Conclusion.
CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSION

The urbanization of Pondicherry of the French colonial period from 1673 to 1816 is summarized in this chapter. The urban development of Pondicherry of this span of time was initiated and influenced by several factors such as Geography, European trade, especially that of the French, establishment of French rule in India, development of transport and communication, education, judiciary, administration, reorganization of the police and government, medical facilities, fort and port, mint, warehouses, barracks and shops. These factors contributed to the development of infrastructure facilities of Pondicherry which acted as agents of social transformation. However, the process of urbanization was checked and slowed down due to the intermittent wars fought in Pondicherry during the 18th century. The driving force behind the urban development was trade and commerce.

The chapter on ‘Introduction’ provided details that Pondicherry was located on the middle of the coromandal coast. The nature of the land was suitable for agriculture and settlement. The ground water of Pondicherry was abundant and was used by sinking wells. It had appreciable commercial advantages. Seen from a distance, it gave a useful point of reference to the ships. A little river, Oupar, which borders Pondicherry, was navigable for flat-bottomed boats. Hence, Pondicherry was a superior settlement to any other place on the Coromandal coast.

The French founded their settlement in Pondicherry. They were primarily concerned with extracting those products, which they could not acquire within Europe. Those goods were largely agricultural. The major exports from Pondicherry were manufactures in general. However, they were made in the countryside rather than in Pondicherry. Pondicherry served as the center of procurement and distribution of agricultural and non-agricultural products. Hence, it complies with the pre-condition specified by Henri Pirenne to a place to become an urban center. The requirements of colonial Pondicherry demanded many urban functions. One of those functions was the need for a port, to allow the export of colonial wares and the import of goods from
Europe or from other parts of the non-European world, in the country trade. The trade naturally necessitated the various services associated with it; for example finance, production, transport and warehouses. Then, in colonial Pondicherry, government centers and garrisons became necessary. Those in their turn increased the density of urban life, as numerous suppliers, retailers, and artisans, arrived to serve production and trade institutions. To substantiate Max Weber's view, Pondicherry developed fortification and a town army and became a fully developed urban center.

At the local level, the French administration organized their hinterland and subsisted on the agricultural surplus. At the global level, Pondicherry organized the manufactured surplus both of its own society as well as that of others.

Pondicherry had the following features of a colonial city, as described by G. Blandier. They are as follows.

1. There was the dominance by a foreign French minority, racially or ethnically different from indigenous population. The French minority ruled the native majority of Pondicherry.

2. There was the linking of Indian and French civilizations in some form of relationship. In Pondicherry, Indo-French cultural contacts were seen in language, religion, dress, food habits, architecture, birth and furniture. Creoles, Metis, Topas and French speaking Tamils were found in Pondicherry. Cultural pluralism was an important characteristic of the colonial Pondicherry.

3. There was the imposition of an industrial society on to a non-industrialized one. This of course, applies to Pondicherry only from the early 19th Century. This sort of imposition did not happen in the period of our study.

4. There was Franco-Indian antagonistic relationship, where the native people were treated as subjects and instruments of Colonial power. The arrest of the Mahanattars, the abolition of the celebration of the Hindu festivals on Sundays, forced acquisition of natives' lands and arbitrary taxation were a few instances of this antagonist relationship.

Power-economic, social and political- was principally in the hands of the non-indigenous minority, the French. The rights of the colonized, the natives were either nil or very restricted. Only a selected few like the Dubashes Kanagaraya Mudaliar, Ananda
Ranga Pillai and Thiruvengadam Pillai were privileged to use the palanquin, sword, etc. and meet the governor. However, they were subordinates to the governors, who employed them.

The French minority was superior in terms of military and economic power and as a result, in social organization. This minority was well knit to stand strong against the native majority. Therefore, they were socially well organized. Nevertheless, at the same time, one should not perceive that all the colonizers and the colonized as two opposed categories. The rich and the influential sections of the colonized, namely Christian Vellalas and Hindu upper castes, for example Pillais and Mudaliars collaborated with the colonial rulers. In fact, colonial rule for over 200 years would not have been possible but for the collaboration of these sections.

The colonized majority was ethnically, culturally and religiously different from the colonists, who were culturally European and by religion Christian. The Catholic religious head of the Capuchins and the Jesuits were here and the Episcopal see was ordained here in the 19th Century. The church here included the Europeans and some converted Tamils Christians. There were the European white town and Hindu and Tamil Black Town. Besides these, there were Muslims, who were merchants or fishermen in Pondicherry. Under the typology of European Colonial City, Pondicherry comes under the category, where an indigenous settlement already existed. The Colonial Pondicherry initiated new economic, political and culture process. Subsequently the structural reorganization of the colonial society took place. It included the reorientation of trade and transport. New jobs and new concept of fortification emerged.

Pondicherry gained a legal status because of the firman issued to the French on behalf of the Mughul Emperor. It developed the 'legal personality' of Pondicherry, thanks to the various charters of the company and the Royal Charters. The articles of the charters were the directives and guidelines that ran the French government of Pondicherry. Ultimately it became the legal structure by the function of the Superior Council, through which justice was more or less fairly maintained. The administration of the French government thus acquired a well-defined legal dimension. Maine claims this dimension as an urban feature.
Pondicherry emerged as a town with two primary characteristics: first, a high density of population concentrated with in a limited space and secondly, a predominantly non-agricultural, particularly non-cultivating nature of its population. According to Max Weber's methodology Pondicherry fulfills the following concepts of a town: a. the economic concept, the relation of the town to agriculture. b. The political concept. c. Administrative concept of the town d. the fortress and garrison concepts of the town e. the concept of the city as fusion of fortress and market f. the social and status concept of the city.

Pondicherry represented a relative predominance of trade-commercial relations with the settlement as a whole displaying the following features: (1) A fortification. (2) A market. (3) A court of its own and at least partially autonomous law.

The chapter 'Administration and Urbanization' dealt with the administrative measures undertaken by the government of Pondicherry in the various wings of administration, such as judiciary, revenue, communication and transportation, public health and education provided infrastructure facilities in Pondicherry. There was a governor, a colonel with his contingent and staff to maintain peace and order in and around the town. The administration constructed well-protected fortress for their residence and defense. Apart from the residential houses of the Europeans, other construction works, for examples, wells, ponds, bazaars, courts, chatrams, churches, and other public utility works were undertaken. The communication system linking the town with other villages and towns of the region was improved. The administration provided the town with facilities to increase the cotton production, amenities and trading activity to the possible level. Those measures of the administration increased the population, improved the income of the government, and helped the urbanization of Pondicherry.

The Important features of urbanization, such as administration, business, population, fort, garrison, revenue and judiciary became prominent even in the period of François Martin. The administration had the head with well-defined strong powers. The administration took necessary measures to improve trade, settlement, peace, revenue and defense, which contributed for the urban growth.

The French administration encouraged Madras merchants to settle here during the period of Governors François Martin, Lenoir, Dumas and Dupleix. It made arrangements
to procure necessary materials for its population and government. The superior council passed orders in 1748 related to the claiming of ownership of company’s property, individual’s property, the forbidden areas for the construction of new houses, promoting groves and putting virgin lands under cultivation, promoting fruit farms and leasing of lands for rent. The administration had offices to register documents related to the ownership of land and consequently maintained their records in a prescribed office, which is an urban phenomenon. It systematized the use of land, the procedure of giving lease, the collection of rent and the dealings with the defaulters. The procedure of the government in land use was centralized.

The administration decentralized the power in 1773 to enforce speed, efficiency and fairness in the administration. The devolution of power was the outcome of urbanization. A new ordinance was promulgated in 1777. It specified about the ownership of properties of the Europeans. The administration revised the Superior council of 1776. A chamber of consultation, made of the natives, was also formed. The chamber of native notables, called as the ‘chamber of Consultation,’ was reorganized in December 1787.

The formation of Municipality in Pondicherry was the outcome of colonial Urbanization. The natives’ attempt to take part in the Colonial assembly shows the awareness of the local people of Pondicherry much before the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. However, the French objected to the inclusion of natives in it. The Municipality was established on 9th November 1790. There were 19 members in the Municipal Council. There were no Tamils among the Officers of the Municipal council. The representatives of the Representative committee were chosen and sent to France in December 1791. The Tamils were not given representation in the General assembly of the Municipality. The French people in Pondicherry got the awareness to participate and to represent from the period of the French Revolution. The Topas got their place in the active representation. The committee of active citizens was established on 14th November 1792.

Some French people in Pondicherry started enjoying the Franchise in the last decade of Eighteenth century. However, that was accorded only to the rich people, who could speak French. That did not include the natives. The municipality and the commission of roadways were united in providing services to people in 1792. The
colonial assembly became the monopoly of power. Finally, a Constituent Assembly was tried. Those were the steps of the political evolution of Pondicherry, which resulted due to colonial urbanization.

The French company did not receive financial support, either from the company authorities in France or from the home government. Therefore, the administration had to find and raise its own resources from Pondicherry and its neighbourhood. It mobilized funds through various means. It bought some villages, got some villages by giving gifts, and leased them for tax farming. Sale of Betel, Tobacco and Arrack were also leased for revenue. The administration also arranged revenue through customs duty, land route and sea route duty, income tax, revenue through exchange and revenue on importation of rice. The revenue that was procured in those ways was appropriated for developmental measures, helping the urbanization of Pondicherry.

Sher Khan Lodi offered the right to the company to collect customs duties at Pondicherry, against the loan given by François Martin. Martin took a small village near Pondicherry on rent from Sher Khan. In 1690, Raja Ram offered the French the right to collect customs duties in Pondicherry in return to a loan, which the French factory at Rajapur had offered earlier to Sambaji. By 1708, the French had managed to acquire from the Nawab of Carnatic and from the ruler of Gingi, Ariankuppam, Ozhugarai, Murungapakkam, Olandai, Pakkamudayanpet, Kalapet and Karuvadikuppam villages. It started getting revenue from the customs duty and lease of the newly acquired villages. Initially, the revenue received helped the administration to clear its debts. Therefore, at that time, the revenue did not contribute to the urban growth. When the debts of the company had been cleared, the revenue was used either to the maintenance or to the development of the town.

The main source of income to the company, through taxes, shifted from Agriculture to Commerce. The administration raised additional revenue through property tax, sales tax, import duty, slave tax and stamp duty. Property tax of 1% was imposed on the sale of houses in 1714. The rate was increased to 2½% in September 1715. Concessions, reductions, rebates and priorities were given to businesspersons and artisans. They were meant to keep them back in the town. Those measures of the administration helped urbanization. The new source of income to the administration was through exchange of
rupees into pagodas. Salt tax was yet another source of income for the company. The administration, in addition to collecting tax for fortifications, allotted $\frac{1}{4}$th of the customs duty for the completion of the fort. Therefore, the revenue of the administration, besides other developments, gradually made Pondicherry a Fort town.

The tax farming system assured the company a 'fixed income. The Supreme Council passed orders on 4th November 1748 concerning ownership, maintenance, and transfer of ownership, use and payment of tax for lands. The notary decided the amount of rent. The role of the Notary in the revenue system added judicial dimension to the administration.

The company extended its settlement to the nearby villages. It obtained the village of Murungapakkam from the Nawab of Carnatic during the period of Herbert. That village connected Pondicherry with Ariankuppam. Similarly, Ulandai Kirapalayam and Pakkamudayanpet also became the part of the French settlement.

The administration made efforts not only to increase the revenue but also to extend its food crops supply area for its urban population. Governor Dumas secured villages from the Indian Kings and there by increased the company's revenue. The colonial administration intended to increase its revenue through customs duty. In 1735 to bring back the merchants to Pondicherry, who were turned away by the increase of customs duty, the Superior Council reverted to the old rate of 3% on entry and 1% on exit. We find that the administration changed the rate of customs duty from time to time. The reduction and cancellation of the duty was intended to attract more traders and artisans to bring their products into Pondicherry, which helped urbanization.

The sale of arrack, betel and tobacco was farmed out. Construction of the fortifications necessitated a lot of expenditure. The administration, in addition to collecting tax for fortifications, allotted $\frac{1}{4}$th of the customs duty for that purpose. Therefore, the revenue of the administration gradually made Pondicherry a Fort town. Salt tax was yet another source of income for the company. The company was obliged to be considerate towards the tax-farmers, who were merchants and moneyminded people. Thus, the revenue system followed by the French Company in India added to the already existing wealth and power of the capitalist class.
It seems that merchants prospered more than agriculturists. The French Government imposed income tax on all the merchants of the Company and other whole sale and retail traders in the town. Villages were usually leased out for five years. Before leasing the land, the quality of the land was assessed. Under normal conditions, the lessee could pay the lease amount.

Tahsildars were a new set of urban-based officials, who emerged due to the colonial revenue system and subsequent urbanization. The lessee appointed his own tahsildar and accountant to collect revenue. The lessee of rent sub-leased some villages to riots. Leasing and sub-leasing were old practices in the agricultural revenue system. Therefore, there was continuity in the revenue system. In the old system, the ruler did not interfere directly. It was the local affair. However, in the new system the governor interfered. The interference of the governor, the ruler, was a change in the system; hence, it was an urban feature.

The colonial ruler introduced major changes in the concept of landownership. In a situation, where corporate groups owned land on caste basis, the administration conferred on the landholder the right to enjoy the produce of the soil, provided the revenue was paid to the state. Urban-based groups, particularly traders and moneylenders invested in land through purchase and that was an avenue for social mobility. However, as Cohn (1987) has shown, substantial land transfers due to sales did not take place. Hence, it seems that the major changes in rural social stratification due to land sales did not take place in colonial India.

The origin and growth of the French Mint in Pondicherry had its influence on the urbanization of Pondicherry. The mint provided income to the Company, Dubash, Chetties, the intermediaries, Shroffs, appraisers, dye-makers, workers and coolies. One special caste people, ‘thattan’ or ‘pathan’ got the job opportunity in the mint, and obviously, they had the opportunity to flourish. The coins of various denominations issued by the mint of Pondicherry became the legal tender. It avoided the Company’s dependency on Moghul coin. Hence, a lot of economic activities revolved round the process of minting coins in Pondicherry. Income through exchange of coins became one of the sources of revenues of the administration of Pondicherry. There was profitable trade in silver Bullion to the Company. The technology of minting coins was new to
Pondicherry. All those mint-based economic changes helped the urbanization of Pondicherry.

Governor Dumas, obtaining the permission to mint rupee coins of Arcot in the mint of Pondicherry, from the Nawab of Arcot, on 17th August 1736 built a mint. It became a financial institution, working under a director, having definite economic role to play. The technology of minting coins was new to Pondicherry. The company gave the first chance to the Chetties to issue coins. Workers went to Alarnbarai, learnt the techniques of minting. Therefore, a new set of artisans emerged in Pondicherry and goldsmiths and silversmiths collaborated with them.

Pagodas and panams, which were coined in Pondicherry, were of standard fineness and had a good reputation in the area. The mint made huge profits. The reputation of Indo-French money was the cause of a profitable trade in bullion. The exchange rate of three hundred and twenty rupees for hundred pagodas was considered to fetch an income of 200,000 rupees annually. The exchange rate changed from time to time and hence, the revenue to the administration.

India, which furnished a large quantity of products, bought a little. Thus, it consumed a reasonable quantity of precious metals. Often they were taken from the Government Treasury. They were used for the needs of popular smithery. A new affluent merchant class that was coming up in Pondicherry could afford to make many jewels. Their need of making jewels influenced smithery of precious metals in Pondicherry. The artisans of that skill found scope of progress in this urban center. The new category of employers related to the mint came, settled and thrived. They were the stampers, appraisers, goldsmiths, mint master, chief of peons, peons, labours and the Dubash to supervise the functions of the mint, the financial institution, which helped urbanization.

Shroffs earned profit as appraisers of Pagodas of different places. Before the payment of amount, the Shroffs examined the rupees' fineness. The French seemed to thrive well in 1747. Only large-scale production of coins gave a margin of profit to the mint contractor. Besides the circulation of the real money denominations, parchment money was in use. It was like a promissory note, mentioning the amount, date of maturity, nominee's name and the signature of the one who issued it. The mint of Pondicherry functioned till 1793. There was a short interval, between 1802 and 1803. It
resumed in 1815. The mint of Pondicherry was closed in 1830. It was reopened in 1837, and then the work stopped once for all in January 1840. Hence, the Mint in Pondicherry helped the urbanization of Pondicherry.

The portion, 'Judicial administration and urban growth' dealt with the development of the judicial system of the French Colonial Government. In most of the cases, the socio-economic and administrative compulsions in Pondicherry warranted the changes in the system. Those changes helped to regularize the socio-economic and administrative procedures of the administration and improved the urban growth of Pondicherry.

A system of dispensing justice was already in the usage of the natives in Pondicherry. However, the principles of dispensing justice, and the structure of the judicial organization went on changing from time to time in the colonial rule. Hence, there was change in their relationship as well. Change of principles and formation of the judicial system was part of the colonial urbanization, The French Company, through François Martin, originated a new system of Judiciary. The native customs and laws were respected in trying the cases of the natives. Formerly the administration had not authorized any body, other than the accused, to represent their cases. For the first time, the government authorized the accused to nominate judges, who would represent the case on behalf of the accused.

The King created Sovereign Council at Pondicherry in 1701. It was the wing of the administration, which dispensed justice. Its first sitting took place on 25th September 1702. In the eighteenth century, Judiciary of Pondicherry found a new purpose for adjournment. It was to keep back the accused in custody. Summoning the soothsayer to find out the criminals of theft cases was a custom in vogue during the 18th century. It was continued. Urbanization of Pondicherry had increased thefts. Corporal punishments were given, if people were found guilty of crimes like stealing.

The changing crime circumstances due to urbanization contributed to the emergence of a new criminal procedure. Incase of death sentence, if there was a doubt on the guilt of the condemned, they were subjected to ordinary and extra-ordinary questions, before the execution of the judgment. The order of the advocates had not yet existed in Pondicherry. In Pondicherry, the French judges used both customary Law and Shastras for adjudicating disputes among Hindus. To try the cases of the Tamils in 1746, the
arbitrators were nominated. They were the Tamils. Financial transactions were subjected to judicial proceedings. On several occasions in Pondicherry, the orders were strict, but they were not enforced strictly. The transfer of properties was legalized by a bill of sale in the name of the buyer. For effectively administering business justice all over the colonies, the Decree of 1701 set up private commercial institutions. The Pondicherry Superior Council was re-constituted in 1772. Tribunals were established with definite and well-marked jurisdiction. Justice was free of cost.

When Pondicherry lapsed into the hands of English, judicial administration was spoiled. The French reformed again the whole system of justice, when the French resumed its rule in Pondicherry in 1785. In 1805, dispensation of justice was brought down to the Panchayat level.

Urbanization paved way for recorded court procedures, and the maintenance and preservation of the registers of court verdicts. The court solved the problems regarding the mortgage of property and the subsequent financial settlement. That function of the court helped to regularize the economic transactions. The development of the town included several changes in the loan settlement process of the judiciary. However, the traditional social control regarding loan settlement also prevailed.

In 1805, the name of the Pondicherry Superior Council was changed into Tribunal Central (Central Court) and its jurisdictions also were widened. The Tribunal de Chauderié, the tribunal of the court was abolished and in its place the panchayat boards were set up. Pondicherry came back to the possession of the French on 4 October 1816. Looking at the various decisions pronounced by the Pondicherry Superior Council, one would only understand that there were no lapses in the dispensation of justice.

The topic ‘Public health administration and urbanization’ dealt with the development of health services in Pondicherry and it explains how they helped Urbanization. The colonial urbanization featured the increase of European population and French military personnel, which needed health services. The French administration provided the hospitals, doctors, nurses, helpers, medicines, potable water, clean streets, hygienic environment, neat fort, and other facilities. Those facilities, besides other reasons, maintained the local people and also drew the native population - artisans,
traders, workers, and coolies- from the neighbouring regions. Thus, the health services of the French administration were one of the causes of the Colonial urbanization.

The presence of the European population and the French military made the creation of health facilities- surgeons, hospital, and medicines etc.- obligatory. The first French doctors to Pondicherry were from the Navy. They seem to have been attending governors and soldiers. Between May 1701 and August 1704, François Martin constructed the first hospital at the seashore. The government took almost a decade for completing the construction of another hospital. In 1734, the French undertook the construction of a big hospital in the Company gardens and terminated in 1735. The urbanization compelled the administration to launch the measures of cleaning the town. So, people were asked to dump the filth in a particular pit, from where the people of the municipality cleared.

The medical development in Pondicherry was towards the treatment of the military people. Among all the medicines that were imported, anti-venereal pills were uniquely meant for the affected soldiers. Ozhugarai was an abode for the convalescents. The hospitals were meant only for the Christians. Therefore, the natives were dissatisfied. At the epoch of 4th siege of Pondicherry in 1778, the administration appointed an Inspector General of the hospitals. The English administration in Pondicherry seems to have realized the necessity to maintain the health and hygiene of the town in 1795. Therefore, it ordered that the inhabitants of the white town and black town should clean and gather daily the waste and carbages in a place, from where the ‘saalai vehicles’ would carry them. The surgeons maintained record of the details of the sick in the hospital. In the month of July 1784, which was a very hot month, the registers had 537 entries. A register was devoted for the “entry, exit and death of the Navy Officers, Sea-men, apart from the sick men at the hospital of Pondicherry.

In 1778, the French trained at first the nurses, then the doctors. It is interesting to know that a native, Ambupillai Sozhiavellalan, became a chief doctor. The Governor of France gave him a gold medal with the image of Louis XVI. Zacharie succeeded his father Ambupillai. He vaccinated nine children against the small pox at the camp of Tippu Sultan. He issued a certificate of vaccination at Vellore on 31st August 1804. That was one of the most ancient certificates of vaccination that we could find. The issue of
such certificates signifies the Pondicherry urban growth. The administration of Pondicherry took efforts to bring pure drinking water from a nearby village called Muttirapalayam. The construction materialized in 1865.

Crimes existed everywhere – in the rural areas and in the urban centers. However, the nature of the crimes differed. The topic ‘Urbanization and the role of punishment’ explained that the Punishment’s nature, punishment deciding and executing bodies, and the people, who were accused to have committed the crime, were unique in colonial urban centers. The criminal procedures that the judiciary followed defended the interests of the Government. They helped to hold the colonial administration in power, and hence, they helped the growth of a controlled town.

The criminals were imprisoned in two different places depending upon the duration of their imprisonment. They were the Fort jail and the prison attached to the courthouse. Slave trade was prevalent, especially during 1740s. It was considered a serious crime in Pondicherry. The culprits, who were involved in slave trade, were punished. There was the sale and purchase of children and servants. The parents sold their female children, of the age of five to fifteen, to the Europeans for the price that ranged from rupees two to fifteen. However, the document Folder 91 of the National Archives of India carries the natives names like Mariammal and Codandarame Pillai also as the buyers of the children. The buyer and the seller of the children made an agreement in the presence of the Nayanar of the court.

Urbanization was possible as long as its artisans were in town. When their presence was endangered, the administration took steps to protect them. In August 1748, the Europeans were looting the houses of the native town. The Tamils had to leave the town. Therefore, the government gave a warning that Europeans and sepoys doing so would be hanged. However, those orders were not seriously implemented.

The administration used punishments as a tool to exploit the labour force to develop the infrastructure of the town. The Administration ordered the labour folk to make themselves available first for the Government work, especially during the period of reconstruction such as in 1760s and 1770s. Employing men for private work was made illegal on 21st February 1774.
Urbanization was evinced in the nature of corruption. The use of corrupt practices for selfish ends generally was present in rural areas also. Nevertheless, the use of bribery in the colonial urban centers was sometimes in the form of gifts and sometimes in the form of forced collection of money. The corruption was prevalent at all levels, from the ordinary officers to the governor himself. The influence by bribery was found in agricultural, marketing, social and military circumstances. The colonial urbanization necessitated competition in production and trade and commerce. Moneyed people secured favours and advantages from the French officers through bribes, which the colonial masters, capitalized. That sort of corruption happened due to urbanization.

The chapter ‘Cloth trade and urbanization’ dealt with the urbanization of Pondicherry due to the cloth trade of the French in the Eighteenth century. The French East India Company, being a trade organization, concentrated on cloth production and cloth trade. The textile weaving and its ancillary activities were done in the suburbs of Pondicherry, which serviced the core center of the town. The company traded with a variety of commodities such as the various types of Cotton and Linen fabrics, Pepper, Spices, etc. They exported those commodities and imported Silver bullion, gold...etc. The cloth production and cloth trade led to the increase of artisans, emergence of the merchant class, development of communication, increase of employment opportunities, development of banking facilities, diversification economic activities, creation of economic institutions and building of shops and warehouses, and hence facilitated urbanization of Pondicherry.

The cloth production and cloth trade gave opportunities for various types of occupations, which resulted in urbanization. A lot of people depended upon weaving and its allied activities. Many people were involved in the ancillaries of trade. Some people were involved in loading and unloading goods. The French administration bought cloths by the pagodas that they fabricated in their mint. Therefore, some people worked in the French mint as mould makers, smelters, polishers, appraisers, weighers, loaders, supervisors and unloaders. Some people were involved in auctioning goods and properties. They were the officers, document writers, auctioners etc. There were also the people, who were involved in propagating the quality of products and attracting and securing customers for the commodities. To accelerate and facilitate trade, the system of
transport was improved. The modes of transport were bullock carts, horses, camels, boats, catamarans, ships, etc.

The cloth merchants, who had capital, emerged as the new class of people in the urban center because of the cloth trade. Some were the natives of Pondicherry and others came here from other places. They involved in trade and commerce. Besides trade, they also received the contract of production of textile fabrics from the French company and fulfilled the contract by using the weavers of the neighbouring villages of the urban center and of the villages of the hinterland. Those merchants, who were the new comers to the town, became affluent, because of their dual occupation- cloth trade and production. Because of the cloth trade, the merchant population increased in Pondicherry. There were several means, through which the merchants ordered and gathered manufactured cloth material from the hinterland. Some people involved in monetary transactions, capital formation and transaction of goods either for cash or kind. Some people were intermediaries and some were brokers-‘Dalals’, money exchangers and shroffs.

Several development activities took place because of cloth trade. Warehouses and godowns were built to stock and preserve cloth. They were mostly situated in the Black town. Besides those facilities, there was the fort. Those places were used for weighing, valuing, drying, measuring, sorting, packing, preserving of the cloths. When the cloths happened to be spoiled, they were unpacked, dried, cleaned, improved, if need be, rewashed, dyed and printed. Again, they were measured, valued, sorted, packed and preserved. The scarcity of rain obliged the superior council to dig and clean many times the ponds and wells to facilitate the washer men to prepare clothes, which were required for export.

A large number of ‘coolies’ were employed in the loading and unloading work of the goods. Those types of work opportunities led to the increase of artisans and other working population and, there by, helped the urbanization of Pondicherry.

The presence of a port and a fort in Pondicherry endorses the view of Jacques Weber that coromandel port towns consisted of a fort and port. As trading activities of the French were carried on through this port town, fort became essential for storage and safe conduct of trade. The location of Pondicherry, proximity to sea, was favourable for the
coolies to load and unload commodities for import and export. The Catamarans, boats, and ships were able to come to the coast nearer to the town, where the goods were loaded or unloaded easily. That facility of easy loading supported the trade and commercial activities of the town. Thus, Pondicherry emerged as a port city. Therefore, the ancillaries of trade, which were the transport facilities and the road system between the colonial city and the hinterland, were improved. People, who handled the means of transport increased in this urban center.

The farmers in the villages were not fully occupied in agriculture. They had much free time, after ploughing, sowing, weeding and harvesting. They took up the new occupation, say weaving, dyeing, bleaching, painting or printing, as an additional job. The villagers found that the new occupation was more rewarding. Therefore, when more opportunities of cloth production came, some of them abandoned farming, and took up weaving and related works, as a full time occupation. However, later the contractors or the merchants of the company entered into the process of production. They supplied the raw material and got the fabric produced from the weavers. The quality, design, colour, dimension etc. of the fabric was decided by the contractor. The system, by which they received the advance amount, indicates that they lost the freedom of selling their fabric.

Usually the traders gained large share through a transaction of cloth business, while the profit of the producer was generally somewhat marginal. The expansion of the cloth manufacture resulted in division of labour. Spinners, weavers, washers, bleachers, dyers and printers performed their particular works. Mostly there was no overlapping of jobs.

The progress of cloth manufacture necessitated a corresponding higher volume of raw cotton. The requirement of raw cotton for local production seemed to have been met with internally. Bringing in cultivated land under this crop increased the area under cultivation. The cultivation of crops yielding dye-stuffs was greatly helpful in the progress of the textile Industry. Indigo, al, lac, catechu, leël and others, from which colouring material, for various shades were prepared, were obtained from different parts of south India. Those dyeing materials enabled the French fabrics to acquire better finish, which increased their market value.

Cloth production required the apparatus for cleaning, spinning, weaving and printing. Those were of simple structure, crudely built, incurring little cost, but yielding
profitable results. The materials for the implements were locally available. Those material conditions, along with tropical climate, laid the foundation for the establishment of a cotton textile industry in the region. The growth of urban output of cotton goods was due to the demand of cotton goods in Europe and far eastern countries. Pondicherry was not fully a cotton cloth-producing center. It was a procuring and trading center of cotton fabrics. Pondicherry took to and expanded its weaving craft, which led to urbanization.

In the last quarter of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century, the French settlers seem to get brighter prospect of their trade. However, there were fluctuations. We find that their settlement expanded: the administration put up buildings, built fort and ramparts, bought property and provided security for them, constructed the house of governor, built warehouses and godowns, extended production contracts, increased arrival and departure of goods in ships, maintained possession of capital by the servants of company and created the new impulse to commercial enterprise. The trade, seem to be profitable to the company, but much more profitable to the agents of the company. Some company merchants and the native merchants invested their profit in the developmental activities of the town.

The French settlement was neither a consumers’ nor producers’ settlement -to use Max Weber’s paired character traits of cities. The producers of yarn and woven textiles were not residents of the settlement. They lived in villages like Muthialpet, Pakkamudianpet, villianur, Udaipalayam, Salem, Karikal, etc. away from the town. The local agents, who lived in the settlement, were not cloth consumers either. Yet, it became a market, where goods were sold and bought. Here the company was the monopoly buyer, who assumed economic control over the numerous small producers by the mechanism of giving advance. The market was the buyer’s market and the producers were located away from it.

To use Bert Hoselitz’s comparison of such a situation, the growth of Pondicherry in its first phase in the last quarter of the Seventeenth century was a parasitic growth. The parasitic nature of early growth was further evidenced by the growth of a parasitic trading and commercial class in the settlement. They became, in course of time, the real leaders of the town. The French trade created a class of trading contractors, intermediaries, agents, shroffs and stevedores. Some of them were Kanagaraya Mudaliar, Ananda Ranga
pillai, Seshala Chetti, Guruvappa Chetty, Thiruvengadam Pillai, etc. The company appointed commission agents for securing supplies from the hinterland. Kanakaraya Mudaliar and Ananda Ranga Pillai, who were Dubash of the company, started their carrier as agents. People like Seshachla chetty, Linga chetty, Velayuda Paranjothi, Kandappa Mudali, Thiruvengadam Pillai, Perumukkal Miyan Sahib, Muthu Malla Reddi, Melugiri Pandit and Vasudeva Pandit came into prominence because of trade.

There were company merchants, who were in the service of the company. Many of the merchants made fortunes by performing as intermediaries in the trade, which was carried on by the French East India Company. Most of the profits earned by the Indian agents, money-lenders, contractors and stevedores were spent in Pondicherry itself. It helped the growth of the town. A parasitic class thus began to play a generative role in the growth of the town. Those people began to acquire urban landed property and to build houses- mainly in Pondicherry, Ozhukarai, Saaram, Muthialpet and Ariankuppam. They bought land and built houses without diverting their sources and energy to trade. Those purchases extended the boundary of Pondicherry settlement.

When the people bought lands and built houses, they were directed by the philosophy of Hindu joint family and patriarchic (Dayabhaga) system of inheritance. A dichotomous situation was created at that stage of early settlement. Chetties or Komuties bought and sold houses and properties only to their caste people. Others too favoured their respective castes, while selling or giving lease of lands. It was applicable to most of the caste people, including Brahmins. Chetty Street, Komuty Street and Brahmin streets were the examples. Apart from those settlements, there were settlements, like saaram, where various caste people inhabited. However, the Pariahs lived in isolation in cherries.

To use Bert Hoselitz’s terminology, Pondicherry’s character changed from a ‘parasitic settlement’ of producing centers and emergence of an artisan class among the settlers. It began to show features of ‘a producing city’, to use Max Weber’s classification. However, the largest portion of incomes got by transactions in Pondicherry, as earlier, flowed out of the country. The major portion of the income earned by the Indian intermediaries was spent in Pondicherry. The artisans only received the benefit of a large volume of production. The town-based artisans were going in for some innovations regarding production, such as, hand printing of textiles and productions
of anchoring ropes. Production remained organized on household lines. In that pattern, commodities were produced against small production advances from the traders. It made it difficult for the small individual units to earn higher profit. The largest number of weavers settled down in Muthialpet, Pakkamudaiyanpet, Mudaliarpet, Saaram and Ozhugarai area. Many of them took up residence in other parts of the town as well. Wherever they settled, they formed a group, where several households, with their respective workshops, formed a ‘pettai’, a neighbourhood, of their own, with in a neighbourhood comprising heterogenous castes and professions.

Pondicherry was surrounded by several weaving centers, which supplied fabrics. Tindivanam was a center of some weaving activity. To the south of Tindivanam, in the Villupuram division, there were some weaving villages. The villages of Mudaliarpet, Valudavur, Kottakuppam and Muthialpet were clustered round the port of Pondicherry. Salem was a very important supplier of textiles for export in that period. In Peria Salem, the merchants of Pondicherry had their agents. The hinterland of the port of Pondicherry included Vandavasi, Udaiyarpalayam, Nagapatanam, Tanjore, Kanjeevaram, Tiruvottiyur, Sadras, Salem, Karaikal. Masulipatnam, Narayanapettai, Gundumattukal, Arani, Saidapet, Mahe, Bengal and Yenam. A populated, productive and well-administered center was a necessary ingredient to the continuation of the processes of commerce and exchange. That precondition was fulfilled in varying degrees by the procuring cum weaving center Pondicherry of the period 1650-1740.

The geography of the area and its settlement patterns were such, that the communications between ports and interior markets were easy and reasonably inexpensive. A north-south and east-west grid of roads and pathways were usable through most of the year, except the short period, when the monsoon was at its height. They provided the link between ports and markets.

Payments of freight charges, commission charges, import and export duty was part of the cloth trade process. The company secured profit, through their agents, through the freight charges of the ships. The agents of the company charged the merchandises. Freight charges ranged between 7% and 18%. Those agents, who profited because of the freight charges, became another rich class in Pondicherry.
The company used the fort as a warehouse, sorting godown, and show room of the cloth. When goods arrived, they were first taken to the Fort- the godown. Then the interested merchants came and inspected the quality of the goods. If they found them suitable for business, they bought. Proper receipts were issued both for the purchase of cloth and payment of money to the contractors and merchants.

The Company’s merchants sent for weavers from Udaiyarpalayam, Chennamanayakkam Palayam, Conjeevaram and other places in 1749 and encouraged them by the assurances of better livelihood here. The company would build houses for them. The governor himself checked sites and gave orders to begin the project. That was how the production centers and weaving community were promoted contributing to the urbanization of Pondicherry.

The hinterland of Pondicherry Port extended up to Narayana pettai, Gundumattukal, Arani, Saidapet, Salem, and Kunnathur in Chinglepet District, Shaikhabad and yanam. Muslin was sent from Pachakadai and handkerchiefs from Tranquebar. Porto Novo and Sadras constituted a part of the hinterland of the port of Pondicherry. Porto Novo supplied brown cloth and long cloth of the Dutch sort. Sadras supplied coarse blue cloth, which was of poor quality. The wider region of hinterland indicates the diversification of cloth trade.

The community of shroffs thrived in Pondicherry because of cloth trade. They exchanged pagodas for rupees or rupees for pagodas, for which they collected brokerage. They also lent money for interest. They flourished well, when French cloth trade thrived well. A system of furnishing credit sale of cloths to merchants was prevalent here. When merchants bought the cloth, they could make the payment within six months.

The French brought silver from France. They either converted them into coins to buy cloths or exchanged them for pagodas, with which they purchased the goods for Europe. Hence, the quantity of silver bullion that arrived from France seems to show the volume of French trade and the urban growth. Based on that consideration, the trade and the development of Pondicherry were good from 1737 to 1751, and after that, there was decline in trade. Sometimes a part of the silver bullions that arrived from France, were straight away exchanged for pagodas at the rate of, 7 pagodas and two panams per seer of silver in 1738. On several occasions, the company used imported gold to buy goods from
here. Whenever the ships arrived with silver, the merchants, artisans, workers, coolies and the mint people were happy, because, the merchants got advance of money for cloth production and the artisans, workers and coolies got work.

The French Company did not enjoy a favourable balance of trade. The Abbe Raynal calculated the excess of receipts from sales in Europe over invoiced-costs of goods in India at 291, 931, 212 livres from the completion of the company’s reorganization in 1725 to the return of its last cargos in 1771. It was a gross gain of nearly 50 percent. There was a slump after 1757 of both receipts and costs to half their previous level.

A specified place on the seashore was assigned, to serve as a deck for the cargo in February 1785. The allotted place was used to embark or disembark only the commodities of the King. No other merchants used it. The port of Podicherry was used as a port of transshipment also. It gave more work opportunities for port workers and coolies.

Diamond trade transactions took place in the fort in Pondicherry. That trade brought different caste people like Tawhers into Pondicherry. It changed the composite nature of the structure of the society of Pondicherry. Horses were imported from Manila, Achem and Pegu in 1740 and 1741. Manila supplied Indian hemp and sulphur. Sugar and sugar candy from Macao, Elephants from Tennasserim, Elephants and tin from Siam and sundry goods from chandranagore were imported in Pondicherry in 1745. Maldives supplied Coconuts. Precious stones worth 37 lakhs of pagodas were sent from France in 1748. Salt and salt-petre were sent to places like Bengal. Rice and Mergui wood were imported from Perak and Tennasserim. Pondicherry imported from Tennasserim wheat, rice sugar, sugar candy, lead, tutenage and wood, in March 1760. Those economic activities contributed to the urbanization of Pondicherry.

The artisans, who thrived in Pondicherry were the weavers, cloth painters and printers, masons, joiners, brick makers, potters, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, tailors, embroiders, coral polishers, leather goods producers, masons, architects and oil producers. This is not an exhaustive list. The urban artisan’s position in the town was vital, as the cultivator in his village. The artisans of Pondicherry grew proficiently even in new crafts such as papermaking, construction work, tinning, carpet weaving and
ornament production. The artisans served as the productive base of economic life and helped the urbanization of the town.

The artisans in Pondicherry were so skilled that they produced printed and painted clothes. In printing a piece with the desired pattern, blocks were employed. In painting a cloth, the stencil was laid on the cloth and was treated with a small bag filled with charcoal powder, which on the cloth thus indicated the outline of the pattern. The design thus obtained was then painted with a brush with the desired colour. That procedure used to be the native process of block making for printing sarees and clothes.

In Lenoir's time, 1,500 weaving looms were at work. The natives were quite skillful for the pottery works. There were masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, joiners, brick makers, chunnam producers and even architects. Indian masonry was excellent. The entire town of Pondicherry, built by the Indian workers, stands testimony to this. There were European artisans in Pondicherry, primarily to satisfy the requirements of the French army and the European people. European bakers of bread lived here using their art of baking. Hairdressers were first meant for the soldiers in the garrison. The presence of the European artisans underlined the economic and social development of the town.

Bernier appreciates the native artisans. The Tamil artisans did not seem to be as prosperous as those in many other countries of the world. Occupations mostly decided the marriages of the French artisans. The handmade-paper industry, made a beginning. Arrack productions were popular here. Arrack manufactures were flourishing and gave income to the company.

The other Artisans in the town were the cobblers. The hide of the cattle was useful for making water bags, water buckets, packing purposes, and jars of all sizes to contain liquids, such as oil, ghee, and wine. Shields made of buffalo hide were in common use. Ornamental articles, such as cushions were also made. However, there was the persistent Hindu taboo for leather and leatherwork. In Pondicherry, most of the native population went about barefoot. The artisans helped cloth production, constructions of fort and buildings and economic growth and hence the urbanization of Pondicherry.

The topic 'Cloth trade and Communication' dealt with the development of communication and its contribution to the urbanization of Pondicherry. Transport and means of communication occupied an important position in the urban development of
Pondicherry. The level of communication facilities in Pondicherry was an index as to the level of urban growth achieved in Pondicherry. At the preliminary stage, the unpaved tracks, which diverged from Pondicherry, ended up in the adjacent villages. In the last quarter of the 17th century, the town had a mere local significance. It was small in size. There was a low scale of trade and production. It involved only the local producers and consumers in its narrow range of small town activities. Here the means of transport were slow. The movement was not frequent. The roads were not well developed. The streets of the town and the roads linking the surrounding villages were fairly maintained. The administration attempted to minimize the discomforts of the travelers by providing halting stations and shelters. Other factors being still favourable, those facilities stimulated the town to make progress in the sphere of cloth production and the traffic in goods in the 18th century. Consequently, it increased the population and widened the area of its general activities.

Road building, construction and maintenance of ‘chatrams’ and ‘chavadies’, digging wells and planting shady trees on either side of the roads, which were linking towns were the concern of the administration. The government required all those facilities of communication for administrative and trade purposes. Cloth trade and communication influenced each other. As a result of better communication system, cloth trade flourished, rich class emerged, occupational mobility happened, artisans came and settled, population increased and thrived, and hence there was Urbanization of Pondicherry.

The cloth trade, the economic growth and the availability of employment opportunities, promoted internal migration of population. That in turn led to the need of the rise of the aggregate agricultural out put. It accompanied a proportionate increase in the volume of crops and raw materials. Therefore, the urban artisans had the tendency to raise the volume of their finished products to buy them. Those circumstances necessitated the unhampered flow of goods from place to place. So, the improvement of communication system became obligatory. Hence, economic growth, improvement of communication and urbanization were inter- influential.

The usual means of transportation during the period of our study were the Camels, Horses, Bullocks, Bullock Carts, Mules and litters. Camels were much better suited for
both personal conveyance and transportation of goods. Horses were used by the European elites. The European authorities used the Palanquins. A few natives like the dubash, were authorized to use Palanquins.

Camels, horses, dhoolies, catamarans, boats, and ships were used to send goods and messages. A significant progress was made in the field of communication in this period. There were personal letters, business letters, fake letters, and official letters. The communication system contributed to the strong administration, increase of cloth production, development of trade and commerce, increase of population in general and artisans in particular, development of chavaladies, change of the structure of the society, besides the exchange of news and sentiments. Hence, it supported the urbanization of Pondicherry.

The portion 'Banking facilities and Cloth trade' dealt with the availability of banking facilities and their contribution to cloth trade and hence to the urbanization of Pondicherry. The capitalists, contractors, merchants, agents, creditors, debtors, shroffs and the intermediaries connected with cloth trade, naturally, happened to function at different places such as Madras, Karaikal, Masulipatnam, Alambarai, Sadras, Porto Novo and South arcot. To take the amount of money involved in the trade by the individuals from one place to the other was not safe. So, the hundies, bills, bills of exchange, bonds, authorization letters and drafts, which played the role of money, was the banking facility that was in vogue. The use of such banking facilities for trade- purposes ensured safety in money transactions, encouraged trade and its allied activities, and there by gave employment to the artisans, shroffs, intermediaries and merchants, provided scope for the investment in trade and assets and hence contributed to the urbanization of Pondicherry.

In Pondicherry, the hundi-system of payment for the goods, which were bought, existed. If a person could not convey sums of money to a near or distant place, the Shroffs took it from him. They gave him a piece of paper written in the 'Hindvi' Characters. That paper in the language of this country was known as hundi.

The payment of loan through a draft, was in vogue. Payment through bill of exchange, like the cheque-system, in a simple form, existed in the 18th century. A bill, which was the instrument of payment, contained both the figure of the sum and the
period, for which it was agreed upon. The place of payment was also at times mentioned in the bill.

The tradition of giving loans was prevalent in the ruling class and in the merchant class. In the ruling class, besides the interest it brought, the loan secured some favours to the creditor. In the case of the merchants, it helped trade and commerce. Simple interest was calculated for the sum lent. A capitalist class emerged in Pondicherry. The moneylenders, besides profiting due to money lending, helped merchants to invest in cloth production and trade.

The chapter ‘Economic changes and Urbanization’ dealt with the economic changes, which took place in Pondicherry in the eighteenth century and their contribution to the urbanization of Pondicherry. The economic changes would include both agricultural and non-agricultural changes. The French East India Company, concentrated on cloth production and cloth trade. The suburbs serviced the core center of the town. The company traded with a variety of commodities such as the various types of Cotton and Linen fabrics, Pepper, Spices, etc. They exported those commodities and imported Silver bullion, gold...etc. The cloth production and cloth trade led to the increase of artisans, emergence of the merchant class, development of communication, increase of employment opportunities, development of banking facilities, diversification economic activities, creation of economic institutions and building of shops and warehouses, and hence facilitated urbanization of Pondicherry.

There were agricultural changes and surplus production of agricultural commodities, which nourished the urban population, facilitated cloth production, cloth trade, urban employment, increase of population and hence, economic growth and urbanization. The agricultural fertility of the villages of Pondicherry acted as the base, on which the superstructure of urban productional prosperity was possibly erected.

The Governor constituted a regular office to deal with matters of agriculture, whose function was to bring new areas under cultivation. The urban prosperity depended on both food grains and valuable crops, especially the cotton crop. The food grains, sustained the urban population. Topography of Pondicherry and its hinterland was an important factor in determining the progress of Pondicherry. The hinterland of
Pondicherry was rich, not only in the production of food grains but also of valuable crops, mineral wealth, and metal, in order to support urban production.

The wood from Kalapet helped the urban growth of Pondicherry. Carts, carriages and katamarans were built locally. Besides those, roofing, doors, and windows were commonly made of timber and wood. Livestock was used primarily for ploughing the land, transportation and dairy products in Pondicherry. They were used in agricultural production, transportation of goods and nutrition. Irrigation and the development of irrigation facilities contributed to the agricultural growth of Pondicherry. Consequently, it helped urbanization.

River of Gingi irrigated Pondicherry. This river fed Ousuteri pond. The tanks, ponds and wells were deepened several times during the French period. Irrigation facilities helped good harvest and offered surplus agricultural production. Pondicheery enjoyed sufficient rain with some exceptions, and suitable soil for cultivation. The administration of Pondicherry took efforts to irrigate Villianur and Ouzhugarai especially when the monsoon failed. Ugasudu tank and Ulandai tank, which were in the out villages, were used for irrigation. The administration was keen on increasing agricultural production, while renewing the lease. The administration brought new areas under cultivation of paddy.

During the harvest months, food grains were brought to the market of Pondicherry. The supply was considerable. The administration implemented some peasants-benefit-schemes to improve agricultural production. The price of paddy in Pondicherry was dearer than outside, because, there was more demand for paddy here due to dense population. Therefore, paddy cultivators preferred to sell them here than elsewhere.

The French administration brought in some changes and improvement measures to cater to the provisional needs of the European and native population in Pondicherry. The lessees were asked to repair tanks and the channels of the villages, which they had leased. The government directly purchased grains from the cultivators during the time of harvest. Overseers were appointed to supervise and improve cultivation. The Superior Council formulated new regulations regarding agricultural lands and extended the area of cultivation. Agriculture of Pondicherry experienced development and sometimes set backs.
European society and the native society of the colonial urban Center was formed mostly of merchants, intermediaries, officers, captains, soldiers, managers, supervisors, clerks, artisans, labourers of various sorts, people, who supervised preparation of commodities, coolies etc. Their needs were administrational, economical, social, spiritual, judicial and recreational. Those needs led to the origin of the urban institutions like municipality, markets, mint, courts, clubs, churches, gambling centers, warehouses, transport services, drying centers, dying centers, printing centers, washing centers, exchange centers, educational institutions etc. Because of the presence of military, whorehouses were also prevalent. Thus, the colonial urbanization was comprehensive in its functions and role.

The economic growth of Pondicherry provided opportunities for the growth of some Indian people for practicing as intermediaries to the French rulers. They enabled to maintain and continue commerce, by doing the necessary forward-operations, advance-orders, credit facilities and secure market relationship necessary for the investment of large corporations. The French expanded its hinterland and increased their intermediaries. It wanted groups and individuals, who would mediate on its behalf. Thus, a merchant class emerged in Pondicherry.

The Tuesday market or bazaar, which was one of the factors of urbanization, took place every Tuesday, in Pondicherry, behind the Fort. All the indigenous products and those that came from other places were sold in that market.

The role of French sub-merchants and agents in Pondicherry market were new to Pondicherry. They received the salary from the company and performed the role as company trade officers. There were secondary agents, who had the title of commis and assistant commis. Mostly all such agents were of French Origin. The Topas were admitted only in subordinate posts such as Super numerary and Writers.

The nature of recruiting system of employees was a major economic activity, which was new to Pondicherry. In Pondicherry, there was a ‘Procureur General’, a Bookkeeper, a Cashier, Storekeeper, and Supervisor of goods. The registration of the sale deed and the subsequent record maintenance were the colonial urban official tradition. The French administration legalized several economic and social transactions by the notary.
The French Company in Pondicherry economically depended on rich merchants for the increase of trade-activities and the growth of the town. The company raised capital by borrowing loan from the ship-owners and rich merchants. The collection of various forms of taxes and land revenues was necessary to settle the costs of administration. Tax farming became a lucrative investment in Pondicherry. The revenue from the leases of tobacco, betel, country arrack, the sale of armaments and harbour permits was utilized to maintain the administration of this urban center.

Houses acquired new utilities in urban Pondicherry. The Company took several houses for rent. They used it as a storehouse, offices or as a guesthouse. The nature of the rent deed of houses, which were prepared during the French rule, was new to Pondicherry. The peons, who were the police maintained law and order in the town. It helped Pondicherry to remain a strong Fort city, as Balandier views a colonial city.

The use of Parchment money was a feature of colonial urbanization. The government lacked minted coins for circulation. Hence, it issued parchment money to substitute the role of real minted coins. The parchment money promoted a new group of parchment money exchangers.

The revenue was considerable in 1767. However, the reconstruction expenditure surpassed the revenue. In 1767, the company had lost its monopoly of trade. In fact, the decree of September 1769 suspended the privilege of the French Company of India. The consequences of the suppression of the privilege of the Company of French India led to the liquidation of its wealth in 1771. Stringent measures were taken to uphold the economy. Thrift and economy left Pondicherry defenseless. Those measures did not encourage settlement. In April 1789, the French Government’s instructions were to limit the expenses of the Indian settlements.

The details of preparation and preservation of mortgage deed and the land purchase deed in the 18th century were new to Pondicherry. During the French rule, the mortgage deed was prepared and signed in the presence of the notary. Besides the names of the creditor, debtor, the amount given and the property pledged, it mentioned the rate of interest, the names of the writer and witnesses, and even the name of the almirah, and the house where it was kept. The registration procedure was the legal procedure of the colonial urbanization.
The topic ‘Market and Urbanization’ dealt with the nature of the Pondicherry urban market and the role of the French administration to maximize the supply of provisions and sale for feeding the urban population. By the order of the colonial government, the cultivators were to sell half of their produce in the market. The administration tried to regulate the sale in the market. The administration fixed the market price of paddy. That paddy was sold at the Mirapalli bazaars to sepoys’ women and the poor people at the subsidized rate. The Government maintained buffer stock, but its effort was not effective.

Transport dealings with the market were systematized and documented during the colonial period. Those, who wanted to sell goods, used Road Transporters, who helped to transport materials from one place to the other. A record, which gave the details of the names of the seller and transporter, date of payment and the amount, was maintained. All the efforts of the colonial government contributed to the urbanization of Pondicherry.

The topic ‘Demographic changes and Urbanization’ dealt with the nature of the mobility and demography of the population, which helped the urbanization of Pondicherry in the last quarter of the 17th century and in the 18th century. In Pondicherry, a compact gathering of inhabitants within a delimited area, a centralized government organism and a system of procuring the manufactured products existed.

The population in the colonial urban center grew due to many reasons. A lot of military personnel were brought here and settled. As company’s trade increased, the influx of the company people increased. Those foreigners were mostly men, not women. The composition of the European society in Pondicherry characterized the social structure of the whites in the Colonial Urban Center. The pure White people were only the French. The Europeans did not mix freely with the Franço-Indians. A new race emerged. The Europeans considered the Creoles and the métis, who were people of the mixed origin, of inferior race.

The population of Pondicherry distinguished Pondicherry town from the villages. The special characteristic of the population of Pondicherry was the presence of diverse ethnic groups i.e. colonists and indigenous inhabitants.

In Pondicherry, there was a Fort, a port, a Central administration, a few temples, a bazaar and a Mosque. It was believed that those factors were enough to found a town. They attracted villagers - with or without skill- from its vicinity, to move to town. The
administration provided its inhabitants with water, housing, personal service and several other goods and services.

The Mughal threat brought more than twenty thousand inhabitants into Pondicherry. The reverse happened due to Dutch fear. The population returned after the treaty of 1693. The Dutch bought from Rama Raja some lands and villages around Pondicherry, especially Ariyankuppam. The settlement of Pondicherry got extended. The richer sections of urban society maintained class and status distinctions. The Arcot people took refuge in Pondicherry owing to the troubles in Arcot in 1740. Merchants from various places came and settled here. The people of various castes, mostly rich, came and settled in Pondicherry in 1740.

Due to the incursions of the Marathas, Arcot dealers, Komuttis, Guzeratis and others fled to Pondicherry. Between 1748 and 1750, a major part of the population of Pondicherry was tossed from Pondicherry to other places, and from other places to Pondicherry. The mobility of the population was significant and in both ways in that period. Topasses, Europeans, Pariahs and others lived in the town. Outward-inward-outward, double-swing mobility process of population began again in the period 1759-1760. Obviously, it hampered the urban process. Most of the people of Pondicherry were afraid of a war between the French and the English in 1759 and moved out.

Le Gentil gave the revised figure of the population as 1000 to 2000 Europeans and around 60,000 natives in 1767. In the period of Law de Lauristan security and commerce attracted merchants to this place. The north west of Pondicherry, the villages of Secanderabad by Delarche, and Lauristonabad, by Governor Law were established in 1769.

In 1778 Pondicherry had returned to an ordinary status, about 80,000 inhabitants lived in Pondicherry and the French regions annexed to it. The population of Pondicherry came from the nearby villages into Pondicherry in 1790. There was outward mobility of population from Pondicherry due to military trouble in 1793. Thus, the strength of the population of Pondicherry was fluctuating from time to time affecting economy, social structure and urbanization.

The portion on ‘Employment changes and Urbanization’ dealt with the nature of employment opportunities, which were available in Pondicherry in the colonial period.
There were employment chances in the administration wing of the company, cloth production, trade, mint, military, Port, construction of the Fort and buildings, private works of the urban population and domestics. There were broadly two categories of employees: European employees and native employees, or Company employees and private employees. All the categories of people, who were employed, contributed to the urbanization of Pondicherry.

The French officers recruited the French workers. Every year for the appointment of specialized works, artisans were brought from France for 700 livres. They were the joiners, house carpenters, lock repairers and edge tool makers. The French servants, high and low, enjoyed somewhat good emoluments.

The French merchants operated on behalf of the company and tried to do trade and commence profitably, besides their own profit. They were the agents of trade of the company. The governor like a King enjoyed a team of servants. The upper class French people employed the domestics.

There were French physicians in Pondicherry. They were not popular. The company employed the chosen natives as the Dubash of the company. The natives were employed as the Nainard or provost of Police, whose charge was hereditary. The natives became the police and they were in charge of security. They were under the supervision of Nainard, the head of police. The natives were inducted into the service of the company as accountants, customs officers, police, messengers and menial services, besides being the brokers or courtiers. On cloth production- indirect contract, the company employed weavers, dyers, bleachers, washers, printers and spinners.

The Pondicherry society of that period was characterized by the birth of the middle class. They helped the administration to handle the native relationship problems, which enabled the company to consolidate the settlement and improve correspondence. Some of those people spied, translated, carried letters, played as ambassadors, linked or delinked the line of diplomacy.

The chapter ‘Urbanization and Social changes’ dealt with the social changes and social stratification of the Tamil society and the European society in Pondicherry due to the urbanization of Pondicherry during the French colonial rule in the 18th century. The colonial society was found divided as the white society and the native society. The white
society constituted of pure French, Portuguese, mixed race of people born to French and Portuguese, any other European country people, and those born to a European and Indian.

The native society constituted of Right hand Caste group people, the Left hand Caste group people, Brahmins and the Muslims. The composition of the native Hindu population changed during the French colonial rule. The native people, who depended on agriculture constituted the Right hand Caste group. Before colonization, they were rich and influential, when compared to the other existing businesspersons, artisans and craftsmen. They enjoyed several rights and privileges in the locality. The people of the artisan group formed Left hand Caste group. They were not rich and did not enjoy the rights that were enjoyed by the Right hand Caste people. After the emergence of the colonial town, Pondicherry, the merchants and the artisans, who formed the Left hand Caste group, who availed the new economic opportunities and who had become rich and influential as well, challenged the privileges and rights of the Right hand Caste group. It led to the outbreak of the communal tensions in the native town.

The topic, 'Urbanization and the life of the natives in the Tamil town', dealt with the changes, which took place in the social life of the natives in Pondicherry because of urbanization. The caste division conflicts became frequent due to urbanization. Due to the urban process the Tamil merchants, who had capital, became the new affluent group of people in the urban centre. They were involved in the trade and commerce and also received the contract of production of textile fabrics from the French company. In the urban situation, wealth acquired through mercantile or commercial activities, pursuit of the other professions such as government service, political office, law, medicine, production of textile fabrics etc granted social prestige and status.

During the colonial rule, the physical space in Pondicherry town and the society of colonial Pondicherry was stratified based on colour and 'race as the White town and the Black town. The white town was the area, which was situated on the coast to the East of the canal running from North to South, where the ruling elites lived and had their offices. The black town, which lay to the west of the canal, contained the native Hindus, Muslims and the converted Christians. Both caste group divisions of Hindus operated at a supra local level, that is, beyond the boundaries of the village. At the level of the village, the Pariahs lived in a separate hamlet called 'Paracherry', away from the main village site. It
was not possible for them to approach the upper caste houses or streets, because that practice was forbidden. However, in urban Pondicherry, the Kammalar and other castes of the left hand division challenged the claim to certain privileges by the right hand castes.

As regards social stratification among Christians in Pondicherry, there were European Christians and native Christians. The members of the native Christians were converts from the Hindu fold, who lived in the Black town. In Pondicherry, the Catholic Vellalas known as ‘Chouters’ carried with them, after their conversion to Christianity, the Hindu concept of hierarchy, based on purity of the higher castes and impurity of the low.

Christian women were permitted to wear the tally as a symbol of marriage, however they could not have the figure of the Hindu god, Ganesha, on the tally. Instead, a cross or Virgin Mary was insisted. Women could not be excluded from sacraments in the church when they were impure. Catholic priests did not enter the house of a dying Pariah Christian to administer the last sacrament.

The streets bore the name of the caste group, which then resided there, and even today. The richer sections of urban society maintained class and status distinctions. A fundamental transformation took place in the tradition and custom of the Tamils, when the French legalized the use of streets by all inhabitants. The French threw open streets to all castes before the revolution, during the period of Governor Lenoir. Whenever new roads were laid, the government meant them for all the people. That new regulation was new for the native people, because, certain castes used to refuse the use of their street by the people of other hand castes.

The urbanization of Pondicherry promoted an economic situation, which initiated even high caste people to change their occupation. However, they would not have normally done that, in their native village. That was a change in social tradition. Prosperous trade in handloom products tempted the economically poor people belonging to even upper Hindu castes, Viz., Brahmins, Kayasthas and other Nelasska castes, to change their original occupation and seek a living in handloom weaving.

The native society was almost organised and hierarchised. The Hindus lived in the streets, named as the street of weavers, of painters, of oil merchants, and different guilds. Their caste manners decided their daily work and the name of their streets. The rules of
Caste normally prevented them from attempting new occupation. However, some of the natives, who came from outside, changed their occupations. The secular hierarchy of the Tamil society may be seen through the occupations.

The rich Reddis and Vellalas formed the top stratum in rural caste and class hierarchy. Below them remained the cultivators. The lower castes constituted to be at the bottom of the hierarchy. Though the weavers performed a vital productions function by producing the much-demanded cloth, they were marginalized by the politico-social economic system, which was oriented towards profit making by merchants and intermediaries.

A rentier class, which lived on rents from the land, which it owned, existed prior to company's rule. In the new system, the Europeans became the new rentier class. There was considerable interdependence of different segments of society. The merchants and weavers depended as much on the company as the company depended on them. Washer men, dyers, appraisers and shippers too depended on the company. The company too looked up to them to maintain and improve its trading activities. The mint and warehouse were also inter-influential.

The administration of the town gave priority to the economic and political issues more than the social issues. The caste barrier promoted by native caste tradition was questioned in the urban society by the left hand division of Hindus, and supported by the colonial government. Because, they immediately required the support and help of the affluent left hand division people.

Pondicherry native marriage customs and rituals were not changed even after the urbanization and even after a century old foreign rule in Pondicherry. Hindu marriage celebrations, the part of Tamil culture, were popular for their rituals, music, dance and decorations. The French, when invited, took part in the Tamils' social functions. However, they responded only to the invitation of rich people. Hence, the French people acknowledged and strengthened economic relationship rather than social relationship. There were some instances when both the left and right divisions stood united. The Tamils' protest of 1791 was one of them. It seems that in that protest all the divisions of castes participated to redress the injustice caused to a native. The Mohammedans formed
a part of the Tamil population. They observed the Ramzan season and other festivals solemnly.

This part of the chapter 'Urbanization and the life of the French in the white town', dealt with the features of the socio-economic and religious life of the French in the White town of Pondicherry during the urbanization of Pondicherry. The exposition of the French life was new to Pondicherry. The French culture was reflected in the life of the white town in their marriages, functions and baptism. The white town was enlivened with ceremonial receptions of Royal guest and processions of taking presents. The rituals of the burial ceremony of governors reflected the French culture and formed part of the feature of the social life in the French town. The French colonial rule led to inter-continental births. Topas were described as the metis of European men and Indian women. Most of them were of Portuguese origin. The Creoles were born of the French and the Portuguese. A good number of the French married metisses. These changes, which happened due urbanization, were seen in Pondicherry.

Offering gifts and ‘dowry’ to wife was customary among the French. The social set up that emerged due to the influx of the bachelor military and mercantile persons was the cause for the spread of the prostitution. The white town was enlivened with ceremonial receptions of Royal guest and processions of taking presents. Such Royal receptions were new to Pondicherry. One could see the blend of Tamil and French culture in such ceremonies.

Dinner, dance, recitation of poems and gambling featured the victory celebration. The natives did not seem to have been invited for such parties. Celebrating feast days of French higher authorities was traditional in French life in Pondicherry. The Tamil notables wished them on such days. The rituals of the burial ceremony of governors reflected the French culture and formed part of the feature of the social life in the French town.

The Tamil society was apparently influenced by the ideal of ‘equality’ propagated by the French Revolution. The following reasons prepared the ground for the Revolution idea in Pondicherry. There was the deprivation of trading facilities in Pondicherry by the establishment of a new monopoly company. There was the loss of the status of a capital
of their own. It was subordinate to the Government of Isle de France. There were drastic reductions in civil administration.

The French in Pondicherry were not ready to carry the new revolutionary principles of ‘Equality’ and ‘Fraternity’ to their logical conclusion. They did not admit the Indian inhabitants in the general assembly. From the beginning till the end, the revolution in India was confined only to the French people and did not touch the Indian inhabitants, who merely looked on as curious spectators.

The topic ‘The influence of the French rule on the native caste system’, dealt with the effectiveness of the presence of the French and their rule in Pondicherry on the native caste system. The new French influences began to penetrate slowly in the Tamil society in Pondicherry. Nevertheless, the traditional features marked the social structure. The services of some Tamil people were availed for selecting and employing Tamil labourers, though they were pallis, who in traditional Pondicherry was considered low caste. Similarly, the Kallars got relevance in French Pondicherry, because of the French rule. However, the French administration was prejudiced against the Brahmans. It was seen in the order of November 1748.

The frequent conflict between the two divisions of Hindus during colonial rule was that both sides claimed superior position over the other. The administration of governor François Martin legalized the caste behaviour of the native people. It acknowledged the social privileges, which were accorded by tradition to the Right hand castes. Hence, the Right hand division castes received early support from the colonial government. In 1757, unlike the earlier one, the Governor seems to have a hand in the problem in the beginning itself, by ordering the arrest of the dancing girls. Hence, it seems that the colonial government began the religious intervention policy, unlike the earlier colonial period. For the first time in the last quarter of the 18th century the colonial government gave a ruling, that the native people should celebrate marriages in their respective houses.

The caste bond was stronger than class influence of some Tamils. It was revealed in the problem, which started when Subraya Pillai, the mint accountant, walked along the Chetti Street holding an umbrella. The caste problem affected the death procession also. The caste division conflicts made the French officers necessary, because, for every caste-conflict, the people requested them to mediate and their word became important. They
did not seek the help of a Tamil leader and obey his words. Due to urbanization of Pondicherry, the town experienced several socio-economic changes. However, the caste division conflicts still remained. All the misconceptions, misunderstandings and caste intolerance of two hand divisions disturbed the peaceful life of the Tamil community and lost some of their rights and privileges.

In a church, a partition wall was built to segregate pariahs from the caste Christians. However, by the instigation of the priest of Karaikal, the senior priest directed the removal of barrier in the church.

The topic 'Native customs and traditions during Urbanization' dealt with the nature of the native customs, which sustained and the customs that changed, because of the colonial urbanization. The continuity and change of customs and tradition of the natives may be traced in the customs of the Hindu merchants’ invitation of the persons in power, greeting French people on their feast day, marriage function of a native family, exchanging gifts, funeral function, the beliefs and superstitions, the entertainments and cultural programmes.

The Hindu merchants usually invited the persons in power with presents to participate and honour their family functions like marriage functions. Greeting people on their feast day was a part of French culture. It was not in Tamil tradition. However, the tradition of greeting elders and kings on their birthday was prevalent in the native custom.

On Bakrid day, Hindus wished their Muslim friends. The colonial urbanization did not change the tradition. A marriage function of a Muslim Royal family took place in 1747. However, the grandeur of the marriage cannot be accepted as a sample of all Muslim marriages. It was the marriage of the prince of the royal family. Nevertheless, the French culture had not changed the traditional Indian Muslim marriage customs.

It was customary for the merchants, land Lords and lessees of tax farming to give presents to the French governors or higher officials. The French governor and the Indian rulers too used to compliment each other with gifts. During the colonial period, the Governors and the higher officials enjoyed the role of the monarchs and the ministers. Hence, there was continuity in the tradition. However, the types of gifts, such as Spanish
taffeta, Velvet of Soria, blue and gold velvet cushions, which the French Governor gave to Nawab Anwar-ud-din-khan were new in the colonial period.

During the colonial period, we see a change in the funeral celebrations of a notable Tamil. Firing guns was not of Indian Tradition, yet it was used during the French period. The governor gave gift articles to notable Tamils, which were traditional. However, the accompaniment of gun salute, while giving gifts, was a feature of colonial urban period. Entertainments-cultural programmes and gambling- took place in the pre-colonial Pondicherry also. ‘Theru koothu’ a cultural programme, used to take place through out the night. Nevertheless, during festivities in the colonial period, dances, in which the French people danced, took place. It was new in Pondicherry cultural context.

The topic ‘Cultural changes during the colonial rule attempted to reveal that there was cultural continuity and change in the Indian and French culture, which was seen in the furniture, dress, ceremonies, functions, hobbies, things used, amenities of life, food and food habits, and philosophy of the natives and the French. In certain areas of the culture of both the natives and the French, there was continuity of their culture. However, on certain other areas of culture, such as dress, furniture and ceremonies the colonial urbanization allowed a modification and change. The furniture that the French used in Podicherry during the colonial period was different from the Tamil people’s culture. However, the native kings used to utilise most of such furniture. The French people extensively used them. Hence, there was both continuity and change.

The urbanization of Pondicherry initiated the transmission of Indian culture and Hindu philosophy to France. It was only from the 17th century that the real dialogue started directly between France and India, primarily through the accounts of French travelers of India. The French culture did not affect much the culture of the people of Pondicherry to any significant extent.

Caste division was among the converted Christians. The converted Christians, who were mostly the low caste people, were not able to acquaint freely with high caste converted Christians, and certainly not with European Christians. The native Christians primarily remained Tamil in their customs and manners.

In the colonial period, however, the French culture somewhat entered through the portals of the Tamil elites. The impact of French style was seen in the furniture found in
the houses of Tamil elites. There was sometimes the collaboration of cultures. The mirrors came from France, although sometimes the frames were sculptured at Pondicherry by the native artisans as flowers or shells cut and perforated. In the 18th century Pondicherry, there was exchange of knowledge of culture, and workmanship of France, China, Dacca and India, through the precious objects that were bought or presented.

Certain artistic features of Indian culture influenced the dressing habit of Dupleix, which enriched the French culture in the colony. Indian ornaments, feathers and tuft that he used were the examples. The Chinese artistic fabrics were imported into Pondicherry. Sets of porcelain objects were imported. The native elites began using those types of plates and vessels. The French did not like the food of the natives and the Tamils did not prefer the food of the French and their food habits. The food culture of the French and the natives were not inter-influential.

Tamil culture enriched the French culture, when the Tamil folk songs, which were the part of Tamil life, were translated into French and sung in the French parties. The French wanted to acclimatize themselves with the native language. The strolls, long or short, were not the habit of the native people. However, the French spent their spare time or weekends by undertaking long strolls or small tours.

Women education was first begun in Pondicherry in 1738. The French was concerned about lack of adequate education in Pondicherry. Efforts were taken to mobilize funds and educate even girls. The superior council was interested to promote western education. In 1746, the natives were not so interested in the study of sciences. Their knowledge consisted of reading, writing and calculation.

Constructing tombs on burial places and inscribing compliments on them, which happened during the colonial period, was new to Pondicherry. The manner—Flag at half-mast, fixing black flag, putting on black dress—, in which the funeral ceremony of the French generals was organized and conducted in Pondicherry, was new to the native culture.

Even during the period of economic distress, the attitude of the town’s people towards other work was such that they took up the work, which only suited them and which their caste permitted them. The town’s people did not seem to care about helping
the company. People in Pondicherry reacted differently to the Urbanization of Pondicherry. By religion the converted-Christians, might be close to the governor. The converted Christians tried to show their strength against the Tamils. However, the governor despised the effort of those Christians. Mostly he did not support them.

The topic 'Urbanization and communal implications' dealt with the implications of the growth of the Catholic community in Pondicherry, which was promoted by the colonial urbanization, on native culture. However, in course of time, their religious ambition affected the structure of the native society through conversion. Some governors seem to be considerate, because they wanted only to secure the support of the Tamil population for their economic motive-production, trade, revenue and market.

The colonial rulers like François Martin in the beginning of their rule seem to be harmless to the native religion. The colonial rulers, compelled by the French clergy, took measures to obstruct the free religious life of the natives by the imposition of restrictive and abolishing laws on the religious practices of the Hindus. 16th August 1702 was a red-letter day in the history of Pondicherry, when the natives of Pondicherry rose in agitation, for the first time, against the French power protesting their religious repressive measure. François Martin assured the natives of the government's non-interfering religious approach and solved the problem.

The French government and missionary authority under the protection of French rule induced native Catholics from Tamil Nadu to migrate and settle in Pondicherry to practise their religion without hindrance and to earn their livelihood. The conversion factor initiated tension between the people of two communities. At that juncture, the prejudice of Madam Dupleix still aggravated the tension between two sections- French and Tamil- of the society. That was the period of the revival of Hindu religious festivals, which brought back the Tamils into Pondicherry.

Certain colonial rulers like Governor Dulivier prohibited even Hindu funeral processions on certain Catholic feast days. The United opposition of the Tamils saved not only their right to practice their religion but also their prestige. The weavers, artisans and merchants did not feel comfortably settled in Pondicherry, because of the religious intolerance that the French government manifested here. A general permission was
granted to celebrate festivals and processions. The government required the natives’ services for the town’s prosperity.

The French Christians did not mix with the Converted Indian Christians. Therefore, a separate church for the native Christians had to be built. It was called the church of Malabars. The Capuchins built a church meant for the French Christians. It was Notre Dame des Anges. The Capuchins looked after the religious requirements of the Catholics. They prepared and preserved the parish minute register, which was precious and useful to study that period.

Jesuits and the Capuchins differed in their ideology. Jesuits, who seemed to Indianise Christianity, formed the Malabar rites, whereas the Capuchins treated religion isolated from the native culture. That difference of approach, led to the confrontation between the Jesuits and the Capuchins. The Jesuits were found to be adaptable to the requirements of the regional expectations, for the attainment of their objective of conversion. The government passed restrictions to employ workers on catholic festival days and on Sundays. Sometimes hatred among Christians was manifested in catholic religious festivals. The revolution of 1789 made its impact on the church of Pondicherry. The clergy was Indianised. The clergy was subjected to new regulations and they were freed from the foreign authority.

The French fathers took up some services such as teaching languages, subjects and skills also. Pondicherry had a school of studies of languages and subjects administered by the Jesuits. Students from several parts of the world came to learn. The Jesuits contributed to the educational progress in Pondicherry. Even before the government took the initiative, the Christian missionaries were active in starting educational institutions in Pondicherry.

The chapter ‘Urbanization of Pondicherry and the development of the fort and town’ dealt with the development of the fortifications and the town in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century in Pondicherry, and the subsequent urbanization of 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 defense 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 of Pondicherry, the contribution of the people, trade and defence helped the urbanization of Pondicherry.

Pondicherry, before the arrival of the French, was more a village than a town. It was active in weaving and fishing. After a brief Portuguese activity in the 16th century, the first European building in Pondicherry seems to have been a house built by the Danes for commercial purpose. The French came there in 1673.

Many new constructions came up between 1674 and 1691 to facilitate trade, defence and the necessities of life. One of the buildings, which the French erected, was a small fort near 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. Some Frenchmen built single storey brick houses near the fort. The Indian town and bazaar were located to the west of the gardens. Other churches were built around 1690-91. Construction activities were stopped in 1693, when the Dutch occupied Pondicherry. It was resumed, when it was returned to the French in 1699. A new fort was built around the first one, on the plans drawn by Vauban. It was star shaped. It was completed in 1706.

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 Cuddalorè opened on its western side. North of the fort, between the weavers quarters and the sea, another European quarter was 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.

The most active building period was between 1725 and 1754 giving importance to defence, cloth trade and the development of a planned town. Priority was given to the city-fortified 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. For the city, the grid system – straight streets were open, intersecting at right angle and bordered by trees was really implemented during that time. The opening of the two main streets involved evictions and rebuilding of several houses. They were 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 already the same as today.

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. The English after a four-month siege destroyed the town Pondicherry in 1761.

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. The government 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. Public buildings included the new Government House, today Raj Nivas, which was built in 1766-69, and the court that was built around 1788. 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. 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, later, till 1816, the French had to redo most of the town building works to maintain its status as a colonial town.
The topic ‘The period of Fort St.Louis and Urbanization’ traced 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. The French found some minimum requirements in Pondicherry thanks to the Danes. L’Espinay found a house. The little shrine dedicated to ‘Manakula Vinayakar’ existed even at the time of the arrival of the French in Pondicherry in 1673. François Martin developed Pondicherry into a Fort town. He built Fort St.Louis and defended the interests of the French. The tower, which was in the fort, was constructed in 1676.

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. In January 1677, there were already 40 newly constructed houses. From September 1678 to Easter 1679, people worked day and night in the constructions. Towards 1688, a second tower was built on the land belonging to the Capuchins. 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. The works were completed in October 1689. When the Dutch occupied Pondicherry in 1693, they demolished the church of the Jesuits. The French repaired the breaches caused by the Dutch to the fort and surrounded it by a false wall.

François Martin built and fortified a town and established trade. 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. François Martin got constructed some storerooms in the new houses. 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. The buildings of the fort were incomplete in 1689. Nevertheless, the directors, Officers and the troops lived there. According to the plan of Nyon of 1702, some warehouses and a well were situated at the gate of the Colonial Hospital.

The European town started emerging along the seashore. The fort was not the whole town, but it was only its fortified center. There were some buildings near it. Some houses
of French men were around the Fort. François 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 of a fortified French colonial town. Besides the towers on the landside, South East and North East, the Fort contained several arched godowns. The name of the King was given to the Fort – Fort St. Louis.

The formation of the Tamil locality was not preplanned and it was formed of poor houses. There was the bazaar and there was Tuesday special bazaar. The houses of the Tamils were scattered. Shops, where the Tamils used to sell tobacco, pipes, sugar, onions, and other things, surrounded the street.

To the South East of the Fort, quite nearer to the sea, the Capuchins possessed a small Church. Fr. Felix had constructed Capuchin church in 1688. It was called as Malabar (Tamil) Church and some times also St. Lazare Church. They tried to build a new church and a convent with due accommodation. Father Esprit was the author of the work. That church was situated on the north of the Fort.

The Royal door was opened in between the ‘Bastions Bretagnè and the ‘Bastion de la Compagnie. Arched ‘shops’ were constructed. ‘Shops’ were the storehouses. Gunpowder and bullets were stored there. The first tower constructed on the west was Bastion Dauphin in the beginning of 1703. The second tower of the southern side was Bastion Bourgogne. In February 1704, the tower on the north side was built. François Martin installed a big warehouse and a hospital, and made the provision of rice and salted mutton.

The first Catholic chapel was constructed in Ariyankuppam in 1690. The church of the Jesuits was constructed in 1691. 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. 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 temple. 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 Compagnié 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, helped to fill up the moat. Some arched storehouses near the Royal gate were constructed. In 1703, François Martin built some barracks to shelter the new recruits. 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. The officers of the company and the garrison were lodged in the fort. There was no much progress from 1706 to 1721. The main area of improvement of the town from 1721 was the construction of fortifications.

The topic 'The development of Pondicherry and Urbanization after François Martin and before Dupleix' dealt with the development of Pondicherry after François Martin and before Dupleix, which contributed to the Urbanization of Pondicherry. During the period between François Martin and Dupleix, Governors like Lenoir and Dumas got built the following necessities of the town. They were the fairly-laid streets, well built brick houses, the military barracks, granary for grains, new storehouses for provisions and gun powder, grave yard, two main roads, press 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 South West district. They 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.

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 from 1721 to 1735. From 1722 the wall of the old fortress and the old buildings were demolished, in order to derive 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. The Grave Yard of the French, which was in the Northern Glacis, was then transferred to the enclosure of the Capuchins. The Grave Yard of the Malabar was installed near the fort, surrounded by a brick wall.

The construction of churches was another significant feature of the development of the town. The Missionaries of Foreign Fathers and the Jesuits had their churches built for
them. The Church of Foreign Missions was completed in the street of grand bazaar in 1723. In 1728, the Jesuits’ new church was almost at hundred and ten ‘toisè from the citadel. That 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, they built storehouses for the provisions and gunpowder. The administration laid out two main roads of the towns, by having a compulsory purchase of all straw huts. They were the Street of Madras, and then Dupleix Street. They crossed the middle of the town. The building of the Press for bales and the building of the arched Hall, new storehouses of the fort and the bridge improved the infrastructure of the company. Establishment of prison rooms too, gained importance in the Company’s administration.

Transfer of technological application, like the 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 Company gave the administrators house-compensation allowance, with which they rented the houses of the Tamils. Besides that, the Company encouraged public and private entrepreneurs to build brick houses.

The administration, while minding the fort constructions, concentrated on the building of provision warehouses also. Building the fortifications shouldered the tax burden on the people of Pondicherry. The infrastructure of the Fort and Town was improved by building protection cells, room for Gunpowder, a kitchen and a prison in 1729. 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.

The administration undertook to the constructions regarding defence and accommodation. The fortifications consisted of the Bastions, such as, the Bastions St.Louis d ‘Anjou and d’Orleans’, the Northwest bastion, the Bastion St. Joseph and the two Bastions of the gate of Valudavur, Bastion Sans Peur, the Bastion de la Reine, Bastion of small artillery room and the Bastion St. Laurent. Certain people believe that during Lenoir’s time the name of ‘Poudhu chery’, ‘the new town’ would have become a common usage.
Governor Dumas completed the fortification works between 1735 and 1741. The Government of Dumas, 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 the beginning of a magnificent Government House inside the fort. 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.

The construction of a mint was a feature of urbanization, which was completed in 1738. Governor Dumas built it outside the Fort. An adjacent plot of ground was bought, to erect quarters for the goldsmiths and the other workers in the mint. There were the temples dedicated to Shiva, Pillaiar and Vishnu. The Muslims were put up in the south east of the square around the venerable tomb of Maula Sahib.

The administration completed the construction of a hospital, one of the necessities of the town in the South West quarter in 1739. Bordering the hospital, there was the first botanical garden of Pondicherry. That hospital was founded in the location of the church, which was at present near the Railway Station. Dumas collected two clauses of revenue for the completion of the city wall.

The former Madras road was pushed towards west, instead of making 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. On the extreme north, there was the graveyard of Malabar Christians, now called as the graveyard of the pariahs. When the administration built the ramparts in 1736, the huts of the Tamils were removed. They were given 1,200 pagodas, as a whole, as compensation.

The government implemented another slum clearance programme to benefit the mint employees. The pariahs, who used to live in cheries were removed from there and given another area located on the west of the fort. There was another instance of clearing the slums for the convenience of the European students. The Tamils and other individuals, who lived there had to forego their locality and residence at the end of Rue des Français, in the month of December 1738. The newly leveled lands to the west of the canal were given to about thousand two hundred Tamils.
The next part of the chapter dealt with 'the development of the town during Dupleix and before 1761 and the urbanization of Pondicherry'. 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 of stamping cloths, the chatrams, improved the standard of the roads, promoted a weavers’ settlement in Villianur and developed a new settlement Mortandi Chavadi. Those developments contributed to the textile production and trade, amenities of life of the people, job of the artisans and merchants, defense of the people and the urbanization of Pondicherry.

Dupleix continued the works on the Fort and fortifications, completed the fortifications, constructed two demi-bastions, built the rampart and eleven bastions. They defended the city. The Fort was the residence of the troops and was the storehouse of ammunitions. The godowns there were used to accommodate bales of clothes before their exportation. The basements or the underground rooms, were used as prisons.

A tower was built in the fort. It served as an observatory, to supervise the countryside. The governor house was started in 1738. Its construction was stopped in 1741. It was taken again in 1742 and completed in 1752. The Governor Dupleix’s former residence was to the north of the citadel. The new Governor House was inside Fort Louis. Inside the Fort, adjacent to the Capuchin church, there was the Belfy tower, where criminals used to be imprisoned. Governor Dupleix developed Mortandi Chavadi into Dupleix pettai.

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. The Mission Church was opposite to the residence of Ranga Pillai. An ancient Muhammadan mosque stood opposite to, and west of the Capuchin’s church. The ‘chavadi’ of stamping cloths was the place, where cloth was stamped with the Company’s mark. It was near the Brahmin Street.

The names of streets were based on occupation, like weavers’ street and Oil Mongers Street. There was also street name on the name of a notable person such as Thambi Nayinar Street. There were names of streets based on caste names also. Similarly, Topas also lived in a group in a street. Dupleix’ administration built two small storehouses on each side of the ‘Porte Marinè.’
The Tamils like Ramachandra Rao, Guntur Venkatachakla Chetti, Sungu Seshachala Chetti, Lakshmana Rao, Muthurama Chetti and Muhammad Khan Sulaiman contributed to the developmental activities of temples and its facilities. The people gave donations to deepen ponds and the court building. The Jesuits had also a house with one storey near their church. The foreign missions had a church, dedicated in 1745 to the Virgin Mary. There was the Protestant Church, opposite to the house of Ananda Ranga Pillai. The Armenians had been permitted to construct a church at Pondicherry.

Europeans bought the houses of the Tamils from 1750.

The houses of the French were big, with one floor. Fronton colonnades characterized the houses. The house of Ananda Ranga Pillai was constructed in Indian fashion. The chatrams were meant for the Europeans and the natives separately. The 18th century ‘The palace of the Governor’, is now rechristened as Raj Nivas. The old tribunal is now housing the Legislative assembly. They along with the Cercle de Pondicherry, the General Hospital, the Maternity Hospital, the Ashram Dining Hall and the United Commercial Bank were so lined up on three sides as to form the public square of the Governor house.

The next portion traced the reconstruction of the town after 1761 and before 1816. In 1761, Lord Pigot, the English General, demolished mainly the European quarters of Pondicherry. In the post destruction 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 the 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. A new warehouse was constructed. A house was used for the needs of the secretariat. The administration used the house of Chanda Sahib to make the barracks, the house of the staff and the office of the records. Thus, Pondicherry seemed a town again.

It is interesting to trace the renewed development of Pondicherry after the disaster of 1761. The old wall, which enclosed the town, and the bastions, were raised. Though the reconstruction of the public buildings and private houses were taken up soon after the
destruction of 1761, the rebuilding of the churches was not undertaken immediately. The administration gave priority to the reconstruction of the public works. It was relatively easy for the Government of Colonel Law de Lauriston of 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 task of reconstructing the town with the help of the French Engineers like Bourcet. The Tamil population resided in the west quarter. Their houses were without first floor.

There was a hospital in the square of the Railway Station the English demolished in 1761. It was built or repaired after the sieges of 1778 and 1793. In July 1778, the task of rebuilding the fort lasted for about three years from 1785 to 1788. A great part of that convent of the capuchins was not found ruined in 1769. That building then became the record office of the Justice of peace.

Engineer Bourcet points out that the French reorganised a gunpowder shop and a shop for drinks. In the town, in the northern part of the mint, four rooms were rebuilt. They were used as the beetle and tobacco godown and one Chavadi. A new warehouse was constructed near the Marine Gate closed by a brick wall. Pondicherry seemed a town because of those reconstruction works. The natives' houses, shops, benches, and clogs were not aligned properly, that some roads were blocked. Pondicherry of Law may be compared with the town of 1936.

A canal divided the town from North to South. It separated the white town from the black town. The former extended from the sea to the canal, the latter from the canal to the fortifications. If we compare the North quarters to the south quarters of the town, we find that the European quarters were rebuilt at first. The reconstructed Mosques and Temples were of less height. La Lustiere in 1785, undertook the construction of a military hospital, barracks and arsenals, and also the completion of the canal running through the town. The administration reconstructed or repaired the hospital, barraks, warehouses, powder godown, houses and the bridges. Engineer Phelines completed a few programmes in 1792. The government of Pondicherry in 1797, under the English also systematised the housing development. It seems that Pondicherry did not make much progress in the hands
of English and was returned only on 4th December 1816. At that time, it was well finished of the old Pondicherry town.

The next part of the chapter deals with 'the Town planning and Urbanization of Pondicherry'. The French administration did not design the grid plan. However, only after some 50 years of activities, it was really implemented through a continuous and conscious effort during the next 50 years. The implementation of the grid plan was made easier by the very instability of the development of the city. After every destruction through foreign attack, the town had to be partially rebuilt. It gave opportunities for improving the intersecting street alignments and the urban pattern. As Pondicherry was built around its fort, there was no 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. Some notable Tamils 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 to the officials of the French Company in the white town at concessional rates.

The defence system contributed to the Urbanization of Pondicherry. This portion dealt with the contribution of French defense system to the urbanization of Pondicherry. A Colonial rule seems to be founded on an army and naval base. To strengthen its rule, the Colonial administration continuously attempted to improve its defense system. 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. That influx of artisan and merchant population and their activities contributed to the urbanization. Therefore, the defense 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 defense facilities. Those funds could have been spent for other developmental purposes. Yet, the French did not risk their rule without defense.

The French repeatedly faced, military confrontations with its European rival, the English, in India. Pondicherry was the place of battle. Apart from those periods, the
defence feature of Pondicherry helped the urbanization of Pondicherry. The French seems to have maintained a well-structured army, which was believed to ensure security to the people in Pondicherry. The power of the French military was felt in south India by the French conquest of the fort of Valudavur. 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 1747, the administration tightened the security of the town by stationing soldiers at guarding centres. From 1750 to 1754, there was addition of troops. In the Military point of view, the Battalion of India disappeared in 1773 and was replaced by the Regiment of Pondicherry composed of two Battalions.

The urbanization of Pondicherry facilitated Franço-Indian architectural models in buildings, utensils, dress and furniture. This part of the chapter traces those cross-influential changes. The houses of the French in Pondicherry were strongly influenced by the mansion of the 17-18th centuries urban aristocracy in France. The Pondicherrian type consisted in combining the courtyard and the garden in a single space. The French houses used flat terraced roofs. The terraced houses were seen as more urban. Original decorations were shaped in the outer lime plaster. Some elements, like the balusters, were pre-fabricated by potters after the design of the stone ones. Government and Public buildings were designed with a style and pattern quite similar to private houses.

Present churches 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.

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, behind the traditional verandah with timber columns called ‘tinnai’. Koodam, opening on one side, other room, smaller and dark were mostly used for storage. There were some Cross-Cultural influences in architecture. Cornices, which were in the French town, could be drawn at two different levels. A vertical section, which connected them, was a motive absolutely alien to the classical French architecture.

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

The Urbanization of Pondicherry during the first phase of the French colonial rule, between 1673 and 1816, was interesting due to the political influence that it underwent.

The conclusions are as follows: Pondicherry largely conformed to the theories that propose colonial cities as parasitical and extractive. It was created by European interests and meant to serve them. This is a Marxian/Wallerstein's conclusion and it goes against the functional theory of village as producer of food and raw materials and town as consumer and manufacturer. An exploiter-exploited framework is too simplistic and does not fit the complex reality. Both exploiter (city/town) and exploited (village/rural) were highly differentiated in terms of caste, class and strata. The upper/middle strata of rural society, who were producers, benefited by selling their produce in urban market center. Moreover, rural migrants such as weavers also benefited through the growth of urban centers. Hence, dichotomous conclusions have only limited validity.

The government of Pondicherry undertook the administrative measures in various wings of administration, such as judiciary, revenue, communication and transportation, public health and education provided infrastructure facilities in Pondicherry. The administration constructed well-protected fortress, the residential houses of the Europeans, other construction works, for examples, wells, ponds, bazaars, courts, chatrams, churches, and other public utility works. The communication system linking the town with other villages and towns of the region was improved. The administration provided the town with facilities to increase the cotton production, amenities and trading activities. Those measures of the administration increased the population, improved the income of the government, and helped the urbanization of Pondicherry.

The French East India Company concentrated on cloth production and cloth trade. The textile weaving and its ancillary activities were done in the suburbs of Pondicherry. The suburbs serviced the core center of the town. The company traded with a variety of commodities. They exported those commodities and imported Silver bullion, gold...etc. The cloth production and cloth trade led to the increase of artisans, emergence of the
merchant class, development of communication, increase of employment opportunities, development of banking facilities, diversification economic activities, creation of economic institutions and building of shops and warehouses, and hence facilitated urbanization of Pondicherry.

The colonial society was found divided as the white society and the native society. The white society was constituted of pure French, Portuguese, mixed race of people born to French and Portuguese, any other European country people, and those born to a European and Indian. The native society was constituted of Right hand Caste group people, the Left hand Caste group people and the Muslims. The composition of the native Hindu population changed during the French colonial rule.

The government took 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 of Pondicherry, the contribution of the people, trade and defence helped the urbanization of Pondicherry.

Pondicherry served as a commercial entrepot in the company’s Asian trade. It was a strategic base for the political and commercial penetration of the interior – as the gateway, through which cotton fabrics and other products left the country.

The Cloth trade, improvements of transport facilities, the establishment of the revenue structure and the vesting of financial authority in European hands were all geared to fit the role played by Pondicherry in the economic development of Pondicherry.

Pondicherry had a port and fort. It also had a mercantile stereotype. There was development of labour supply and market. In Pondicherry administration, defence, trade, and commerce were the key urbanizing elements. The expansion of trade and marketing, extension of administrative and municipal services stimulated the growth of employment opportunities.

The advantage of imperial connection, however, was largely out weighed by the disadvantages of colonial subservience. It seems difficult to deny that Pondicherry as an exporter of cotton piece goods had to import raw cotton. The company and company
merchants mostly reaped the benefits of the export, but it did not reach the countryside except in the form of low paid jobs.

The government of Pondicherry and the town’s leading businesspersons were, bent on building the company’s economic prosperity, and the growth of trade and commerce. The cottage industry served the interests of a small elite group, more than it served those of the broader community.

There was the well-planned and rich “white” town, which was quite clearly demarcated from its native or “black” counterpart. The white town symbolized political, economic, religious, and racial superiority.

Nature of family life of the Tamils remained almost stable and not affected by the French culture. However, the emergence of ‘Franço-Indians’ - Creols and Metise- could not be ignored. The extended family ties increased.

Religious tension between the Catholics and the Hindus, and between the Hindu divisions was a regular feature. There were instances of conversion. Caste restrictions and ties were found to be strong, but the administration was invited on some occasion to settle caste division disputes.

The urbanization of Pondicherry was unique. It developed steady, regular, comprehensive urban process almost up to the middle of the 18th Century. It was battered intermittently from 1761 by the British military onslaught, whose influence lasted till the end of the 18th Century and it weakened the factors of urbanization. However, the institutions of social life were not destroyed. The continuity of social institutions helped the growth of Pondicherry as an urban center. When Pondicherry was finally restored to the French in 1816, it resumed urbanization, when the urban movement was brought back to life.

I have tried to do justice to the research work. However, exhaustive details have not been provided. There is splendid scope for research on ‘the Urbanization of Pondicherry in the 19th and 20th centuries’, which is the second and quick phase of urbanization of the French colonial rule in Pondicherry and which, I hope, scholars would soon take up.