre-planned geometrical town, whose streets intersected at right angles. Frelle in his account in 1735 commented that Pondicherry was beautiful having trees on either side of the streets, well laid straight at right angles. The constructions were made near Barlong Fort. The priest Guyon observes that the Governors gave full attention to specify the land to each individual, who asked for permission and directed them how to build.

The administration seems to have been concerned about the food preservation facilities to feed the urban population. In 1722 the wall of the old fortress and the old buildings were demolished, in order to get space, to construct two storehouses and two military barracks near the Royal Gate. The first floor of the military barracks was used as a granary to preserve paddy and wheat for one year. A construction was made to dump the utensils, and the things of the soldiers behind the wall of the barracks. In 1724, the moat was cleaned. Many old constructions, near the new fort, were seen on the glacis. For about 100 toise, the administration demolished the old construction and created space, so that the glacis became free. The Grave Yard of the French, which was in the Northern Glacis, was then transferred to the enclosure of the Capuchins. This was due to the decree of 15th November 1726 of Superior Council. The Grave Yard of the Malabar was installed near the fort, surrounded by a brick wall. In order to clear the southern side in 1728, the Capuchins were asked to demolish the church of the Malabar, which was 'Eglise Saint Lazarè'.

The construction of the churches was another significant feature of the development of the town. The Missionaries of Foreign Fathers and the Jesuits were those, who had their churches built for them. The Church of Foreign Missions was completed, thanks to the money of Armenian Coja in the street of grand bazaar in 1723. It was constructed on a land, which had been given to the missionaries by a Lady Pouchiammalle in 1720.

In 1728, the Jesuits built their church in the Fort; it was very small and they desired to construct another church. The new church was almost at hundred and ten toise from the
citadel and did not have more than fifty feet of elevation. This third church of the Jesuits was founded on the location of the present Cathedral.  

When the French administration put up buildings in any quarters of the town, including the South West quarters, they never failed to build storehouses for the provisions and gunpowder. The administration laid out two main roads of the town. They were from North to South, the Street of Madras of 100 toise of length long that was half Parisian league, from East to West the street of Vazhudavur and then Dupleix Street, now Jawaharlal Nehru Street. They crossed the middle of the town. According to Priest Guyon, the houses in those streets were all over. They started constructing some storehouses in the new South quarters to preserve provisions and powder. A new street leaving was built from the old gate of Cuddalore towards the south esplanade, which was the space separating the citadel of the fortress and the town. Pondicherry resembled Paris. It was proverbial that one who has seen the golden Goa need not see Lisbon. Likewise, one, who had seen Pondicherry, need not see Paris. 

Most of the constructions completed in this period were to improve either security or the textile-trade-infrastructure of the Company. The building of the Press for bales and the construction of the bridge improved the infrastructure of the company. Some of the buildings were the arched Hall, new storehouses of the fort and the Press. In 1726, the Bridge of the Royal gate was rebuilt. In the fort an arched Hall measuring 72 feet of length and 23 feet breadth and 16 feet height, was finished in 1729. In this warehouse, the goods of the ship - gold, and silver - and cloths, which were produced, were stored, sorted and packed. It cost one thousand pagodas. In the Fort, a new arrangement was made, to the old storehouses that were not constructed well by Delarche. They were transformed into prisons, while a new storehouse was constructed to preserve gold and silver materials, with a room for the guard officer. A ‘press’ for the ‘bales’ was installed in the annex of Bastion de Bretagne. Hence, it is evident that the directors of the Company were concerned with the development of trade.

A small shelter for the port workers, a native Court and prison cells were also built in 1729. The contribution of the port laborers was considered precious for trade, so that their interests were taken into account. Establishment of prison rooms too, gained importance in the Company’s administration for the obvious reason, that enforcing law
and order in the alien land was important for the government. For the protection of the workers, who loaded and unloaded the merchandise from the ship, a thatched roof had been built on the seashore, in front of the fort. Then tiles replaced the thatched roof. A court for the natives made on the plan of the Father Louis was built at the grand bazaar. Completed in 1729, it cost 652 pagodas. They rendered justice in that building to the natives. Besides it, there was a house and some arched prisons. 39

A Wind Mill, was made in this urban center to prepare gunpowder and oil. The Wind Mill helped the Company to improve the defence potential. The Gun Powder used in canons and guns, was produced in the Wind Mill. In 1730, a Wind Mill was reconstructed in bricks. The Canon Master, Canhan, directed and supervised the Wind Mill, which was similar to oil Wind Mills, operating on five pestles. Sixteen workers and six oxen were employed there and its daily out-put was hundred pounds of powder. Its construction cost 1600 pagodas.

The Company had a lot of members in its bureaucracy, ranging from the Governor to the ordinary clerks. As the Company, unable to provide houses for them, it gave them the house-compensation allowance. They rented the houses of the Tamils. Besides that, the Company encouraged public and private entrepreneurs to build brick houses. The French, who were used to the cold climate of temperate zone, found it very difficult to live in Pondicherry’s tropical climate. Hence, French Governors like Lenoir insisted on the construction of the double storyed and high roofed tiled buildings. The French encouraged the construction of houses of raised roofs. When the works for immediate necessities, undertaken in the fort in 1728, were completed, two big bodies of buildings for living and for offices were also built.

Until the period of Lenoir, there was no adequate building, which was subject to serve as the living place for the higher officials in the fort. In the town there was only one house meant to lodge ‘the second’ to the Governor, which belonged to the company. Therefore, it was necessary to give to the councilors and the captain, who were all married, a housing allowance of three pagodas a month. For the clerks and other employees, it was two pagodas a month. According to La Farelle, Lenoir imposed on the native people, who used to construct their houses with mud and wood, an order to construct them only in bricks and cover them only in tiles. Therefore, the Tamils built
tiled houses in the period of Lenoir. They satisfied the requirements of the French Government. He himself built three of them and then he sold it to third parties. He authorised French persons, of whom some were rich and well settled, to build their houses with two storeys. They built such houses. Thus, Pondicherry had some houses, which were more elevated than those of many towns in the Province.40

The French Company was very particular to eliminate the ownership of property by any European in Pondicherry. The company saw to it that it maintained its monopoly of property in Pondicherry. It bought from 'Seigneur Maurè a garden situated in a place called 'Miravali, to prevent a foreigner to be the owner of a property at Pondicherry. It bought another property at Ouzhugarai that was used later as the house of relaxation. 41

The administration, while minding the fort contructions, concentrated on the building of provision warehouses, to feed the urban population in general and the army in particular. Building the fortifications involved tax burden on the people of Pondicherry. From 1724 to 1727, 420 toise of wall was constructed on the northern side. Those first works cost 3900 pagodas, of which 974 Pagodas came from taxes on the Indians, 1900 pagodas from the treasury of the company, 122 pagodas from fines and 703 pagodas from advances made to the brick makers. The Company built barracks, of which the second floor served as rice storehouse. It also built a customs office and some marine warehouses on the seashore. 42

The works of the surrounding wall and the gunpowder godown were carried out in 1727. The Topas soldiers were considered inferior to European soldiers. Topas were the people of Euro-Indian origin. Hence, they were kept and maintained separately. A bastion was built in 1728. It cost 400 pagodas. Engineer Deydier directed the works of that year. Several rooms were provided inside the fort to accommodate soldiers and materials. In 1728, 172 toise of wall, protection cells, one for the European soldiers, one for the Topas soldiers and a room for the officers, were constructed by engineer Deydier. The ramparts were extended on the East. Under the inclined wall, three underground small rooms were built. On the southern side from the East 60 toise of wall was constructed.

The infrastructure of the Fort and Town was improved by building protection cells, room for Gunpowder, a kitchen and a prison. For the security of the town, the height of the walls was raised and protection cells and storerooms were added. In 1729, on the
southern side, 217 toise of wall of nine feet height and a gate flanked with two semi-
Bastion with two protection cells – one for the French, another for Topas - and under the
inclined wall, a room for gun powder, a kitchen, a water outlet and a prison were
constructed. Here also we see that separate portion was allotted for Topas. However,
from 1725 onwards the French people did not pay tax for fortifications. In 1728, the
natives stopped contribution of tax for fortification. The natives had been paying tax for
three more years even after the French had stopped paying. Therefore, one fourth of the
expenditure was met out of the tax collected on the exit and entry of the gates. For that
purpose, the tax was raised. It was reduced in July 1735, because it affected the trade of
cloth and other goods. 43

In 1729, the administration equipped the town with a few more buildings, such as, a
cloth godown, a new court, a tiled-shed on the beach and a new prison, which helped
trade, administration and maintenance of law and order. Deydier built in the port an
Arched Hall, which was the cloth godown and which cost 1,000 pagodas. The
administration built a new court for 652 pagodas, a shelter covered with tiles on the sea
shore and a new prison, which was more over an extension of the old warehouse of
materials. The Arched Hall and the Court were completed only in 1729. The same year
the surrounding wall was extended on the southern side to a length of 217 toises. The
expenses went upto 5,773 pagodas. The Arched Hall was used for the inspection of
merchandise and the shelter was to house the employees of navigation and to dump the
merchandise.

At times defence required destructions of buildings. The council destroyed St. Lazar
Church, since it was so near to the fortress. The graveyard, which was installed on the
glacis of the fort itself, was transferred. There was slum clearance programme between
1726 and 1730. However, it was not done to help the natives. It seems that all the huts,
which were around the St. Lazar church and the graveyard, were cleared, for defence
purposes. 44

The fortifications consisted of the following Bastions: starting from the sea shore of
the north; the Bastions St.Louis d ‘Anjou and d’Orleans’, then the two of the Madras
gate, the North west bastion, the Bastion St. Joseph and the two Bastions of the gate of
Valudavur. At the top of Oupar, Bastion Sans Peur, at the gate of Villianur, the Bastion
de la Reine, and at the old Cuddalore gate, Bastion of small artillery room. Finally, at the south was the Bastion St. Laurent. Lenoir took charge of reconstructing it. 45

According to Farell Pondicherry contained one-lakh inhabitants in 1730. Certain people believe that during Lenoir's time the name of 'Poudhu chery', 'the new town' may have become a common usage, denoting the transformation of the town. It may be a coincidence also. 46

Dumas completed the fortification works between 1735 and 1741. His Government from 1735 to 1742, was marked by the construction of the hospital in the district of the southwest. He also built the mint, in the site of the public works department, and began the magnificent Government House inside the fort. 47. (See plan: 9. Plan of the town of Pondicherry 1740-1741 page 321a). (Tome.III No.35.) The belfry of the Capuchins of 1739 and the house of Ananda Ranga Pillai were among the rare constructions of the period. The influence of French culture in the style of architecture in Pondicherry was significant. The buildings in the white town were constructed according to the Roman style with balconies.48 Later the style was followed by the rich Tamils, like Ananda Ranga Pillai.

The French administration did not build a spacious and permanent Governor's House until 1730. It found that the political and economical environment were in their favour from 1730. However, the foundation works of the Governor's House were begun only from 1738 onwards. During the construction of the new Governor's House, the house of Fevrier, which was big enough, was rented for 240 pagodas per month to serve as the Governor's house. Later it became an office, for the deliberations of the council, offices of the secretariat and Register's office. Hence, the head quarters of the office of the French functioned in a rented house in 1738.

The Company took care of the hygiene of the French people and the Fort environment in 1738. New halls and rooms were put up in the following year to cope with the growing cloth trade. Plenty of trees were planted in the town. The important Cuddalore gate bridge, to link two parts of the town, was built. Trees were planted in the avenue of the Governor's house. The administration took up the cleaning of the latrines and the ditches of the fort, the repairing of the Vazhudavur road in 1738. Six halls at the Madras gate and a new room for clothes, behind the old one, were constructed in 1739. The old ones
had fallen down. Trees were planted for two thousand feet all along the avenues. This was a big change in the environment of the town. In order to receive high Muslim dignitaries, the company acquired a garden in 1739. It was situated on the west of the Fort, 73 toise East-West and 50 toise North-South, with quite a beautiful house, which had in its enclosure, kitchen, poultry-yard, stable and other conveniences. It cost 5000 pagodas and was rented for 1200 pagodas. Since there were beautiful trees on either side, the garden served for public's evening walk. This feature in the life of the French was new to Pondicherry.

The construction of a mint was completed in 1738. Governor Dumas built it outside the Fort. The infrastructure facilities of the Government were installed gradually outside the Fort. There was only a small area of land in the fort. Due to the problem of smoke and drugs, from the melting of materials, a mint could not be constructed in the fort. It was built near the old gate of Cuddalore based on the plans of Father Louis. That plan is preserved in the archives of the Marine. It shows the entrance and its interior dispositions, such as, a big control building and three long galleries. The mint was completed in September 1738. It cost 5500 pagodas. It was situated on the land between Rue de l'Eveche and Rue de Bussy, Oupar and Rue de la Monnaie or in the present locality of old government press and public works department.

The existing minting establishment became inadequate for the quantum of work. The company decided to erect a new building. The place chosen for the new building was near the Cuddalore gate. The building itself came to be known as the 'Hotel de la Monnaïè, the mint. An adjacent plot of ground was bought, to erect quarters for the goldsmiths and the other workers in the mint. 49

There were the temples dedicated to Shiva, Pillaiar and Vishnu. (see photos 8, 9 & 10 pages 307b & 322b). The Muslims were established in the south east of the square around the venerable tomb of Maula Sahib. 50

The administration completed the construction of a hospital, one of the necessities of the town, in the South West quarter in 1739. Its construction in the garden, which belonged to the company, was undertaken in 1734. The project was conceived in 1732 and a plan laid out at Pondicherry in 1733. Finally, Father Louis took up the project. The doors and windows were fixed in 1739. The plan of the hospital exists at the
archieves of Pondicherry. Bordering the hospital, there was a long garden. That was the first botanical garden of Pondicherry. The hospital was founded in the location of the church, which is now present near the Railway Station. A swamp, which was found on the old maps, explains that there was a depression in front of church. The South West quarter contained hardly or no European houses. It was initially a ‘Parachériê or the quarters of pariahs’.51

Dumas introduced two kinds of revenue for the completion of the wall. The people would pay one part and the government would pay the other. The people had to pay the revenue according to their ability, till the wall would be completed. The company would contribute its due share. 52. It promised to pay 12,000 pagodas payable in three years. It raised the fund from the revenue of the sale of the drinks from Europe.

The former Madras road was pushed towards west, instead of continuity to the Mission Street. The bridge on the old ditch of the wall carried the name of Madras Bridge, and led to the road along the sea. It led to Kalapet and Marakanam.53 On the extreme north, there was the graveyard of Malabar Christians, now called as the graveyard of the pariahs.54

During the development of the town and the fortress, the Tamils suffered. Though compensation was given it was not adequate. During the period of fortification the soldier's health and hygiene, and not of the coolies, was taken into consideration. When the administration built the ramparts in 1736, the huts of the Tamils were removed. They were given 1,200 pagodas, as total compensation.55 In order to get sufficient space for the erection of the new Fort William at Calcutta, many Indian houses were cleared away at the end of 1750’s, as it happened in Pondicherry for the construction of Fortifications. 56

When Dumas departed from Pondicherry, 1200 Europeans, 120,000 Chettys, Mohammedans and Tamils lived within the ramparts. The fort had 405 canons, 300 short canons and bombs for defence.57 The town was able to accommodate this huge population because of the infrastucture facilities.

The government implemented another slum clearance programme to benefit the mint employees. The pariahs who used to live in cherries were removed from there and given another area located on the west of the fort. However, that change was not intended to benefit the ‘pariahs,’ who used to live there, but to accommodate the goldsmiths and the
artisans, who worked in the mint. Changes, such as these, dislodged the poor people from their homes. A ‘Parcheriè, quarters for pariahs, was on the other side of the river Oupar, in front of the mint. It was cleared, as it was not convenient in the middle of the town. That land was aligned in order to lodge the goldsmith and the other people working in the mint.\(^58\)

There was one more instance of clearing the slums for the convenience of the European students. For the development of the white town and the interest of the white people, the Tamils and other individuals, who lived there had to forego their locality and residence. Some Tamil people were forced to leave their residence. They were not adequately provided alternative arrangements. Dumas chose a place at the end of Rue des Français, so that the European students could come conveniently at any time easily. Some houses and huts had already been built there. They were acquired in the month of December 1738, and the owners were reimbursed according to the estimate made by an employee of the company Gerbault.\(^59\)

With the church of Capuchins, hospital, mint and a new native quarter beyond Oupar, the South Pondicherry, gained a new importance.

The administration excavated the mud from the moat. It served to level the swampy land situated at the west of the fort. Those new lands were given to about thousand or thousand two hundred Tamils, whose huts were built on hundred toise outside the walls of the town. Those were the people, who had been cleared from the vicinity of the Malabar church, the church of the Tamils, Rue des Français and the mint. Thus, a new native settlement originated to the west of the canal.

It was a safe town for the French people. The town seemed to have been strongly defended. Thanks to the relatively long period of peace and the efforts of Lenoir and Dumas, it became an independent city, having its mint and its army. The population consisted of 1200 Europeans, 1,20,000 Hindus, and Muslims, who were protected by six closed gates of its citadel, and 405 defence canons with bombs, mortars and two to three hundred artillery ordinances. It was one of the beautiful and strong towns of the Coramandel Coast.\(^60\)

It seems that the work on the seaside was not strong. The hundred and seventy toise of wall constructed of limestone, were destroyed by the waves. In the fort, the big tower, which was at the centre, was repaired. The defence on the East was yet vulnerable.
Therefore, the town remained still open to the seashore. However, the Fort was renovated 61

6.3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOWN DURING DUBLEIX AND BEFORE 1761

The administration of Governor Dupleix completed the Fort and fortifications, constructed two demi-bastions, a tower in the fort, the new Governor House inside the fort, the Belfy tower, the customs house, chavadi for stamping cloths, the chatrams, improved the standard of the roads, promoted a weavers' settlement in Villianur and developed a new settlement Mortandi Chavadi. These developments contributed to the textile production and trade, amenities of life of the people, job of the artisans and merchants, defence of the people and the urbanization of Pondicherry. (See plan 10. Pondicherry in 1754 (R.F.FAUCHEUX). page 325a & sketch 11. page 305 c& d )

Dupleix continued the works on the Fort and fortifications, when he became the Governor. He constructed two demi-bastions, built the rampart on the three sides, strengthened by eleven bastions to defend the city. A small moat and an imperfect glacis surrounded the entire works. 62

The utilities of the fort became diversified. Certain necessities, like housing the Governor, were not taken up first. The centre of attraction was not housing facilities. Every effort was directed towards the construction of fortifications. The Fort remained, nevertheless, a place for troops, who dwelled in two big military barracks and the storehouse of ammunitions. The materials of money were preserved in the barracks on each side of 'porte Royalé and in the rooms. The godowns there were used to accommodate bales of clothes before their export. The accounts of the company were kept in the offices. The basements or the under ground rooms, were used as prisons. The Governor, Councilors, and Officers were not living in the fort. They lived in the town 63

From time to time improvements were made in increasing the facilities in the fort. A tower was built in the fort. It served as an observatory, to supervise the countryside. It was thus used during the siege. Its basement was used as prison. It stood only for a short duration and it did not figure in the plans. 64
7 Vue du Fort de Pondichery et du Palais de DUPELIX. (D’après une très ancienne aquarelle)

Au premier plan la mer, puis la plage, les remparts de la ville; sur la gauche, l’Église des Capucins.

Au centre le Fort, l’Église du Fort, le Palais de Dupleix—Dernière le palais on entrevoit à l’arrière la coupole de l’Église des Jésuites

Sur la plage, au centre la porte marine avec son pont levant dans le prolongement de laquelle se trouvait la Porte Royale, entrée du Fort

**The View of Fort St Louis and the Palace of Dupleix in 1751**
The Fort St. George was different from Fort St. Louis. The Fort St. George was situated in the land of river Cooum. It had a square plan and triangular corner bastions and was surrounded by a number of regular rectangular quarters. All those structures were in turn enclosed by a wall, which formed a triangle with the apex, abruptly cut off.  

The Fort of Tranquebar was typically Danish. The Danes erected on the site a fort, whose strong walls gave protection against both the heat of the sun and the enemies. It was a simple structure with four corner bastions. The map of 1671, reproduced in Vore Gamle Tropekolonier, P.106, shows a series of partly planned or provisionally built all sections, which were joined by circular and triangular bastions. The wall went as far as the west moat of the citadel and was continued on the other side by a section, which went right down to the shore.

Dupleix completed the new Governor’s house inside the fort in 1752. When he had hardly finished, he had to leave it. He hardly left it, it was destroyed. The Governor’s house was started in 1738, based on the plans of Gerbaunt. Its construction was stopped in 1741. It was taken up again in 1742 and completed in 1752. (See: Portrait: 1. View of Fort Louis and the palace of Dupleix in 1751. page 326a ) It cost 42000 rupees. Dupleix lived in it only the last two years of his Government.

Dupleix’s former residence was to the north of the citadel. The new Governor’s House was inside Fort Louis. (See plan: 10.Pondicherry in 1754. page 325a (R.F.FAUCHEUX)(and sketch 11. page 305 c & d )

A big hall was there in the palace of the Governor facing the sea. It helped to monitor the ships. That Hall contained a big mirror brought from Europe. There were four statues in the Hall, “The Statue holding the balance in its hands, was justice. The statue looking herself in a mirror, represented truth. The third one reading a book, symbolized business and the fourth one, caressing a snake, depicted prudence. A fifth statue in the attitude of a guard and carrying a stick in his hands was guarding the entrance of the staircase of honour.” It was said that after the capture of Pondicherry in 1761, the Nawab of Carnatic had obtained them to decorate his palace in Chepauk.

Inside the Fort, adjacent to the Capuchin church, there was the Belfy tower, where criminals used to be imprisoned. In 1742, a little pond was put up for the purpose of catching fish. There was a Fort jail in Belfry tower, and a prison attached to the courthouse.
Dupleix wanted all officials and merchants to build houses at Mortandi Chavadi in 1743. Thus, he developed Mortandi Chavadi into Dupleix pettai.73 From 1743 the Governor went to Mortandi Chavadi every year and encouraged development there.74 Kanakaraya Mudali had a church built at Reddiyarpalayam on Tuesday 30th November 1745. It was to the East of Ouzhugarai.75 (see photo 35 page 327 b) There was a guardhouse in the street leading from the Fort to the customhouse.76 During the period of Dupleix the core of the town constituted the fort, offices, mint, warehouse, churches, military barracks, hospital and prison.77

A small sea gate was in front of the eastern end of the Chetti Street. The customs house and the harbour were near the sea gate.78 The Mission Church was opposite to the residence of Ranga Pillai. The gallows was near the Court House.79 In December 1747, nearly three hundred houses of the Tamils near the walls, were pulled down and the ground was leveled. The town was restructured.80

An ancient Muhammadan mosque stood opposite to, and west of the Capuchin’s church, behind Godivier’s house. It was that mosque that the Governor Dupleix had wanted to pull down during the siege.81 The Indigo godown built by Lenoir, the former Governor was near the old Madras gate.82

The chavadi for stamping cloths was the place, where cloth was stamped with the Company’s mark. It was near the Brahmin Street.83 Ananda Ranga Pillai’s cloth godown was to the East of Muchiyan’s and west of Sadayappa Mudali’s house, in the Mission Street near the Valudavur gate.84

The names of streets were based on occupation, like Weavers’ Street and Oil Mongers Street. Streets were named after a notable person such as Thambi Nayinar Street. Streets had caste names also. The Topas lived in a group in a street. The names of some streets of 1748 were, Weavers Street, Perumal Temple Street and Oil Mongers’ Street, which was near the North Western Corner Bastion.85 Some Topas dwelled near Pillaiyar Temple, beside the Manakkulam tank. Because of the tank, that temple is being called as Manakkula Vinayagar Temple.86 There existed a street with the caste name ‘Nayinar’. The car, at the festival of Vishnu, passed through Thambi Nayinar’s street on 8th June 1746.87
The Fort was strengthened a great deal on the north in 1747. The batteries were built before the North gate in 1748. The Cuddalore gate was rebuilt in the same year. The new Madras Gate was also built under the plan and the efforts of Dupleix.

During the construction of the wall of the seashore, the customs office was demolished. Two small storehouses on each side of the ‘Porte Marinè were built. They were insufficient during the time of business. The administration took steps to improve the standard of the roads. The Government leveled, mended and watered the streets.

The Tamils contributed to the developmental activities of temples and its facilities. The agraharam of Ranga Pillai was in the village Sethirpattu. People showed keen interest and dedication in the construction of Singarikoil Temple and the repair of the tank, inside the temple. In December 1748, Ramachandra Rao, son of Melugiri Pandit, and Guntur Venkatachakla Chetti were interested in the construction of the Singarikoyil temple. Sungu Seshachala Chetti, Lakshmana Rao, Muthurama Chetti and Muhammad Khan Sulaiman agreed to allow 400 rupees a year for Singarikoyil, but 500 rupees was required for anointing the God. It might be noticed that Sulaiman too was prepared to contribute to the temple of other religious faith. They planned to build 18 houses in the Sannadhi Street for an agraharam. That issue had been discussed for six months. At their request, Ananda Ranga Pillai went to Singarikoyil to settle the temple affair. An agreement was written out and each signed for his share of the work.

‘Dharmakarthas’, like the generous Sungu Venkatachala Chetti, who belonged to the merchant class, renovated the temples. Venkatatapi Reddi, Lakshmana Reddi, Narayana Reddi, Reddi of Alisapakkam and Micha Gounden undertook to repair the tank inside the temple at the cost of 150 pagodas. Venkatachala Chetti and Melugiri Pandit’s sons in connection with building stone – mandapam, contributed a lion’s share of donation. Melugiri Pandit’s sons, Babu Rao and Ramachandra Rao agreed to pay one-fourth and Venkatachalla Chetti, Guntur Ravanappa Chetti’s grandson, the remaining three fourths of the cost of a stone mantapam in the temple. They were estimated to cost 1,500 pagodas. Ravanappa Chetti formerly undertook it. The Company’s merchants, Arunachala Chetti, Alagiya Manavala Chetti, Kalahasti Ayyan’s son Naranappayyan and Guntur Venkatachala Chetti agreed to pay 100 pagodas to repair the gopuram, the mandapam, the ‘vahanam’ and the temple courts.
The trade and commerce promoted a class of elites, who volunteered to spare money for temples - renovation activities, which enriched the cultural heritage of the town. Madananda Pandit offered to pay 50 Porto Novo pagodas to repair the mantapam of the Hammauta Shrine. Sungu Venkatachala Chetti bestowed on the Narasingaswami temple his coconut and mango garden. The people themselves carried out some developmental activities. The people gave donations to deepen ponds and the court building in August 1794.

Benefactors like Minakshi Ayyan made several temple-building endeavours. On the southern bank of the Kurinjan Tank, Minakshi Ayyan had built a Perumal temple and an Iswaran Temple south of the Eastern bank. He had also built an agraharam and left a pathway five or six feet broad between the temples. Ranga Pillai had another agraharam on the way to Alambarai.

The Courtier of the Company Pedro Kanagaraya Mudaliar, who had lost his only son, bore the expenses of the construction of the church of Ouzhugarai, which was opened to the public on 30th November 1745 under the invocation of St. Andre (St. Andrew).

The Jesuits had a house near their church with one storey. The foreign missions dedicated a church to the Virgin opposite to the house of Ananda Ranga Pillai in 1745. It seems that Dupleix had constructed a tower near that church in 1754. The Armenians had been permitted to construct a church at Pondicherry, but we could not determine the locality, and we could not also affirm its existence.

The church of the Jesuits of 1750s was found in the locality of the present Cathedral. It had a clock tower adjacent to the neighborhood of Iswaran Temple. It is easy to make out an idea of the style of that church, by the style of that of Ouzhugarai and Ariyankupparn. They belonged to the Jesuits of the same period. The Capuchins built a convent. It was located parallel to the sea, in between the graveyard and their church.

The company acquired the houses of the Tamils located to the West of the canal. Some French people lived in their own houses and some in rented houses. Europeans bought the houses of the Tamils from 1750. In November 1750, the Council decided that the Tamils were to give up their houses to Europeans, who wanted their houses East of the canal and west of the liquor godown at cost price. In return for that, the Tamils were to be given lands and gardens in Pavalapettai, present Pavalakaran chavady.
The Indian style patio is dominated by a European storey with white ionic columns, stucco piers with gilded mouldings and wrought iron railings, symbolic not of superiority but of an historically imposed superposition.
The French obtained for rent by force the houses of the Tamils in 1757. In October 1757, the Company ordered that the Tamils’ houses in the town should be hired for the king’s people. The Tamils did not like compulsion. Some of the wealthier got back their houses by giving officers 50 Rupees, but the Company took the houses of the poor away for rent. 102

The Governor designated six places as the notice boards for public announcements. One such place was on the Colonnade at the entrance of Royal gate. They came from Gingi. The quality of the granite and the character of their sculpture did not contradict one another. There were two views about their arrival here. Some say that the Rajah of Gingi would have offered them to Dupleix. Others say that they could have been brought as a trophy after the capture of Citadel by Bussy. The diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, calls those monoliths as the columns of Gingi.(see photo 3. page 330 c )

The houses of the French were big, with one floor. The houses were characterized by fronton colonnades, which were enriched by vases, as in the St. Louis Church and in the Governor’s house in the fort. They were produced by the pottery industry of Kosapalyam in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry. It exists even today. The glasses were used for the windows. (see Fig.3 & Fig.8. The French Model of a Mansion. page 330a ) The oyster shells were super posed as tiles and retained small wooden crossbars, as it could be seen still in Goa.

The house of Ananda Ranga Pillai was constructed in Indian fashion, with a Court Yard, and interior verandha. The pillars were sculptured in wood. The arms were inserted in balustrade of balcony of the interior Courtyard. The grill of the ‘cagè of the staircase, which was made of tortuous metal blades, which link force and elegance, were admirable. Behind the main house, there was a garden. It had the style, which was prevailing in that period. 103

Le Gentil gives us certain details on the Chatrams in Pondicherry. “Rich men donated these Chatrams also known as choultries. They carried normally the name of the person, who made it; the same person had incurred the expenses to pay an Indian or Brahmin, whose only work was to give water to the wayfarers. These places of shelter were very large in number in French India.” Thattan Chatram was on the north of Barthelemy’s garden near Ozhugarai. 104
- Vue des ruines de Pondichéry, planche illustrant le "Voyage dans les mers de l'Inde", Le Gentil de la Galaisière, 1781.

- Vue de Pondichéry d'après un dessin conservé au palais de Tanjore (publiée par M.V. Labernardie, in "Le vieux Pondichéry, 1936, p. 276).

VIEW OF PONDICHERY IN 1760
There were the chatrams meant for the Europeans and the natives. In the old Madras Road, there were two Choultries of that period, those of Kandappa Mudaliar, for the Europeans and the other for the Natives. Coultries were really meant for the suffering wayfarers, but the French used them as a holiday resort.\textsuperscript{105}

The 18\textsuperscript{th} century ‘The palace of the Governor’, is now rechristened as Raj Nivas( See photos 1 & 2 page 312 a ). The old tribunal is now housing the Legislative assembly( See photo 22 page 331 a ). They along with the Cercle de Pondicherry, the General Hospital, the Maternity Hospital, the Ashram Dining Hall, chamber of commerce and the United Commercial Bank were so lined up on three sides as to form the public square of the Governor’s house( see photos 21, 25, 24, 23, 36 & 18 pages 331 a, b, c & 312 b ). There is a monument, rising at the centre of a well-laid garden. The palace was subsequently renamed ‘The palace of the Republic’.\textsuperscript{106}

Lally and governor Leyrit also undertook the construction work in the fort. Lally proposed to build ramparts round the fort and made other preparations in 1759.\textsuperscript{107} (See: Portrait:2. View of Pondicherry in 1760 page 331e ) (View of Pondicherry from a design conserved at the palace of Tanjore-Published by M.V.Labernadie, in Le vieux Pondicherry 1936,p 276.)

6.4. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TOWN AFTER 1761 AND BEFORE 1816.

In 1761, Lord Pigot demolished mainly the European quarters of Pondicherry. In the post 1761 period, the administration raised the old fort wall, and the bastions, reconstructed the public buildings and private houses and constructed the west Wall. In August 1765, there were 126 houses of stones, 53 small houses covered with straw and 61 of tiles; 120 in straw and 1959 houses of the Tamils. The company built the hospital, an out-house to serve as a residence for the new Governor, the arch of the fort, a gunpowder storehouse and a storehouse for drinks, four rooms in the northern part of the mint and repaired the house of the Capucins. Those rooms were used as the beetle and tobacco godown and one Chavadi. The walls of the old Governor house were restored and an office of treasury was constructed. A new warehouse was constructed.(similar structure) see photo 37. page331d ) A house was used for the needs of the secretariat. The administration used the house of Chanda Sahib as the barracks, the house of the staff
VI.—VUE D'UNE PARTIE DES RUINES DE PONDICHÉRY EN 1769

Reproduction d'une gravure sur bois du "Voyage dans les mers de l'Inde" de l'Astronome LE GENTIL.

(Paris, Imprimerie Royale 1781.)

- A. Atelier d'Artillerie,
- B. Magasin général,
- C. Capucins,
- D. Ruines des Capucins,
- E. Maison,
- F. Ruines de la Citadelle,
- G. Mât de Pavillon,
- III. Ruines du Gouvernement
- HI. Observatoire,
- K. Puits.
and the office of the records. Thus, Pondicherry seemed a town again because of those reconstruction works and developments.

After a siege of 5 months, in 1761, Lord Pigot captured Pondicherry and ordered demolition of the European quarters, all the immovable public buildings in particular, and in the Indian town, the two catholic churches, which existed at that time. A document of the epoch confirms that the English “reduced to dust all the churches and all the private houses” of Pondicherry. (See: Portrait: 3. View of a part of the ruins of Pondicherry in 1769. page 332 a ) (Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1781.) The Church of Notre Dame des Anges was rebuilt in 1767. (See photo 30. page 332 b) Its buildings exist and they were used as ‘Ecole Primairè of the Rue Surcouf’.  

It is interesting to trace the renewed development of Pondicherry after the disaster of 1761. The Europeans were probably waiting for the definite reconstruction of the town. They mostly settled in the surroundings of Pondicherry. In 1769, some French officers like Bourcet lived in Veerampattinam, and Delarche, Deplan and Moracin lived in Ozhugarai.

The old wall, which enclosed the town, and the bastions, were raised. The European town occupied one sixth of the town, in extent. In the streets of the remaining part, trees were planted on both sides with the variety, which came up very quickly. The weavers were able to work in two rows even at mid-day under the shadow of the trees.  

Pillars of rocks had supported the arches of the Temple of Lord Vishnu in Gingi. During the period of Dupleix, after his capture of the Fort of Gingi, the coolies took the pillars out of the temple and brought them to Pondicherry to embellish the palace of the Governor Dupleix. After the destruction of 1761, the pillars were dug up and were transported and fixed to decorate the entrance of the harbour. 

Though the reconstruction of the public buildings and private houses was taken up soon after the destruction of 1761, the rebuilding of the churches was not undertaken immediately. The Capuchins were permitted to complete their church, when the town was closed. However, a chapel was built. The administration gave priority to the reconstruction of the public works.

There were different views regarding the new location of the town. The reconstruction of the town was planned. The security of the fortifications remained the
main question. In fact, one can read on all the plans the word ‘relevè, ‘raised again’, and not ‘constructed’. Some individuals had rebuilt their houses on their old foundations. The opinions were mostly divided about the reconstruction of the town in 1765. Two schools of thought prevailed. The traditionalists wanted to use what was remaining after the destruction of the town. The innovators thought to rebuild the town on a new plan. Some recommended even the displacement of the town. They wanted transferring it to the south, reconstructing it at the island of coconut trees, ‘Thenga Thittu’ at the river of Ariyankuppam. It was the plan of Fourcroy and Leveux. Bourcet presented many objections to that project. The project was then abandoned.

Bourcet was ready to start work after destruction. He was preoccupied with difficulties that he mentioned in his records.

1. “The town was partly up, the walls of the house of the black town having not been destroyed, was having only the raised frame work. Those of the white town existing up to three feet above the soil gave work already much advanced for the reestablishment of those buildings”.

2. “They had the old moat (ditch) and a part of glacis, which existed and the debris:"

3. “It was indispensable to have a hall, quite vast to gather there and to put in the workers necessary for the manufacture of the mercantile of French India”

Therefore, Bourcet decided to make use of those materials and structure that existed there then.111

When Law de Lauriston was in Bengal the company was asked to spend atleast sixteen millions to fortify Pondicherry. The administration in Paris sent a new plan, which divided the whole town diagonally, the southern part would extend upto Ariankuppam. In that case, the company had to spend much. 112

The estimate of the reconstruction of the town differed from person to person. The estimate of the Council of the construction expenditure was high. Bourcet estimated the expenditure of the fortifications less. Law de Lauriston was persuaded that all the fortifications, could be achieved in five millions. The plan of Bourcet renunciated all the
Plan of the town and environment of Pondicherry in 1778
old work except the glacis and the trench. He would reuse the materials from structures that had been dismantled.\textsuperscript{113}

The economic condition of the company decided the final project, which was completed in 1768. Aiming at the economy, Bourcet resumed the sketch of the old fortifications and spared the canal. The Council of Pondicherry accepted his plan on 29th February 1768, because it was quick and less expensive. He began the works from the north in 1769. He added a demi-lune fort. On the west no change was done. He added a covered parapet to the North Bastion and to the Bastion Sans Peur. Regarding the south part, he took away from it the glacis.

Bourcet met with a lot of opposition in the progress of his plan. He was recalled to France and replaced by the engineer Desclaisons. From 1769 to 1775, the works were interrupted six times in six years. They worked for 25 months only.

Bourcet was again sent back to Pondicherry in 1774. He resumed his works: constructed the west Wall, the Bastion sans peur, the Bastion of Vazhudavur, the Bastion of St. Joseph and Bastion Saint Laurent. He installed a ‘batterie on the seashore, but Bourcet took back the lands from the owners, who, in the meanwhile, had constructed on the promise of Desclaisons. Therefore, they were to be expropriated. The Tamils suffered. They had to shift their houses, because of the defence alignment, which was suggested by Bourcet.

Bourcet wanted to bring drinking water to Pondicherry through an underground canal. The idea of defence stopped the ‘ouzhgarai canal project’. A new committee, which was convened in France in 1776, felt that the work of Bourcet did not respond to the requirements of the moment.\textsuperscript{114}

It was relatively easy for the Government of Colonel Law de Lauriston (1765 – 1777) to resume construction, because the foundations of the houses had been left in tact. The site of Fort Louis, which was demolished, became the place of arms. Governor Law de Lauriston undertook the great task of reconstructing the town with the help of the French Engineers like Bourcet. (See;Plan: 11. Plan of the town and environment of Pondicherry in 1778. page 334 a ) Law de Lauriston became the Governor on April 1765. The Engineer Bourcet and Abeille helped the Governor in rebuilding the town. Pondicherry grew so much in three years. Its population rose upto 60,000.\textsuperscript{115}
The French got economic support from the native rulers to raise fortifications. In 1765, Mohammed Ali Khan was ready to help the French by contributing amount without it being known to the English, to construct the fortifications of Pondicherry. 116

The Tamil population resided in the west quarter. Their houses were without first floor built for the stay of one family facing directly the street. On either side of the entrance, a masonry work, at the shade of a cornice, supported by some pillars, in wood. It was a place of rest. 117

A hospital was situated in the square of the Railway Station, in the place of the Sacred Heart Church. The English along with the rest of the town demolished the hospital in 1761. It was built or repaired after the sieges of 1778 and 1793.

The area of the fortress of Pondicherry was 3,800 square toise. It had 13 big bastions and four batteries of canons according to the town plan of Pondicherry. To protect that fort the regiment consisted of 568 French military personals, artillery 153 and the sepoys 428. It was the French military strength in 1778.

The components of the fort were found defective in many respects. In July 1778, the full seaside was vacant. On the northern side, the bastions and walls were raised with mud. Out of the 13 bastions that were built around the town, 7 bastions were built of mud. The surrounding walls on the topside were left incomplete. Since the parapet and the parapet wall to keep the canon, was not built wide enough for the canon to retaliate, the width was not sufficient. 119

The task of rebuilding the fort lasted for about three years from 1785 to 1788. A lot of work force, materials, funds, and Tamils' dislocation had gone in that single work. The Tamil people were exploited for the benefit of the French. The French did not reconcile to the destruction of the fort forever. They had plans of renovating it. 120

There was want of labourers for the construction of the Fort in 1788. They were gathered from Villianur and Bahur. Since the labourers were not enough, Comt de Conway ordered Diwan Nainar Mudaliar to bring coolies from Villianur and Bahur.

The administration considered that the only major work was the renovation of the fort. All the type of workers were used as fort labourers by force. Besides the coolly labourers, those who worked in the town as dyers, wood cutters, oil makers, and all the workers within the canon ball street, gardeners, peasants and those who were in Kalapet

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were asked to stop their routine work; they were brought by sepoys, soldiers, engineers and police to begin the work of the Fort. The routine work of the artisans was hampered.

The Fortification work was done on a war footing, using 800 military men. The General supervised the work everyday. Even the palanquin bearers were employed. In March 1788, Fresne employed all palanquin bearers used by the English.

Almost in the locality of the old ‘Porte Marine’, an out-house was built to serve as a residence for the new Governor. It had eight small rooms, surrounding a big hall. Then with the wood brought from Ile de France, a big rectangular room was constructed near it, slightly on the South, and was christened ‘The temple of peace.’

Some people argue that buildings that are in Pondicherry are not of the period of Dupleix. This opinion is based on two reasons: 1. The town was demolished in 1761. 2. So, any monument at Pondicherry could not be considered as before 1761. These two ideas do not seem to be correct.

The houses of the European town and the monuments built before and during the period of Dupleix were built with very good bricks and with strong lime. Therefore, the destruction of Pondicherry in 1761, was a gigantic work. It was not and could not have been demolished fully.

The astronomer Le Gentil gave the view of the ruins of Pondicherry in 1769. There were two wings of the Governor’s house of Dupleix, building with storey, which was still habitable. In one of them, he installed his observatory. Those buildings were therefore destroyed after 1769. Le Gentil also told that when the residents came back, they perceived with joy that the buildings were not completely destroyed. Till 1764, they did not repair any old monument in Pondicherry.

The view of the ruins of Pondicherry was published in the book of Le Gentil and reproduced after, at first, in the work of Labernadie titled: ‘The revolution and the French establishment in India’, then in ‘Le Semeur’. In “Le Semur,” Jouveau Dubreuil reproduced the enlarging of the convent of the Capucins and the church that was near by. One could see that the covent was partly in ruins.

Since the house of the Capucins is shown partly in ruins, there was in Pondicherry the old construction earlier to 1761. The part of the remains permits one to know the style of the edifice. There was an upstairs with verandah. Pillars were square shaped. However,
that style was altogether different from the one in the present town, which was built after 1765, where the verandahs did not have the arc-shaped openings. They have cylindrical pillars. A great part of that Convent of the Capucins was not found in ruins in 1769, when Le Gentil drew the plan. The part corresponding to three arches of the upper story had even the look of being still usable. Hence, that edifice, which was standing up in 1769, exists probably till today. The arch-shaped openings and the square pillars would permit to recognize it. Jouveau Dubreuil verified his observations in ‘orphanage of the boys’ and in ‘the arches of the rooms occupied by L. Fauchaux’ and found them correct.

That building became the record office of the Justice of Peace. So, (1) the convent of Capucins was only partly ruined in 1761. (2) A part of that edifice still exists and it is easily recognizable by its arches and its arch shaped openings. Of the first floor, there remain only two arches shaped openings of a verandah in the direction from east to west and they were the rooms of L. Faucheux, where as below, the record office of the Justice of Peace was a magnificent historic monument.124 Y.R. Gaebele states that the English demolished all the buildings and a lot of pillars were also reduced to dust in 1761. It seems to be a sweeping statement.125 The arguments of Jouveau Dubreuil seem to be valid, because they were substantiated.

Engineer Bourcet in a text of 11th October 1765 points out that the French had organised, in the remains of the arch of the fort a gunpowder shop and a shop for drinks. In the town, in the northern part of the mint, four rooms were rebuilt. They were reconstructed on its old foundations. A new warehouse was constructed near the Marine Gate closed by a brick wall. The tunnelery of ‘the temple of peace’ was recovered. Some works began in the hospital.

Jouveau Dubereuil opines that the plans of Pondicherry before 1740 were either completely false or not well drawn, except one, the plan No.5 in the collection of the Archives of Colonies. It was the Dutch Plan of Augiers, which represented Pondicherry and its surroundings at the time of taking of possession by the French in 1699. It was the oldest plan available, since it was the only plan at present known, which belongs to the 17th century. The plan of Augiers had surprising precision. The Dutch had studied the topography of the town with an extreme care. Therefore, it is interesting to compare the
plan of 1699 with that of 1746 to know the evolution of the city during those forty years.

The reconstruction of the town was delayed due to the following problems: lack of material, lack of method and the traditional attitude of the native people. The French did not seem to have understood the Pondicherry’s cultural environment in stipulating and speeding up of the housing development. The Tamils were very much restricted by Ordinances, which were passed during this reconstruction period. There was lack of several materials for construction. Stones were not available. They had to be brought from Gingi. Ships waited to bring the wood used for building. New burnt bricks were also scarce. However, a portion of the Governor house was completed with the old bricks. Only traditional working methods, using wheelbarrow and baskets, were still in practice. The natives built houses without prior permission of the government. Hence, their houses, shops, benches, and clogs were not aligned properly. They were asked to fence their houses with plants and water them; they were also ordered to put a boundary with their name stones.

The French traveler and astronomer Le Gentil, who came to Pondicherry in 1761, worked in an observatory situated in the ruins of the palace. That observatory consisted of a main apartment of fifteen feet in square. Le Gentil had one room and three terraces, two in the first floor with the room, where he had his instruments. 

Pondicherry under Governor Law de Lauristan may be compared with the town of 1936. We trace the structure of the town as suggested by the sketches of ground map of 1777 of De Closets d’Errey.

A canal divided the town from North to South. It separated the white town from the black town. ( see photo 5. page 338 a ) The former extended from the sea to the canal, the latter from the canal to the fortifications. It reproduced on the whole, in its big lines, the city of Dupleix. There was the large arms house in the Citadel in the centre of the town.

If we compare the North quarters to the south quarters of the town, we find that it was the latter, which was rebuilt at first. The streets parallel to the sea carried the names, from East to West, Rue du Ramparts (wall street), Rue de Français (French street), Rue des Capuchins (Capucins street), Rue de Pavillon (Flag street), Rue de la Monnaie (Mint street), and cutting them perpendicularly from north to south, Rue Dauphine (Dauphine
street), Rue Royale (Royal street) Rue de l’Eveque (Bishop street), Rue de Villianur (Villianur street), and Rue de petit Bazaar Saint Laurent (St.Laurent’s small Bazaar street). The Capucins church, was the third Notre Dame des Anges in the south quarters.

Pondicherry of Law de Lauriston had the following characteristics. It was famous for rectilinear streets cutting at right angles. The houses had flat roof and terraces. There were colonnades, and frontons equipped with vases and balustrades.

The reconstructed Mosques and Temples (see photos 11, 9, & 10. page 339 a and 322 b) were of less height. The doors and gopurams of temples may be compared to those of other towns of South India, as Madurai, Trichirapalli, Tanjore and Chidambaram. The gopurams of those temples seemed much above the town. 128

Engineer De La Lustiere undertook in 1785, the construction of a military hospital, barracks and arsenals, and also the completion of the canal running through the town. The canal, which divided the Indian from the European quarter, was started under Law. Though there was shifting of the capital from Pondicherry to Port Louis, the development works of the town went on continuously. 129

The administration reconstructed or repaired the hospital, barraks, warehouses, powder godown, houses and the bridges. This provided the infrastructure of the town. According to the register of 1786, the following are identified: a Hospital, some barracks, some warehouses, and a gunpowder house. The hospital lacked lodging for the sick. The houses of Europeans were bought for the purpose of barracks. The powder was kept in the houses of missionaries. A wall of mud to prevent desertions and maintain order enclosed the town. According to a record of works of the Ministry of Colonies, the Register of Works, about six thousand workers were engaged in the following constructions during 1786-1787: some barracks, a powder storehouse, of guard house in the Bastion d’Orleans, another one in the Bastion of Villianur and in repairing the bridges of Valdavur and Villianur.130

De Conway and Engineer De la Lustiere systematized construction works, from March 1789. Those people, who wanted to newly build a house had to get prior permission from the administration.131

The work of Engineers and workers were on several fronts. They continued the work of the canal, took a census of public buildings, allotted cadastre numbers to the lands and
around its fort, there was no such central square. The present Government Square resulted from the destruction of the fort by the British in 1761. Its vacant plot was kept free and greatly enlarged during the rebuilding of the city.

The distinction between the French Town and the Tamil town, separated by a channel, which was used for draining the low part of the city, reflects the colonial ideology. The same pattern could be seen in the 18th century plans of Madras. The French character of the streetscape was given on both sides by raised side-walks, a feature rarely seen in other cities up to very recent times. 134

The total number of streets in the white Town was twenty-five in numbers. The procedure of measuring and dividing the land into House-plots and allotting them to the Indians and the French took place during the seventeenth century. There were 172 plots in the southern quarters of the white town alone. The houses of the French were close to the administrative, commercial and military establishments of the settlement.

The following present day institutions and buildings located within the White Town could be identified with the corresponding eighteenth century sites: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, the Romain Rolland Library, the French Institute, the French Consulate, the Ecole Française d’Extrême-Orient, the Alliance Française, the Lyce Français, the United Commercial Bank, the State Bank of India, Raj Nivas, Pondicherry Head Post Office, Cercle de Pondichéry, Pondicherry Legislative Assembly, the Ashram Dining Hall, the Maternity Hospital, the Government Hospital, the Cluny Hospital the Golconda Guest House, the International Guest House, the Chief Secretariat, the Police Commissioner’s Office, the Ashram Press, the Church of Our lady of Angels, the Law College and the Court. (see photos 12 to 32. pages 341 a,b,c,d,e,f & g and 312 a )

Some notable Tamilians also owned properties in the white town. Kanadappa Mudaliar, the dubash of the French Governor had acquired a site at no.16 rue des Français on 3 February 1770. The French administration gave plots in the white town at concessional rates. Those concessions were restricted to the officials of the French Company in Pondicherry. The Capuchins lived in No.2. Rue des Français. The mint of Pondicherry functioned in No. 22. Rue de Français. The Orphanage of the town was located in No. 25 Rue des Capuchins. The military house with arms and ammunitions was located next to the residence of the French Governor. The royal warehouse was
located at no.32 rue des Français, where merchandise for export to France was stored. Similarly charcoal godowns were located at plot Nos. 4, 5, 6 and 7 in Rue du Provence. Thiruvengadam Pillai the chief dubash of the French East India Company owned a warehouse in Rue de Berry. The small bazaar was located in white town the Grand bazaar was situated in the black town.  

6.6. DEFENCE AND URBANIZATION

Colonial rule seems to be founded on an army and naval base. To strengthen its rule, the Colonial administration continuously attempted to improve its defence. The French administration primarily defended its interests through its fortifications and military force. During the Carnatic wars, when residing in Pondicherry was found safe, artisans, merchants and other people settled in Pondicherry. The influx of artisan and merchant population and their activities contributed to the urbanization. Therefore, the defence factor of the French administration influenced urbanization in the last quarter of the Seventeenth century and first half of the Eighteenth century. However, the administration needed to spend a lot of funds to maintain defence facilities. Those funds could have been spent for other developmental purposes. Yet, the French did not want to risk their rule without defence. The French repeatedly faced, military confrontation with its European rival, the English, in India. Pondicherry was the place of battle. Apart from that, the defence of Pondicherry helped its urbanization.

The French seemed to have maintained a well-structured army, which was believed to ensure their security and of the people in Pondicherry. The power of the French military was felt in south India by the French conquest of the fort of Valudavur. François Martin captured the fort of Valudavur situated at 3 hours from Pondicherry on 24th September 1676. The French garrison at first consisted of only two companies of 30 soldiers. It progressively increased up to 5 companies in 1704. In 1705, there were 13 Officers: The Commandant, The Major, The Engineer, four Captains and six Lieutenants.  

The presence of the garrison in the fort was supposed to ensure security to the town. It gave the people the confidence to live, to work and to progress. In 1736, the garrison of Pondicherry was 313 men strong. In the same year, a reinforcement of 79 men was sent from France, and another batch of 70 men was sent in 1737. Dumas felt that a well-defended fort would encourage the settlement of artisans and merchants. In 1741,
Fig. 2. Day and night, patrol pattern of the French.

1. Villianur Gate.
2. Valudavur Gate.
3. Bound Hedge.
4. Alisapakkam.
5. Ariankuppam.
6. Customs House.
7. Beach.
8. Ananda Ranga Pillai Chatram.
the garrison was composed of 800 Europeans, 200 *Topas* or Tamil soldiers and from 200 to 500 sepoys or Muslim soldiers. Considerable fortifications were built on the seacoast. In 1746, the town seemed to be well defended.  

The French had their artillery. Fusils and the Cannons came from France along with their servants. The Cannon master, who was in charge of the manufacture of powder and armories had always been at Pondicherry. The troops of Pondicherry were raised up to 3500 men towards 1747.  

In 1747, Dupleix tightened the security of the town by stationing soldiers. They were at Ouzhugarai garden, the hospital, the Madras Gate Hall, the washer house, the fort, and the new Governor's house. The security of the town, to some extent, was ensured by the completion of the fortifications. Dupleix completed the fortifications of Pondicherry on the eastern side. It extended along the sea in 1747.  

The French feared an English attack in the middle of 1747. Therefore, they administered the day and night patrol and vigilance. In April 1747, in the daytime all the peons were stationed at the Valudavur gate. Nevertheless, at sun set fifty were to go by the Villiyanur Gate and along the beach as far as Alisapakkam, returning in the morning. Hundred peons were posted at the customhouse. Another fifty were to patrol from the Villianur Gate along the beach, as far as Ananda Ranga Pillai's chatram. They would be returning in the morning. A third fifty were to patrol from the Valudavur Gate to the Bound hedge, watching the out villages and the space between the Ariyankuppam river and pakkamudaiyanpattu; and another fifty were posted beyond Ariyankuppam and must patrol the bounds from there to Alisapakkam. (See Sketch 2. Day night patrol pattern of the French soldiers. Page 343 a )  

The French administration seems to have taken defence measures fairly well. Dupleix completed the wall on the seaside with its bastions, which Lenoir had started and Dumas continued. He increased and enlarged the moat by using the excavated mud to make a sort of embankment. A barrier was installed on Oupar. It helped to inundate the lands around the town beyond the fortifications and thus to prevent the enemy from approaching the walls. On the South, the river of Ariyankuppam drenched the surrounding wall and made it impossible for any attack from that side. The fort was in the center of the town. Dupleix strengthened the defence of South side by a small outpost at
The fort of Ariyankuppam was armed by two sets of cannons of four. Personnel were posted to defend the town strongly. 142

From 1750 to 1754, there was addition of troops. The strength came to nearly 2500. The native troops were the Topas, and the converted Christians. They were about 300 men. The natives did not profit much from the military, neither monetarily nor professionally. 143

In 1761, Pondicherry met with a disaster caused by the English military. Bellecombe gathered the workers to resume the works of defence. He increased the number of the guards of the town by picking some new sepoys from the caste of Pallis. 144

From the Military point of view, the Battalion of India disappeared in 1773 and was replaced by the Regiment of Pondicherry composed of two Battalions. Each Battalion had nine companies. From November 1773, Law de Lauristan reorganized a body of Sepoys. The order of 3 February 1776 created an autonomous company of artillery, canon men, bomb men of French India. A company was constituted with Christian Pariahs. However, an ordinance of the King of 28 January 1776, abolished the company of Pariahs, and on the contrary constituted an army of all religions. 145 The French government did not build their military organization on caste or religious basis. By contrast the British had the idea of martial races and so constituted the Jat, Sikh and Maratha Regiments.

Defending the fort and creating confidence among the merchants was challenging for the company. In order to protect the fort, almost all the military personnel were given duties. There were foreign merchants, who came to Pondicherry to trade. The French determined to defend them successfully against the English. It became necessary to create confidence in those, who had lost it, because of the repeated defeats. 146

Elaborate planning and preparations were continued to face the attack of the English. The bridges were strengthened, fortress was raised and widened, and the works regarding two semi-circular Bastions, the Bastion of Orleans, the Bastions of the North and their humps were more or less completed. In the fourth siege, there was not official declaration of hostilities. In 1778, the town was imperfectly fortified. Hence, the French did not give a fight, but talked peace and left the town. A treaty was signed on 13th December 1778. 147
The French in Pondicherry felt insecure after the war of 1778. The Tamils felt the same. They demanded security on 28th June 1790. De Fresne the French General promised security for them.\textsuperscript{148}

The French assembly suspended the works begun for the canal in 1792. It employed the manual labour in the reduced rate for the fortifications. Importance was given to fortifications and the purchase of grains. Though planning was elaborate, there was not much success and no development. Since the problems were identified, renewed efforts were made. A moat was dug, the semi circular Bastion was restored. There was out flow of population in that period.\textsuperscript{149}

The French again lost the battle against the English in 1792. Bellecombe signed an accord with the British. Pondicherry was not destroyed. The people were not deprived of their rights during the British government. The religious men were maintained in their proprietorship and privileges. They were authorised to exercise freely their religion. The English did not make any depredation to the public monuments. The inhabitants who liked to remain at Pondicherry could do so or even were authorized to do business.\textsuperscript{150}

Between 1783 and 1790, the Health department had one Doctor, one Surgeon, two assistant Majors, 5 Assistant Surgeons, 5 European Male Nurses, two Indian Apothecaries, and four Writing Clerks. However, in this short period, since Pondicherry ceased to be a Political Center the troops were not maintained here. The body of the sepoys was thereafter meant for the maintenance of the Police.\textsuperscript{151} That was the brief history of the French military system and its role in Pondicherry, which up till 1761 helped the urbanization of Pondicherry.

6.7. URBANIZATION OF PONDICHERY AND ITS ARCHITECTURE:

The houses of the French in Pondicherry were strongly influenced by the mansions of the 17-18\textsuperscript{th} centuries urban aristocracy in France. All French houses in Pondicherry were built on a similar ground plan of various sizes. The major feature was the symmetrical plan, which usually opened on a garden and not on the street. The Pondicherrian type consisted in combining the courtyard and the garden in a single space. On the street, there was a decorated gate, and the lateral facades, usually plain. In front of the main façade, columned porticas were built to provide better protection from sun and rain. High
ceilings and alignments of doors and windows were used to improve natural ventilation. The French houses used flat terraced roofs. It can be noted that in Tranquebar, the Danes used roofs with Tamil tiles. On the contrary, terraced houses were seen as more urban. 152

Original decorations were carved in stone, but adaptation to local materials had to be made, and all details were shaped in the outer lime plaster, which was applied on the brick masonry. Some elements, like the balusters, were pre-fabricated by potters after the design of the stone ones. 153.

Government and Public buildings were designed with a style and pattern quite similar to private houses. However, they were only larger in size and more profusely decorated. They usually had two storeys, flat roofs and wide porticos along the main façade. In several cases, their plans were prepared in France and followed, with some amendments, by local authorities. The 18th Century gates were fine examples of classical architecture, whose models were taken from Belidor’s “La Science des Ingenieurs” (Paris 1719), which was a book very popular amongst European builders in India.

The churches many of which still exist were mostly built during the later half of the 18th and 19th century. They imbibed a style mixing the French and Colonial traditions. At that time, a conscious international colonial style had emerged. There were influences from the styles developed in British, French, or Dutch Colonies.

The houses of the natives in Pondicherry showed some extent of European influence applied on the traditional Tamil ground plan. Entrance was from the street, by a finely carved wooden door, behind the traditional verandah with timber columns called ‘tinnai’. Inside, the major feature was the central courtyard, the mutram, with the main room, Koodam, opening on one side. Other rooms, smaller and dark were mostly used for storage.

In the houses of the rich, the ceilings were frequently higher than usual. In them, several decorative models were adopted, such as classical columns and balustrades. In several cases, the local style was more present in the ground floor, with a large use of timber columns and wood carving, while the French influence was stronger on the upper storey.
There were some cross-cultural influences in architecture. On each side of the dividing canal, the French and the Indian towns evolved slowly. Each town kept its own identity and values. However, some cross-influences appeared in architecture. For instance, cornices, which were in the French town, could be drawn at two different levels. A vertical section connected them, which was a motive absolutely alien to the classical French architecture. The design of compound walls with concave curves between the plasters was usual in Pondicherry. It was most probably taken from a local model.

More interaction was seen in the local style of furniture, which was probably the first instance of an international colonial style, freely mixing Portuguese, Dutch, French and English designs with Indian and Ceylonese artisanship.

The best example of cross-cultural architecture was the house of Ananda Ranga Pillai, the 18th century Dubash of Dupleix( See picture House of Ananda Ranga Pillai page 330 b). Its ground plan was based on the traditional Tamil house, distributed around interior courtyards with fine woodcarving, but vastly developed by the application of French colonial proportions. The upper storey showed more European influences in its decorative element. 154.

We now trace the details of some of the important places in Pondicherry.

A. The Sea Coast (Centre)

The Capuchins Church was in Surcouf Street. It was transformed to orphanage, and then it became the Parish Church of Notre Dame des Anges. It was reconstructed in 1765 in the place of the church of 1739. It was formerly called Notre Dame des Anges – Christ Portuguese. 155. (See photo-30. page 332 b)

Cemetery of the Capuchins was created in 1726. There exists only the western part situated in the area comprised between the Presbytery, the Roman Rolland street, and old Capuchins street. Besides the tomb, supposed to be of Bussy (1785), it contains the sepulchers of the notables who played a role in the history of the town. 156

Remains (gallery, curved halls) of the Capuchins Convent became the English section of the St. Joseph of Cluny School. (see photo-34. page 347 b)

A part of the Pillars, of the Hindu style was sculptured under the order of Dupleix for the decoration of the Government square, surrounding the Gandhi statue, in the Goubert avenue, and the Nehru in the front.(see photo-3. page 330 c)
On the southern foundation of the monument occupying the centre of the square, in front of the Government house, old fields of ‘Mars’, was created on the ruins of Fort Louis; there is a slab commemorating the work of the fortification undertaken by Dupleix in 1745. It was laid on the ‘Navy Gate Way.” The French inscription carries the name of Dupleix.

The Cathedral was constructed in 1770 by the Jesuits, furnished in 1791, on the place of a church dating to 1728. The present cathedral of Pondicherry, was still incomplete on 20th June 1791. (see photo-7. page 348 a)

The Archbishop’s residence was the old house of the Jesuits, transferred to the Foreign Missionaries in 1776. Arched Halls were at the ground floor. At the ground, in a gallery, there is zodiacal stone. (see photo-6. page 348 a)

At the Presbytery and the sacristy of the Cathedral, there are four small statues, Italian work, and six silver candlesticks, originating from Saint Andre of Ouzhugarai.

The cemetery of the foreign missionaries, contained the tombs of the two first bishops, Mgrs. Brigot, ordained in 1776, and Mgrs. Champenois in 1791.

The present Immaculate Heart of Mary’s Convent occupied the old Carmel, founded by Father Coeurdoux in 1748, reconstructed by Father Ausaldo in about 1780. (See photo-33. page 348 b)

B. Sea Coast (South)

L’hotel Lagrenee de Mezieres located at 30, Romain Rolland Street, is the present charity workshop Embroidery Centre of St. Joseph of Cluny. It was constructed in 1774. It was a beautiful and better conserved of the ‘hotels’ in that square. The portal covered façade was of stuccowork, and the wooden door was cut in profile, according to the trend of the epoch. (see photo-4. page 348 b)

Portal of ‘l’ hotel de la Tremoille was in Caserne Street, angle of Suffren Street.

Bazaar Saint Laurent Street was a covered stall of the old market.

C. Sea Coast (North)

Law de Lauriston constructed the ground floor of the Government Palace about 1770, in the place of the old ‘Hotel de la Compagnie des Indes’. The first floor, in the beginning stage, was built around 1790. (see photos-1&2. page 312 a)
The Deputy Collectors office in Law de Lauriston street, and French Council in No.2, The Marine Street, have the parts dating back to the last quarter of 18 C.

D. Centre of the Town

In Nehru Street, No.32 was the house of Dupleix, which is the present “Naidu Lodge.”

The house of Ananda Ranga Pillai is in Ananda Ranga Pillai Street. It was built in 1738 in front of the big market, which was already there in the beginning of the 18th century.

Candappa Mudaliar’s house is in 46, Candappa Mudaliar St. It has a beautiful entrance. Candappa Mudaliar was the Courtier of the French company.

E. Quarters and environment of the west.

Saint Andrew’s Church at Reddiar Palayam, old Ouzhugarai was built in 1745 by Pedro Canagarayan Mudaliar courtier of the company of India. It was rebuilt in 1830.(see photo-35. page 327 b)

Country House of Law de Lauriston and Bassil de Cygnes was built in 1765. It was at 400 metres from the northwest. 157

The Bishop’s house street was far away from the actual Bishop’s house, which was the seat of the first Bishop of Pondicherry from 1776.

The name of The Saint Louis Street, in the northern quarter, goes back to the beginning of the 18th Century. It did not take its name from the chapel of Fort Louis, of posterior construction, but from the small Fort Saint Louis.

Replaced names: Due to ‘Municipal” Iconoclasme, the names of the streets of the 18th century were renamed. Some employ the same name still. The complete list will be tedious. Let us cite and comment on the more significant ones. We start by the French quarter. The order followed will be from the East to West, and then from North to South.

Sea Front: The ‘Cours Chabrol’, renamed ‘Avenue Goubert”, was the street of the rampart. The rampart was built on the seaside in 1745. It was the work of Dupleix, who completed the fort. Its building created a new street.

Rue Dumas: Dumas street was called the French street till the death of Martineau. There lived only the French people. The key of a plan, which represents Pondicherry in the beginning of the Government of François Martin, comprises the name of that street.
The first quarter inhabited by the civilians had been built in the place of the village of the fishermen. The French street was therefore the most ancient of the town. It would have been more apt, had it been christened ‘Rue François Martin’

Rue Romain Rolland: The Capuchins street had its name, because of the church and monastery of the Capuchins. The present name is Romain Rolland Street. Romain Rolland was a brave French man of his time.

Rue Suffren: The Suffren street is the new name of Pavillon Street. The mast of the flag of flowers of Lys used to be there.

Rue Victor Simonel: The Mint Street was the street of ‘Hotel de la Monnaié. Dumas built the mint there. The building of public works replaced it.

Rue Baslieu: The small street Baslieu, was to the west of the preceding street. It was called the street of the mosque. There was a mosque. The Muslim population was transferred to the west of the canal, where a mosque was then built.

Le Grand Canal et ses quais: The Canal was the historic monument, started under Law de Lauriston in 1770, extended in 1786 and completed in 1793. The town was demolished in 1761. The debris served to lay the bed of the Grand Canal, as the stones of the fort were used to build the bridge of the ‘Concordé. The banks of the East and West of the Canal were laid. Alfred Martineau and eighteen scientists were in charge of it. They commemorated the victories of the battle of Gingi and Ambur, and hence the names Gingi Salai and Ambur Salai. Now the Gingi Salai is christened as Subash Chandra Bose Street.

Anciennes rues Dauphine et Royale: The two short roads, which pass west to east of the ancient ‘White town’, were the Dauphine Street and the Royal Street. They were the names, evocatives from Paris of the old Regime. The first became the Street of Caserne and the other Rue Surcouf.

Rue François Martin: This name was transferred to a street more to the East, while the town was remodeled in 1765. They extended the street upto the Park of the Government, piercing the garden, which separated the house of the Governor and the ‘Hotel de la Company’.

Rue Nehru: The Dupleix street became Nehru Street. It was also called the street of Vazhudavur, in K on the Guyon plan. It was the first gate open towards the fort in the enclosure of the town. It was the name related to the fort of Vazhudavur.
Rue Rangapillai: The west section of the big street, Mission Street, was named Rangapillai street. It was called the Mission Street, because the Fathers of the foreign mission stayed in the quarters of their procurator and their church built in 1761. It rose up in front of the house of Ananda Ranga Pillai, which name still exists.

Rue de Bussy: The street of Villianur was then called Bussy street. It led to a gate of Villianur, on the plan of 1741. It is today Lal Bahadur Street.

Rue Gandhi: Former Madras Road, today Mahatma Gandhi Road, leading to the gate of Madras.

Streets of the Tamil Town: The Nidarajapayer street was the Big Brahmin Street, and Petit Brahmin Street was more to the south. Next was Vellalas street. Vellalas are second rank after the very high caste. We also find, from North to South, the streets of the washer men, Peria Kakila (Weaver), Sinna Kakila, the Chetty (Chettiars, Caste popular in the south), the ‘Sourer’ (Saanar, Kiramani, gatherer or picker of coconut) and the Yadaval (of the market of the plants).

The development of the town was hampered due to many handicaps of the French company, such as, want of capital, co-operation between the civil and military power, lack of strong navy, English attack and the lack of proper orientation of the town. Nothing was possible without money. Without it Dupleix faced problems, Lally met with defeat and the work of Lauriston was incomplete. No colony was possible without Navy. It was a vital necessity. Without Navy, there would be no news, no directions, no money, no food materials, no materials and no soldiers. Without Navy, the colonies could neither eat nor fight. Instead of being oriented North-South, as it should have been, Pondicherry, was on the old maps, oriented East to west, the face towards the sea.

There were many towns in India, which, once flourished, and decayed later such as: the seven Delhis, Fatehpur-Sikri, and the immense Buddhist sanctuaries. The urbanization of Pondicherry differed from those deserted cities. Its life was modest and diminished, but it did not perish. The French defended their rights several times with their limited fortunes. Many times destroyed or nearly destroyed, Pondicherry, like the phoenix knew to take rebirth from its ashes, and it is still there.