Administration and Urbanization 1673-1816.
CHAPTER-II

ADMINISTRATION AND URBANIZATION

2.1. THE EMERGENCE OF AN URBAN CENTER

This chapter deals with the contribution of French administration to the urban growth of Pondicherry. The administration was in charge of judicial, revenue, transport and communication, production, trade, health, construction and official services. Those services provided the infrastructure facilities to the town. Those facilities helped the urban growth of Pondicherry. All those measures of the administration happened through the direction of a series of political leadership, which deserves consideration. Hence, this portion briefly traces the political contribution to the emergence of the town, before dealing with the measures undertaken by the administration.

The European merchants came to India to trade. Royal charters further authorized the charter of the East India Companies. They were permitted to settle in a place, because of the firman, which they secured from the local ruler or the Emperor of India. Thus, they acquired a legal status to govern the center, where they settled. They had their Governor, who headed the administration. The East India Company formed a Superior Council, which helped the Governor to take legal decisions. They prepared a set of rules and regulations to enforce law and order on civil and criminal cases. They also enacted laws regarding ownership of property, transfer of ownership, and building of houses, modifying and repairing houses, etc. Thus, the colonial power extended their control in most of the activities of people in their settlement, whether they were the Europeans or the natives.

At the advent of the Europeans, the village of Pondicherry constituted a few hamlets of angler settlements on the coast. There were a few Hindu temples and a Hindu community around them. It lay to the west of the anglers' settlements. A Mosque and a Muslim community inhabited the south of the Hindu settlements. On the whole, it was a rural set up and it contained only the traditional native population. Apart from the anglers community, most of the natives depended on agriculture and its ancillary activities. However, there were a few oil mongers and the artisans who satisfied the needs of the
natives. This rural center emerged as an urban center under the background of the political changes in Pondicherry, which was characterized by the progress and regress of the French colonial power. Hence, the political developments that took place in Pondicherry deserve consideration and perusal.

Pondicherry was renowned as a port center even in the period of Indo-Roman trade of the first century A.D. The considerable remains of the amphora jars, ‘Arretine’ ware, ‘dyeing vats’, black and red ware, and a substantial brick structure, evidently a ware house, at ‘Poduca’ or ‘Puduke’ (Arikamedu)- Pondicherry suggest that the agencies of the Graeco- Roman traders must have been posted at the emporia like ‘Poduca’. Arikamedu is the present Virampattinam, which is situated to the south of Pondicherry. After that epoch, Pondicherry did not seem to gain much importance till the advent of the Europeans.

In the second century A.D., Pondicherry was included in the empire of Asoka. According to the Bahur plates of the Pallava king Nratungavarman of the sixth century, Pondicherry was part of Aruvanadu, ruled by the Pallavas of Kanchipuram of the fourth century A.D. It was under the Pallavas till 913 A.D., when it passed on to the hand of the Cholas. Pondicherry became the part of the Pandya Kingdom from 1279 A.D. and it was under the Vijayanagar rule in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The inscriptions tell us that since the early years of Chola rule, a prosperous settlement towards the west of the present town of Pondicherry, known as ‘Ozhukarai Vada-karai,’ meaning the northern bank of a river stream flourished. The area close to this once prominent settlement was known as ‘Saaram’ - a word, which has a meaning close to what is now, called ‘neighborhoods’. There were indeed two ‘Saarams’ – appropriately, carrying the prefixes of ‘big’ and ‘small’ to spell out their dimension. The significance of ‘Saaram’ suggests that Ouzhukarai must have once been a more prominent settlement with the temple of Agasteeswaramudaya Devar at its center. It continued to remain so, even at the beginning of the 18th Century. It is attested by the ‘Memoirs de Chevalier de La Farellle’. The town of Pondicherry, as we know today, encompasses the old time ‘Vedapuri’ in the East, as well as Saaram and part of Ozhukarai on the west.\(^1\)
In 1670, the French, until then, at Surat, arrived at the East Coast and established a base at Masulipatnam. Sher Khan Lodi, who was master of the region of Cuddalore since 1663, at that time, wrote to the French, asking them to “establish their government here where there are good manufacturers of cloth.” It is interesting to know the circumstances, in which the French settled in Pondicherry. Goujon, the French agent, along with François Martin arrived at Pondicherry from Surat on 7th August 1670. Those merchants did not want to miss the chance that Sher Khan Lodi offered them for trade. They sent an Armenian employee of the French ‘loge’ to account the value of the proposition given by Sher Khan Lodi. The term ‘loge’ was often utilized in the place of ‘Comptoir’. It was nearer in meaning to Portuguese ‘loja’ ‘boutique’ or ‘magasin’. His enquiry proved the quantity of the manufacturers and the excellent climate. The death of Goujon left the entire responsibility on François Martin to decide. He continued to correspond with Lodi during 22 months from October 1670 to August 1672. Pondicherry was not yet a French free hold. 

On learning the arrival of the French Naval wing in the Indian seas and its victory on the Moors at San Thome on 25 July 1672, Sher Khan Lodi pressed again his offer to the French for their settlement in his lands. This time he addressed to De La Haye, who was the most authorized representative of the king of France. He sent one of his guards to Pondicherry to gather information. This guard was the first French man to step on the soil of Pondicherry. An Armenian had done the enquiry about Pondicherry in 1670. His name was not known. However, it was not l’Espinay. This fact was mentioned in his ‘memoirs’. Besides, at that time he was in San Thome. He stayed there during August and September 1672. On 1st October 1672 a French ship ‘Le Navarre’ anchored and embarked along with the eatables gathered by him. De Mainvillers, whose name was the first name, which we could mention in the history of French Pondicherry, commanded that ship.

Since December 1672, when Sher Khan Lodi gave an establishment at Pondicherry to l’Espinay, the Frenchmen got their supplies for their army for two months. Sher Khan Lodi expected that the challenge thrown to the Dutch would force the Frenchmen to establish here and resume the trade of cloth. He thought that it would enrich his state.
Bellanger de l’Espinay boarded a ship at Porto-Novo on 3rd February 1673, to install himself at Pondicherry. He was the first Frenchman, who settled to live in Pondicherry. It would be more exact to tell that he was the second, because there was another guard of De La Haye, who had preceded him. However, when he embarked there, on 4th February 1673, and since the authorities conceded his right to stay, it was with L ‘Espinay’s arrival that we have to date the official settlement of the French in Pondicherry.³

Pondicherry did not become a French possession by conquest. The French did not buy Pondicherry. They were authorized to settle on the Coramandal coast. The Hindus there and the French maintained the relationship of understanding. The Tamils aspired to enrichment through some commercial activities.⁴

In 1673 when Bellanger de L ‘Espinay moved into Pondicherry, political conditions in the neighbouring kingdoms were quite disturbed. François Martin succeeded him in 1675. François Martin received a firman from Shivaji in 1677, which gave the French the monopoly of the Fort and trade of Pondicherry. François Martin captured the Fort of Valudavur in 1676, which increased the French power. The Dutch, seized Pondicherry in 1690. François Martin wanted fresh force. A new squadron commanded by Duquesne Guetton arrived. It was just enough to gain respect in Pondicherry.⁵ The Dutch recaptured Pondicherry in 1693 and restored it to the French in 1697. François Martin resumed his power in 1697. He completed the construction of Fort St.Louis in 1706. It gave a feeling of protection to the rulers and the people. Pondicherry grew to become a flourishing trading center. There were military confrontations in Carnatic and other places. Therefore, hundreds of people sought refuge in Pondicherry.

During the three decades following François Martin’s demise from 1706 to 1736, and prior to Dumas Governorship, the settlement of Pondicherry had been gradually forging ahead. There were temporary setbacks, such as Law’s financial debacle, the drought of 1728 and the epidemic of 1731. The Fort had been kept in a state of repair. The building of the ramparts, taken up in 1724, was continued.⁶ The successors of François Martin were Falcout, Dulivier and Herbert. Prevostiere succeeded Herbert in 1718 and was in power till 1721. Lenoir’s first term lasted till 1723. He had a second term from 1727 to 1735. He improved the fortification of Pondicherry by building new bastions. The trade
registered progress with frequent ship arrivals. Some territorial extension was attempted during that period. The progressing trade promoted a lot of financial activities, and immigration of artisans, merchants and weavers. (See chapter ‘Cloth trade and Urbanization’)

Benoit Dumas period was from 1735-1742. During that period, the company’s income increased due to taxes, duties and leases. He attempted to run a girl’s school. It seems that he was cordial with the Hindus. He maintained good neighbour policy. Religious frictions were avoided, Law and order was maintained.

Dupleix was the Governor from 1742 to 1754. The minor war with the English reached a lull, but then the succession to Arcot was in open dispute. Madras was captured in 1746. The French gained ransom. Dupleix made four different attempts on Fort St.David owned by the English at Cuddalore. British siege by land and sea drove Pondicherry to the brink of disaster in 1748. However, Dupleix braved the siege of 1748. There was extensive fortification of the seashore. Madras reverted to the English in 1749. There was successor problem in Arcot. The French used that disturbed situation. July 1751 was the highest point of French power in India. It was Dupleix’s most successful moment. The French received a shocking defeat at Valikondapuram in 1752. Pondicherry saw the peak of its glory and power during the time of Dupleix. Between 1744 and 1754, Pondicherry became the diplomatic capital of the Carnatic. Dupleix devoted his attention to battles, trade, production, constructions, food supply and administration.

Godehue ruled between 1754 and 1758. The French won some note worthy victories in the Deccan. In 1755, there was war between England and France. On 14th December 1758, the French besieged Madras and subsequently there was looting and occupation under the leadership of Lally. Political rivalry remained unsettled. Pondicherry lacked funds in 1759. In 1760, the National Assembly was held in an attempt to unify and defend Pondicherry. The trade was less, finance was lacking and defense was weak. There was total destruction of Pondicherry’s white Town by the British in 1761. The Treaty of Paris of 1763 restored Pondicherry and its villages- Ozhukarai, Ariankuppam, Virampattinam, Murungapakkam, Pakkamudianpet, Olandai, Abhishekapakkam, Kommapakkam and Kalapet to the French.
In 1778, again there was Anglo-French conflict. There was outward mobility of population. Pondicherry was again besieged and captured in 1778. No developmental work was undertaken. Pondicherry territories and settlements were restored to the French in 1785. The year 1787 found the setting up of an ‘Advisory Council to the Administration’. Discontent of the people led to a revolution in Pondicherry in 1790. It resulted in the setting up of a Municipality. There was lot of hope from the people. In 1792, the administration of French settlements was reorganized and the survey of villages belonging to Pondicherry was taken up. In 1793, the British reoccupied Pondicherry a third time. In the peace negotiations in Europe after the Napoleonic Wars on 30th May 1814, there was provision for restitution of all French settlements and lodges in India, which France possessed as on 1763. On 20th November 1815, the conclusion of peace treaty paved the way for restitution of the establishments under the terms of the treaty. The English rule lasted in Pondicherry till 1816. In 1816, the French accepted the restitution of Pondicherry. Whenever there had been political amity, there was progress, and whenever political rivalry and conflict, there was stagnation or regression.

There is an account about the emergence of the name of Pondicherry. Different people called Pondicherry differently at different times. Different adventurers and travelers visited this town. We find mention of “pollochire” in a story of a Dutch officer who said that he was given a warm welcome in 1618. Another speaks of “Polofere.” Francis Day, the founder of Madras stopped at ‘Poudoucherry’ in 1639, date in which he obtained the place of “Conimedou.” In 1654 Samson d’Abbeville, a geographer to the king, mentions in his book the place “Puducheira.” In 1658 the Dutch Gantier Schoten speaks of “Poulecere.” All these clearly point to the same corner of the Coramandal Coast, where some of the natives were working in the production of cloth.

Probably from the French period dates the transformation of “Poudouchery” into “Pondicherry” – J.D. Dubreuil suggests that this change would be due to a written error, which may be, explained by the fact that for a long time, the people were writing a name without even having the word. Pondicherry was known as “Palli-Cheri”, that is the village of the pallis, which was one of the numerous castes of the south India. It must have been interpreted ‘pondicheru’ as ‘poudouchery’. ‘Poudou’ means ‘new’ in Tamil, and ‘Cheru’ means pond in ‘Telugu’, an etymological hybrid, defines it. The kings of
Carte n°1 A. Les possessions françaises en Inde.
Vijayanagar hollowed out a big pond near Pondicherry. This signified very simply ‘Poudoucherri’ that is new village. For these questions still there is no convincing answer, so far, as the name Pondicherry is concerned. 10

2.2. GENERAL ADMINISTRATION AND URBANIZATION.

A place may show chances of stability and a colonial government may be particularly interested in developing it. However, in addition to those factors, the efforts of the colonial government contributed to its urbanization. This chapter deals with the administrative measures, which the colonial government undertook between 1673-1816. The administrative measures undertaken in the various wings of administration, such as judiciary, revenue, communication and transportation, public health and education provided infrastructure facilities in Pondicherry. A Governor, a colonel with his contingent and staff were there to maintain peace and order in and around the town. The administration constructed well-protected fortress for their residence. Apart from the residential houses of the Europeans, other construction works, for example, 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. Those measures increased the population, improved the income of the government, and helped the urban development of Pondicherry.

With the advent of French traders in Pondicherry, a new coastal city began to grow up as port cum-trading center. In the course of political and military advancement of primarily trading interests of the French, their settlement gradually acquired the character of port-markets with a fortress. In about a half century, it assumed the added character of an administrative center. It had its many fold economic and social functions. From the beginning, this coastal town extended their settlement within a daily-commutable distance under the available technology.

The important features of urbanization, such as administration, business, population, fort, garrison, revenue and judiciary became prominent even in the period of
François Martin. Pondicherry had emerged as a commercial settlement at the death of François Martin. Besides that, it possessed the main elements of regular administrative organization. A garrison defended a fort and protected it. Therefore, the population increased and Pondicherry had the population of around 60,000 inhabitants in 1706. It was comprised of the French and the natives. Pondicherry received fixed revenues, which were utilized for the maintenance expenditure. It had a judicial system formed by the creation of sovereign council. It dispensed cases endowed by jurisdiction of law. It possessed some particular coins. All those features constituted almost a complete system of administration. It had religious institutions such as the order of the Capuchins and Jesuits. 11

To promote coordination between the civil and military officers and ensure effectiveness in the function of the administration, the hierarchy of posts was decided and implemented. The administration constituted military officers and civil officers. Evidences show that there were disputes among them on the issue of challenging the superiority of their status. In order to avoid conflicts and promote coordination in the administration, the following hierarchy was fixed. The hierarchy of administrators was so arranged between the civil servant and military servant alternatively. As a result, the posts of officials were carefully alternated. The hierarchy of posts of power in the French administration was as follows: Governor, Commandant of the Troops, the Deputy of the Commerce, Major, the Counsels and the Merchants, the Captains and the Engineer, Sub-Merchants, Lieutenants and clerks. 12

The administration had the heads with well-defined powers. This helped in quick decision-making in lease allocation, price fixing, cloth production etc. The Governor and his subordinate, ‘the second’ looked after the military matters, company’s trade, civil administration, judiciary, law and order, sea and customs office and finance. The Governor possessed the supreme power. The second enjoyed all those powers. The Governor alone was greater than him. 13

The administration took necessary measures to improve trade, settlement, peace, revenue and defence, which contributed to urban growth. The company constituted an organization called ‘ Table Commune’ in which there were the European officers and merchants. It was promoted to avoid misunderstandings between the officers and the
French merchants. Because of this, the merchants were able to discuss problems regarding trade with the officers and find solutions. François Martin succeeded in establishing good understanding and relationship between the officers and the French merchants. 14 That conducive atmosphere resulted into the development of cloth trade.

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 Ariankuppaam. Similarly, Ulandai Kirapalayam and Pakkamudayanpet also became the part of the French settlement. South Arcot was disturbed by Carnatic wars. Therefore, people were not able to live peacefully in that region. They moved to Pondicherry hoping to be safe and desiring to lead an undisturbed life. The French developed amity with the Nawabs by offering a gift of 400 pagodas in 1709 and 300 pagodas in 1712 to the successive Nawabs, and some presents to the officers of Gingi. That effort avoided military disturbance in Pondicherry and increased the settlement of artisans. 15

The town of Pondicherry was increasing. Its native inhabitants continued to increase since the government was there. At François Martin’s death, Pondicherry was a growing town. 16 The native settlers increased in Pondicherry. Hence, the French administration felt the necessity of maintaining law and order. Therefore, it appointed 120 police to ensure peace in the settlement. 17

The administration took steps to increase the revenue of the government, because the revenue status was bad in Pierre Dulivier’s time. 18 Among other sources, the tax farming was an important source of revenue. In the early Eighteenth century Murungapakkam, Ulandai Kirapalayam and Pakkamudaiyanpet were leased out for 630 pagodas in 1708. The revenue was stepped up. By leasing company’s lands, the revenue rose up to 43553 livres (pound) in 1712. A pagoda was a south Indian currency. It was equivalent to about 8-9 shillings or about 3-4 to 3-6 rupees equivalent to 1 pagoda.
Table 1. The Company's Revenue from Villages in 1708 and 1712.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the governor</th>
<th>Name of the villages</th>
<th>Revenue from lease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pierre Dulivier (1708)</td>
<td>Murungapakkam, Kirapalayam, Pakkamudaiyanpet</td>
<td>630 pagodas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbert (1712)</td>
<td>The above villages and the company's lands</td>
<td>42,553 livres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Deliberation du Conseil Souverain, Volume I, 24th May 1713.

The administration took certain stringent measures to maximize the use of revenue. It introduced the ration system. According to this system, every French employee received his wine and six pagodas a month. The Capuchins had 200 livres instead of their daily breads. In addition to the measures taken to economize the use of the revenue, the administration made efforts to defend the town, to hold the Indian settlers, who had come from other regions.

As population increased in Pondicherry, food products were mostly available under controlled prices. There was a bazaar, where people bought commodities produced at different places. This was part of urbanization. The administration of governor Dumas encouraged the settlement of Indians, which led to a steady influx of Indians into the French settlement. The native settlers found the cost of living cheap. The people felt secure and protected. Even in times of scarcity of provisions, the administration made arrangements to supply provisions. It bought the staple foodstuff, on which the Indians lived. It took the necessary measures, through peons to prevent black market practices and it fixed the price of paddy, at which the goods had to be sold. Hence, life seemed to be comfortable for the French and Indians. There was the bazaar, where merchants sold the commodities of various villages. People were able to buy articles, which were not only produced in their own town, but also brought from neighbouring countryside and from distant places from India. The articles that were sold here reveal this fact. It traded in scents, spices, silk, gold, silver and cloth. Hence, Pondicherry was a busy mart during the period of governor Dumas.

During French rule, the record office, which maintained documents of information of births and deaths, was started. This was another feature of the urban center. This type of provision was not available in rural areas. The information from the record office enabled the administration to plan and execute well urbanization. With the
consent of the administration, the Capuchin fathers maintained the registers of ‘Etat-Civil’ of Pondicherry in one copy. From August 1729, the Capuchins decided that the records would be maintained in two copies of which one would be deposited in the record office. In order to give more authenticity, the ‘white’ registers, which contained information of the birth and death of the Europeans, marked and initialed, were given to the Fathers. The registers of the natives were not given to Fathers. They were maintained in the record office. The Superior Council completed the measure by making the copies compared by registers since January 1720 and deposited them in the record office. These prescriptions made the conservation of certificates of the Etat-Civil of Pondicherry authentic. A.Martineau published the summary containing the essential parts of those certificates. It included the time since their origin till the end of 1760, in two volumes, one of 460 pages and the other of 380 pages, in Pondicherry, in 1917 and 1919.  

Exchange of gifts between the people in power to the people in power was a customary acknowledgement of power or friendship or a diplomatic move to win a favour. Gift giving had also to do with the status of the dignitary, to whom it was given or with an objective, say seeking military assistance. Different types of gifts were given. They give clues about manufacture in Pondicherry, like cloth, or imports, like watches. Hence, giving such type of manufactured goods and imported goods is related to urbanization. Such types of goods were not available in rural areas. The types of gifts such as watches and gold lace, which were given to Chanda Sahib’s son, suggest that the change in the type of gifts was due to the urban development. The Governor Dupleix gave Chanda Sahib’s son 30 pieces of broad cloth worth 3,000 rupees, 14 rolls of china silk worth 448 rupees, 2 watches worth 400 rupees, 7 pieces of gold lace worth 250 rupees, 3 rolls each of a different colour and of velvet, 60 yards in all, worth 960 rupees.

During Medieval times the Chola kings used to inaugurate the Hindu temple festivals by pulling the car. It was the tradition and the king’s legitimacy. After the Chola period, before the French rule in Pondicherry, the Hindu religious car festivals used to be celebrated only when the Tamil Mahanattar, the accepted leader of the Tamils, inaugurated the celebration by pulling the car. However, that tradition changed during French rule. The Villianur car festival began when the French Governor pulled the car.
An alien political power head inaugurating a Hindu religious procession was a landmark in the change of tradition. It depicts the need for legitimacy of the French. In the place of the king or the Tamil leader the French governor inaugurated the Hindu festival. It was a change. However, the tradition, that the ruler starting the festival, was maintained. Therefore, we see continuity and change in tradition.  

Those who were ruled followed the custom, which was followed by those, who ruled. The Chola kings had a tradition of dressing, going to the temples for worship, celebrating, giving gifts, and accepting honour. The Tamils had an inclination to imitate their ruler. Thus, the legitimacy was maintained between the ruler and the ruled. By European custom, the French Governor in Pondicherry received fire salutes, went to church, heard mass, then returned home, gave a feast and enjoyed the feast days. It was also the custom for the other French, however poor they might be, to go with a few friends to church, hear mass, return home, share with them the food prepared according to their means and enjoy the day. The people tried to follow the manners of their rulers both during the Chola period and the French period. At the same time, the pattern of celebration and the place of worship etc. changed.

The Chola administration made the announcements of the orders of the King through an authorized person who was accompanied by a drummer who used a ‘Tom, Tom’. Tom-Tom was a type of leather musical instrument, which was used to draw the attention of the people. The people were bound to obey that order. Similarly, during the French Colonial rule, whenever the Superior Council, an organ of the administration, wanted to make an announcement, it arranged to use 'Tom Tom', which was traditional. Besides that, it issued a notice, which was displayed in chosen places. The official order of the Supreme Council was communicated to the public in the following way. It was an organized and regular procedure. When the Supreme Council issued a notice, usually, it was exhibited at the Cloth Market, the Court House, the church and the gate of the court. It was also announced by the beat of Tom-Tom.

The tradition of the use of 'Tom- Tom' was not new to Pondicherry. Yet, the use of French language and the inclusion of display of notice in places like the church and courthouse were new in 18th Century Pondicherry. Four copies of the notice were drawn up in French, Telugu and Tamil, and pasted at the Fort, viz. the Cloth market,
Courthouse, Fort gate and the church. A drummer accompanied persons like Wandiwash Rangppan. He read and explained the rule in the different quarters of the town. It was also cried throughout the city, by beat of Tom-Tom. As far as the legitimacy of announcement was concerned, there was continuity. However, in the additional procedure of issue of notice, there was change. This too was an urban feature. Thus, there was continuity and change between the ruler and the ruled with reference to legitimacy from Chola to Colonial times.

The pagodas, rupees and thepanams were different legal tender that were in circulation in Pondicherry. The administration standardized the exchange value of the pagodas, rupees and the panams. That increased the speed of the procedures of trade and helped urban growth. The availability of that type of exchange system was a feature of an urban center. In this town, the merchants and the concerned people exchanged rupees for pagodas for commercial purposes. Hence, there was an organized procedure of monetary exchange, which was implemented due to trade and commerce, which had its center in the town. The Supreme Council of Pondicherry legalized the Arcot rupees as the legal tender in Pondicherry in July 1739. A hundred pagodas eight touches each were regarded as equivalent to 320 rupees and one rupee as equivalent to 71/2 panams. One pagoda was equal to 3.2 rupees and one rupee was equal to 7 1/2 panams.

The employment procedure of labourers gradually became centralized and was organized by the government. This is an urban phenomenon. Evidence shows that on several occasions it had control on the employment in the private works also. For example, the Government enforced a law prohibiting the employment of labourers on private work in February 1741.

The administration made efforts to control the functions of the market. It fixed the prices and forbade the sale of certain goods. It fixed the selling price of commodities like tobacco, paddy and aricanut. The administration controlling the procedure of the market was an urban feature. However, the control was not effective on all the occasions. Nevertheless, the administration became the authority to regularise the market functions. The fixing of prices of commodities by an administration was not in the rural set up. On 22nd February 1741, the selling price of the tobacco was fixed at 1 panam per ten palams. The administration enforced control on the sale of goods in general. It especially
controlled and strictly prohibited the sale of contraband goods like intoxicating liquors, which were sold. On 27th February 1741, the Government forbade the sale of intoxicating liquors. The official order of the Supreme Council regarding the ban came out on 1st March 1741. It obliged all those possessing liquors to make a declaration of the possession of it. 31

Evidence shows that some times the natives represented the problem of price hike to the administration. Then the authority of the administration called the concerned big merchant and directed him to revert to the old price. Price control and price freezing was a feature that existed in this urban set up. The people put up the matter of rise in price of tobacco and betel to the Governor through Ananda Ranga Pillai, the Company's dubash. The Governor directed Vasudeva Pandit, the biggest tobacco and betel dealer in town, to sell as before, that is, nine betel leaves for one cash and twelve and a half palams of tobacco for one panam. 32

In the villages, if somebody died, the people did not have to get permission from any authority about the time of cremation and their return. Nevertheless, in Pondicherry we notice the intervention of the foreign administration in the social affairs of the native people. The people had to get prior permission from the authorities so that they would be allowed inside the town. The people lived inside the town, which was fortified by the ramparts. However, the cremation ground was situated on the north, outside the town. Therefore, they had to get permission from the administrators, so that the gate of the ramparts would be kept open for them when they returned. Besides that, in Pondicherry there was no freedom to use certain streets after a particular time. If the people had to use those streets, they had to get permission from the authorities. This was the feature of the colonial fort town. In June 1746, when one Venkataiyan had died, Seshachala Chetty, a Tamil merchant, got permission from the governor through Ananda Ranga Pillai, the company's dubash, to have the Madras gate, which was on the north, kept open until he and others returned from the cremation ground. 33

The jagirdars were large landowners, who used to supply their produce to Pondicherry. However, during the Carnatic wars, the military people looted the cultivators of the surrounding villages of Pondicherry. During such wartime, the administration enforced restrictions on people entering the town. That posed another
problem to the cultivators. Therefore, the administration protected the agriculturists in the interest of the town. During the time of external military danger, the government had extended protection to big landowners like Perumukkal Miyan Sahib, Muthu Malla Reddi and Muthu Venkatapathi Reddi. The authorities sent permission tickets to them to their villages. Permission tickets were permission letters for the entry of persons and goods into the town. Those tickets became necessary whenever there was military danger. The French obtained paddy from their lands, to the value of two lakhs of pagodas. It gave protection to their family. Their wives and children were with the French in safe custody. That huge quantity of paddy was able to arrive at Pondicherry because of the protection that the administration gave to the agricultural producers. That food supply fed sufficiently the artisans, traders, officers, military men and other labourers in the town. The administration was particular about the maintenance of population of Pondicherry especially during the time of English attack or siege.

The economy of the relatively densely populated Pondicherry urban settlement, unlike the thinly populated rural settlements, had to be strong, to meet the demand of the urban population, because, almost all the essential items of consumption have to be drawn from outside, i.e. from the surrounding rural hinterland. However, the pressure becomes too much in times of war, and there is always the need to keep in stock large quantities of consumer items and other victuals of war, in order to face blockades, sieges and prolonged war. In normal times, over supply of commodities will lead to decline of prices, while short supply of commodities lead to disproportionate rise in the price of commodities, besides hoarding, black marketing etc., which the trading community would always be waiting to exploit. Hence, in such situation the authorities, who are charged with the responsibility of governing the town, are often forced to intervene in matters having a bearing on the urban economy more often than what is required in matters relating to the rural economy.

Lenoir, the governor, imported provisions at his own cost during the times of poor crop. His efforts were useful to save the people from famine. The people of Pondicherry seemed to benefit by a strong centralized administration.

The administration took efforts to protect the cultivators. Plunderers robbed the possessions of the cultivators of the villages of Pondicherry. So the supply of food crops
to the town was affected. The cultivators lodged a complaint against the robbers to the administration, which took steps. Plunder was one of the factors affecting the supply of crops to the urban population, who survived because of that supply. Therefore, the administration took that petition into consideration and made efforts to protect the cultivators. In July 1747, the Governor received a petition from the Reddis of Alisapakkam about their loss by plunder. The following table gives the details of their losses. 36

Table-2. ITEMS ROBBED IN ALISAPAKKAM AND THEIR VALUE- 1747

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>VALUE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 24 GARSE OF PADDY, RAGI AND OTHER GRAIN</td>
<td>1,058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@ 45 ¾ PAGODAS THE GARSE</td>
<td>PAGODAS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 113 HORSES BURNT DOWN</td>
<td>.940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 177 HEAD OF CATTLE</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 40 SHEEP</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 4 PLANTAIN GARDENS</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. GOLD JEWELS AND OTHER PROPERTY</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>2,489</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The plunderers ravaged the villages. The people in the affected villages were not quiet and showed opposition. The governor took steps to protect the cultivators through Ananda Ranga Pillai. 37

The administration while solving the administrative problems encouraged Madras merchants to settle here in December 1747. The administration wanted to increase trade and hence the urbanization of the town. 38 The merchants from Madras were not coming here and settling as expected. The administrators were not pleased with the merchants' reluctance to settle here. In February 1748, the governor attempted to bring the merchants from Madras either by threat or by monetary benefits. He first warned the Company's Merchants, but then he arranged to pay them a compensation of 19,200 rupees at Madras for the loss, which they would incur in shifting their place of business. 39 The influx of
merchant community into Pondicherry from Madras and their contribution to trade and commerce was a sign of urbanization.

The administration arranged measures to control the movement of vehicles and goods into the town. It issued 'permission tickets' for the goods to pass through the gates of the town. The vehicles carrying goods also had to get tickets. That sort of control of the vehicles and goods regularized the functions of the market and defended the interests of the town. In August 1748, the vehicles and other commodities were permitted to pass in and out of town on the production of permits, which bore the seal of the Governor. The administration checked the misuse of permits and passes at the tollgates, especially during the period of military trouble, such as the siege of 1748. Those types of measures were not found in the rural trade.

Evidence shows that the administration made arrangements to procure necessary materials for its population and government. Especially during the period of military crisis, the administration was concerned about the preservation of water supply. Each house was directed to have at least thirty pots of water. The administration took steps to collect provisions from Villupuram, and coolies, peons, bullocks, horses, carts and camels from other villages. The guard of roads was given in charge of taking note of the strength of the bullocks in town. Those measures were intended to satisfy the needs of the population and retain them.

A war or threat of a war stagnated urbanization. The administration attempted to contain the population. Yet, there was outward mobility of population. However, the stagnation of urbanization under such contexts was short lived. Nevertheless, as soon as the danger of war was averted, the population that moved out of the town returned home. The people feared that they might lose their houses. However, they found their houses. Thanks to their contribution, the process of urbanization resumed. In Pondicherry, the administration discouraged the people, who planned to leave the town out of fear of war in 1748. However, a lot of people left the town, including the Brahmans. The administration made a list of the deserters. It threatened to confiscate them. On September 6 1748 those, who had left the town, returned home. For security reasons, all the Europeans in the eastern part of the town had taken refuge every evening in the
Fig. 1. Location of European and Native Settlement and Bound Hedge.

1. European Settlement.
2. Native Settlement.
3. Dividing Canal.
4. Ramparts.
5. Bound Hedge.

150 Toises Beyond.
Tamils houses, which were on the western part of the town. Therefore, the Tamils were afraid that they would lose their houses forever. However, mostly it did not happen. 45

To attain the highest levels of prosperity, the merchant community needed peace, uninterrupted peace and secondly, protection from the administration. Once the administration became weak, or even showed symptoms of weakness, the traders and merchants hesitated to seek protection from the other, more powerful, rival states. For, they were not landowners, and were not tied to their lands. Their wealth was often held in the form of gold. They were, therefore, by nature less patriotic, - because the level of patriotism could be more or less, or nil, in proportion to their wealth, which could be either in the form of land or gold. Moreover, gold could always be converted into money early and quickly. Landowners had a greater stake on their rulers than merchants or traders. The money or gold held by traders or merchants was the measure of the power wielded by those, who owned it. The time was not ripe for the rise of a knowledge based society -where axiomatically knowledge is power.

The siege of 1748 by the English dragged Pondicherry into a food crisis. However, the administration saw that the artisans and the Company’s employees were nourished through rationing. There was scarcity of food grains after the siege. Therefore, the government arranged to distribute the existing stock of provision to the company employees and to the carpenters, black smiths, cobbler and coolies. Some merchants and cultivators had hoarded paddy. The governor made an effort to bring them out. 46 Some paddy merchants and cultivators in the town had one or two month’s stock of grain. The administration deputed authorities to procure them. 47 The administration ordered rations to be issued from the liquor godown. 48 Those measures of the administration were of Colonial urban nature.

Soon after the siege, the administration concentrated on improving and extending the settlement. The European settlement was on the East, close to the coast. The natives’ settlement was on the west of the European settlement. A canal divided those two settlements. The ramparts enclosed those settlements. There were also native people to the west of the ramparts, between the ramparts and the bound hedge. (See Fig.1. Location of European and native settlement and bound hedge Page 55 a.) The administration passed new rules regarding the attainment or assessment of ownership of property in that
area. Those rules may be seen in the next paragraph. Mostly the natives came under the
new rules. It must be noted that new areas were brought under house constructions,
cultivation, forest farming and leasing. The extension of the settlement and the use of
fresh lands for agricultural, income and housing purposes were the outcome of
urbanization. The town gradually expanded. To make room for that purpose and for the
defense of the town, the council promulgated new laws. Nevertheless, the cultivators and
the tenants found the new regulations oppressive. The Superior Council passed orders in
1748 related to the claiming of ownership of company’s property, individual’s property
and 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
Europeans were not affected, because, their houses were located on the East coast, and
were not located between the walls of the town and bound hedge. The Europeans were
not the owners of land either. Those new orders affected the native landowners and
tenants.

By the orders of 12th November 1748, the Company claimed ownership of certain
gardens. Certain areas were forbidden for building houses and for cultivating coconuts
and plantains. However, some cultivators were authorized to cultivate, provided they
were ready to pay tax. Areas for fruit gardens were leased by executing a bond to the
Council. Three copies of the bond that was executed were maintained—by the court of
justice, notary and cashier. The Council forbade the misuse of the leased cultivable lands.
The notary confirmed sub lease. The renters paid their rent to the cashier. The new order
specified the procedure for confiscating houses and lands of those Tamils, who had
deserted.

On November 12, 1748, the Council’s orders of November 4 were published. The
orders are as follows:

“The Honourable Council hereby notifies all Europeans and Tamils, etc. Owning
gardens outside the town, that,

1. All the garden-land lying between the walls of the town and the bound-
hedge shall be deemed Company’s property.

2. No one shall build houses or the as Company shall mark chatrams, within
such distance from the walls.

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3. No one shall plant gardens of coconuts, plantains, or other fruit trees between the walls and the bound hedge, nor shall they plant hedges round cultivated land within the bounds.

4. Those wishing to cultivate land within the said limits, according to clause three, must execute an agreement before the notary, and pay such yearly rent as the arbitrators may decide.

5. Any one wishing to plant fruit trees beyond the bound hedge may do so 150 toises (1 toise = 1 m.95cm) beyond it at a yearly rent to the company as stated above.

6. Whoever owns gardens beyond the bound hedge shall declare and produce his titles, and execute a bond to the Council, and pay a yearly rent to the company, any failing here shall forfeit his lands.

7. The extent of the gardens already possessed or granted in future shall be written down together with the amount of rent due. Three copies of these shall be taken. One will be given to the court Justice and two, to the writers under him, the second to the notary, so that the bond may be correctly written. The third will be given to the Cashier.

8. Those who lease the Company’s lands for the cultivation of paddy shall not convert them into gardens as they did before. They should not assign them to others without a note from the notary. The bonds or notes that will be written in the case of transfer or sale need not be registered in the court.

9. The assessment of all lands sub-let shall be deducted from the rent.

10. Those who have planted separate gardens shall pay their rent to the cashier only, and his receipts shall be taken as proof of payment.

11. Those in occupation of land pay to the cashier their rent within a year of its falling due, after which on complaint of cashier the dues may be recovered by the sale of the lands.

12. It, appearing that certain people deserted the town and joined the enemy when we were besieged, the Council in order to prevent the like again, orders that their lands shall be forfeited to the company, sold at public out-cry and the proceeds taken by the company.

13. The owners of such houses may bid for them at the outcry, except those Brahmans who left their houses; the latter shall not be allowed to live here; only those
Brahmans who remained here with their families during the siege may continue to live here.

14. The court Justice and his two company’s writers shall carefully see that those orders are carried out.

The above order of the Supreme Council was issued at Pondicherry on 4th November 1748. All this shows power exercised by the colonial government. It assumed absolute authority over the lands, property and the rent. It decided the procedures and imposed them on the Indian public. The French were the masters and the Indians were second-class subjects.

The government enforced an order in November 1748, by which the government acquired the garden land, which was situated, between the ramparts and he bound hedge. There after it was called the company’s lands. In the process of urbanization of colonial towns, we come across instances of government’s arbitrary acquisition of lands for the extension of the settlement. This is another example of government’s land acquisition policy. Moreover, the foreign colonial government wielded power over the native subjects. The latter had few options but to acquiesce in the arbitrary orders of the colonial government.

The people were forbidden to build houses, ‘chatrams’ or ‘chavadies’, plant gardens and cultivate crops in the company’s lands. However, that land was subjected to lease. By that order, the administration decided to raise revenue from that land. The land beyond the bound-hedge was made available to plant fruit trees on lease. On one side, we find that the government raised funds through lease. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that virgin lands were brought under cultivation of fruit trees, coconuts and food crops. Because, the population increase in the town required more quantity of food, fruits, coconuts etc. That was due to urbanization.

Registration of documents related to the ownership of land and consequently maintaining their records in a prescribed office is an urban phenomenon in the administration. That procedure, which was followed in urban centers, was not prevalent in the rural areas. Those people, who already owned gardens earlier, were to prove their ownership and make it legal by executing a bond to the Superior Council. The records
related to the ownership of land and garden, along with the status of the arrears of the rent, were maintained in the wings of the office of judiciary.

The administration systematized the use of land, the procedure of giving lease, the collection of rent and the dealing with defaulters. Land use and tenancy of land was not totally new to Pondicherry. That had been traditionally followed from the time of Cholas. Therefore, we find continuity in the system of land use. Yet, every step of the procedure in land use was centralized. The severe ness of the conditions of the lease and the confiscation of the land of the defaulters were first found in the colonial system. Hence, we also see change in the land use. That is a feature of colonial urbanization. The law forbade the lessee converting company’s land of paddy cultivation into gardens. It forbade the transfer of the contract of lease without the consent of the notary. The rent of the sub-let lands was also calculated separately. Even individual’s gardens were subjected for rent. Payment procedures were fixed. Those in occupation of land were to pay rent regularly, if not, the arrears of rent would be recovered by the sale of their lands. Even though land was often communally owned, that is, based on caste or joint family, the colonial government assumed ownership of land and levied taxes or penalties on individual basis.

Seeking safety during the siege, the natives left their houses and went to the neighbouring villages. Due to that outward mobility, the number of population fell sharply. It led to further economic problems-set back in production, trade, market, tax and revenue. In order to avoid desertion of the natives of their houses under subsequent similar circumstances, the new order empowered the government to confiscate the house of the deserters, and sell them by auction. The natives might buy back their houses again. Brahmans were not allowed into the town again. The French seemed to have been severe with the Brahmans. It might be the reason why Brahmans are comparatively less in Pondicherry, when compared to the South Indian colonial towns. This affected the social structure of the native population. The Brahman population decreased. The French administration abused their power against the natives regarding the deserted houses. The French considered the deserters their enemies, and assumed that they joined the English. The ownership of the properties were legalised and the taxes and the related procedures that were to be adhered to, were set up by the orders of November 1748.
The Company extended its area of administration. The Governor Dupleix handed over the possession of some villages, which he had received on behalf of the Company, to the Company. He delivered over to the Company the 36 villages of Bahur, the 46 villages of Villianur in Pondicherry and the 81 villages including Tirunallar, which was added as an inam to Karaikal. 51

The administration controlled the transactions of money and maximized its financial benefits. It tried to check the economic growth of St. Paul’s priests, Capuchins and Mission people. On the other hand, it took up the means to mobilize funds. That was a positive approach to urbanization. The priests used to borrow and lend money to people. They had grown by the accumulation of interest. The administration directed Tiruchelvaraja Mudali, the court writer and other court writers, not to mortgage or sell houses to priests. 52 The King of France in 1751 forbade priests to borrow and lend money, buy houses or take mortgages. At the same time, the administration prevented people from lending to the priests, but suggested to them to invest and deposit their money with the company’s treasury only. That was an effort to improve company’s capital status, commercial activities and construction potentiality. 53

The head of the administration took care about the development of the transport and trade facilities between the villages and the town, which contributed to the urban growth of Pondicherry. There were troubles between the English and the French in October 1754. It affected the transport of food crops from the Karunguli Taluk to Pondicherry, which was under the French possession. It consisted of 360 villages. The administration provided security and checking facilities for the safe arrival of goods from Karunguli taluk to Pondicherry. 54

The threat of war affected the development of Pondicherry. Defense became the priority to the administration. Therefore, all the efforts of the administration, work force and the use of the building materials were channelised for defense. It used to be the experience of Fort Towns. In 1756 the carpenters, black smiths, masons, workers etc., in the town were compelled to work for the company only. The administration concentrated on the completion of the ramparts and the strengthening of defense. It hastened the construction of a battery outside the north-gate. 55

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People brought provisions into Pondicherry from the surrounding villages. During the Carnatic wars soldiers seized men, cattle, camels, elephants and horses for the use of their camp. Provisions did not come to the town regularly. The nine kinds of grains (Navadhanya), ghee, and other provisions were then dear in the town. The people were given liberty to get in grains and provisions from outside in 1757. Yet, there was scarcity of provisions in town. Therefore, the administration procured provisions by force from the well to do people, who used to store paddy in their granaries, and redistributed them to the people in general, and military people in particular in 1758. That was usual in the Fort Town during crisis. Kandappa Mudali, Appu Mudali, Perianna Mudali and Tiruvengadatha Pillai had paddy in their houses as usual. The Nayanar, the head of peons (police) collected them. There was also scarcity of liquor in the town. Therefore, the administration collected liquor, Colombo arrack, pattai arrack etc., in May 1758. The needs of the higher officials and military personnel were attended to first.

The native public of Pondicherry expressed their grievances to the colonial administration through a protest. That type of staging a protest of native people against the administration under native group-leadership was an urban phenomenon. The Company was financially very weak in 1759. Hence, the administration attempted to collect funds from the rich natives unlawfully. The native merchants staged a protest against the harsh procedure of the administration by closing down the shops in the town under the direction of the Mahanattars on 18th August 1759. By the mediation of Ananda Ranga Pillai, the shops were opened on the following day. On another occasion Kanakasabhai Mudali, Tillai Maistri and Muttu Pillai were to be hanged on 4th September 1759, because, it was alleged that they did not pay the undue tax that the administration wanted them to pay. Against that, the native public, led by the merchant community and the Mahanattars, staged a demonstration, which lasted till September 7. So, the death sentence was averted. However, the Mahanattars had to promise to give 81,000 pagodas. Due to the representation of the Mahanattars, La Selle, the military commander, who was the cause for the gallows affair, was transferred from his post in the mint.

The administration raising funds from the people by giving interest to them is also an urban process. There was lack of funds for the company and wanted to survive at all costs. Therefore, the administration took a new step to raise funds, which obviously
might develop the town. The administration declared that 12% interest would be allowed on all sums, which the Mahanattars and others might lend to the Company. 62

The head of the administration in Pondicherry wanted to establish direct contact with the natives to know their problems and solve them. That was not a new procedure that existed between the ruler and the ruled. During the Chola period, the king met the people on an auspicious day and heard their grievances. Therefore, in this, we find continuity in the tradition. On the other hand, the public sent petitions at any required moment and waited for the governor to settle their problem. Hence, there was also change in the tradition. The administration announced on 25th March 1760 that all Mohammedans, Christians and Hindus, whether high or low, might write their grievances and complaints in their own languages and put their petitions in the box hung at the West gate within the Fort. The governor would read the petition and settle the disputes at once. 63

The administration decentralized the power to enforce speed, efficiency and fairness in the administration. That devolution of power was the outcome of urbanization. The Governor, who was till then all-powerful, was controlled by the presence of an intendant from 1773. He, with the functions of a Commissioner, had an upper hand on justice, police, finance, navy, peace and war. The functions of the Governor were limited to the general politics and the relations with the Indian princes. He did not have free control of funds. 64

The government order of 1748 did not specifically mention the ownership of properties of the Europeans. A new ordinance was promulgated in 1777. It specified the ownership of properties of the Europeans. That was a progress in the European settlement in this colonial urban center. An ordinance on the ownership of the properties of the European inhabitants was enforced in Pondicherry in July 1777.

The home government proposed a strong administrative center in Pondicherry in 1785. It wanted to make it viable before 1789. However, due to poor economic conditions, the plan was not successful. Planning to restructure the administration was a feature of urbanization, which we find in Pondicherry in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Pondicherry was re instituted in 1785. Restructuring of the administration was planned. A new Superior Council was established by a Royal Edict of August 1784. It suppressed the old council established in February 1776. The new council consisted of
the governor, the Intendant, the senior most administrative officer and a few merchants or distinguished people of the town nominated by the governor. It was vested with both civil and criminal jurisdiction. Due to economic reasons, it proved to be a failure. The king tried to stabilize the economy of Pondicherry. The economy of the town meant the economy of the people. Pondicherry remained the colonial capital. For the sake of economic advantage, the king reorganized all the French settlements in a single Government in May 1785. Under a Governor General there were two Governors, one at Pondicherry and another at Bourbon.

Between 1778 and 1785, Pondicherry was under the English subjugation. The population, who feared their safety, left the town. However, the French administration arranged provisions to the people, whereas the English maintained law and order. Even during military crisis, when economic activities were mostly affected and progress was at stake, the minimum requirement of food and security was provided to the people. McCartney appointed George Isaac Hoissard police at Pondicherry in September 1783, to maintain law and order. The French under Bussy attended to the security of the town. Ensuring security meant providing food, which was brought into the town. Some Hindus, who were in the service of the French administration and were loyal, were rewarded. These Hindus formed a separate small group and were converted to Christianity. This changing process was part of urbanization. Some Hindus were given jobs. The Hindus, who dedicated themselves to King’s service, were rewarded. A gold medal was given to persons like Louis Bahou Pragassam Mudaliar.

The Superior Council members of 1776 were French, who held important posts in the town. They were expected to be impartial and promote peace. To support them the police was entrusted with powers. A chamber of consultation of the natives was formed. Replacing the sovereign council of 1776, a new one was constituted under the presidency of the intendant, in August 1784. The council consisted of the intendant Moracin, president, and the officers of administration, Mottet, Vice-president, Civil Lieutenant, the Lieutenant of police, the Doctor of Hospitals, and the Collector of Taxes of properties. The reorganization of the council was expected to be fair in dispensing cases and promote peace. The chamber of native notables, called as the ‘chamber of Consultation,’ was
reorganized in December 1787. The new settlement of police instituted in April 1788, increased the powers of the Lieutenant of police. 

Attempts were made by the administration to revive and urbanize Pondicherry through administration. It attempted to improve the economic conditions of Pondicherry. De Fresne assumed power on 5th October 1789. He tried to develop trade, limited the export of salt to Bengal, rendered justice and increased public revenues.

2.3. MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION AND URBANIZATION

The Municipal government is a complementary organ of government. In this part, we highlight the details of the circumstances, which led to the establishment of the Municipality in Pondicherry. The Municipality by its constructive activities, such as, laying down roads, constructing offices, medical and educational institutions contributed to the urban growth of Pondicherry from the beginning of the nineteenth century. It undertook responsibilities of providing water supply, drainage and sanitation facilities and helped urban development. It functioned fully in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The formation of Municipality in Pondicherry was the outcome of colonial urbanization. The natives’ attempt to take part in the colonial assembly shows the emancipation of the local people much before the Mutiny of 1857. The administration made an attempt to establish a Municipality in Pondicherry. The spirit of French revolution was found in the natives, but, the French people here did not allow them experiment it. The decree of the National Assembly, wished to provide Pondicherry with a Municipality. Nevertheless, its members did not agree on the question of the participation of natives. On 20th August 1790, the people agitated on that issue and wished to form a Colonial Assembly, but in vain. The people of Pondicherry tried, for the third time, to form a new organization. They gathered on 5th July 1791 in the church of Capuchins, which is today the Primary School of Surcof, to form a Colonial Assembly, which was representative of all French settlements in India.

In 1790, the governor nominated the President, Commissioner and the Secretary of the National Assembly. The Governor had received the comments of the French and the natives, in writing, on nominations for the assembly. The administration started considering, at least a little, the popular opinion in government decisions. That was a
development in the administration, which was not found in rural centers. The Governor on March 1790 nominated Moracin President of the National Assembly, Civrac as Commissioner and Mercie as Secretary. The people at least had the feeling that they had a say in the administration.

When the administration received complaints from the French people, it took actions to find the truth of the complaint. Most complaints were baseless. However, the people felt that the administration listened to their grievances. As we explained earlier, there was continuity and change in the relationship of the ruler and the ruled. The General Assembly was a feature of the colonial administration of the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Based on the written petition of grievances of the people, the Tamil and French notables, who were in French service and whom the people thought of causing atrocities, were kept under house arrest. The General Assembly met on August 20 1790. The accusations were found baseless. The arrested Tamils were warned and sent home.

The Municipal Chamber was formed, assigning area of work for members on October 21 1790. The nineteen nominated members were confirmed. Though there was divided opinion, after voting, the Municipal Council was ratified. The Municipality was established on 9th November 1790. To check corruption, 25 members, a Representative Committee, besides a President and a Secretary, was to be constituted. The members began their enforcement of Justice from 14th November 1790. Among the Officers of the Municipal Council, there were no Tamils. The representatives of the Representative Committee were chosen and sent to France in December 1791. They would discuss the affairs of Pondicherry with the French government.

The Colonial Assembly appointed some representatives for the second legislature in France. It promulgated a decree, to abolish titles. On The 14th April 1792, the French people opposed the abolition of the titles of noble. The people got the awareness to participate and to represent from period of the French Revolution. The Topas (people of Euro-Indian origin.), who were born to a French and a European, got their due place in the active citizenship. A committee of active citizens was established on 14th November 1792. It had 214 French and 14 Topas, who become active electorates for the first time.

Franchise was a new right that some French people in Pondicherry started enjoying in the last decade of eighteenth century. However, that was accorded to the rich
people, who could speak French. That did not include the natives. For franchise, citizens had to fulfill the following conditions: legitimate birth from independent French parents, property of 500 rupees or payment of rent of Rupees 5 per month and should know read and speak French. The fourth assembly, which was formed for the fourth time, was elected from second to twelfth December 1792. It appeared to be more democratic than the previous ones. 73

There was restructuring of the municipality and the fourth assembly to render better civic services. The municipality and the Commission of Roadways were united for providing services to people in 1792. The assembly was reduced to an Intermediary Commission of three members. That commission assembled to discuss issues and hold sittings in the building of the municipality. 74. The first committee began the municipal administration. The second committee gained authority. The colonial assembly became the monopoly of power. Finally, a Constituent Assembly was tried. These were the stages of the progress of the municipality of Pondicherry, which happened due to colonial urbanization. 75.

2.4. THE REVENUE ADMINISTRATION AND URBANIZATION

This part of the chapter deals with the details of the revenue system of French Pondicherry and its contribution to the urbanization of Pondicherry. The French company did not receive financial support, either from the company authorities in France or from the home government. Therefore, the administration here 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. Betel, Tobacco and Arrack were leased for revenue. Besides these, the administration 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.

Louis XIV and Colbert founded the French East India Company in 1664. It had commercial contacts with the native rulers in India. However, it could not get much
financial support from the Company authorities in France. It arranged resources in India itself to fund their commercial endeavours. During the period of François Martin, when the demand necessitated in the fields of finance and coinage, temporary solutions were found. Thus, there was an administrative effort to gather resources.\(^{76}\)

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 of 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 Karuividikuppam villages.\(^{77}\)

The French administration started getting revenue from the customs duty and lease of the newly acquired villages. The revenue collection had not become a system yet.

The French acquired from the Dutch all rights of sovereignty in 1699. Therefore, they enjoyed the revenues in full in Pondicherry. The Dutch had already instituted a beginning of financial organization that François Martin adopted in 1699. Besides farming of tobacco, betel and arrack between 1699 and 1705, François Martin got built some shops on the big garden of the native town and leased them for rent. The land revenue in 1705 was 524 pagodas (24 Panams = 1 Pagoda.), of which 229 was from Ariankuppam, 84 from Kalapet and 76 from Olandai. However, the acquisition of Ozhugarai in April 1706 increased those revenues, because it was soon leased for 506 pagodas and then for nearly the double.\(^{78}\)

**Table-3. THE REVENUE OF FOUR VILLAGES - 1705-1706.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No/Year</th>
<th>Name of the village</th>
<th>Revenue Amount</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 1705</td>
<td>Ariankuppam</td>
<td>229 pagodas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Kalapet</td>
<td>84 pagodas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Olandai</td>
<td>76 pagodas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1706</td>
<td>Ozhugarai</td>
<td>506 pagodas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1030 pagodas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tax farming of Tobacco, betel and arrack of 1699 and lease of land of 1705 and 1706, provided revenue for the French administration. Construction and lease of storehouses and formation of the financial organization was the part of the urban growth. Initially, the revenue received helped the administration to clear its debts. Therefore, at that time the revenue did not contribute to the urban growth. The Company had borrowed loans from the native princes. It cleared all the debts. Then it began enjoying the entire revenue. They were two sources of revenue for the company. The first source was from the taxes of the sale of tobacco, betel and arrack, which were leased to the rich natives. Sometimes they did not pay the taxes promptly. Therefore, they had to pay arrears. The other sort of revenue was constituted of the entrance tax paid by certain products, especially rice, and the other was the lease of the lands of the Company. 79

When the debts of the company had been cleared, the revenue was used either for maintenance or for the development of the town. Although the total revenue of Pondicherry increased only a little from 1699 to 1705, it progressed from 5,341 pagodas to 6,130 pagodas after deducting the cost of management, which came to 33,717 pagodas. A good sum of money was spent for the administration, which meant the pay of salary to mint employees of various categories and providing the infrastructure facilities for them. This was due to the progress of tax farming. On the other hand, the solid revenues of commercial activities, customs and exchange decreased due to Carnatic wars. 80

Table-4. FARMING OF TOBACCO, BETEL AND ARRACK. 81

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Tobacco</th>
<th>Betel</th>
<th>Arrack</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30th Sept 1699</td>
<td>1630P</td>
<td>250P</td>
<td>260P</td>
<td>2140Pagodas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 1700</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>360P</td>
<td>560P</td>
<td>2550P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 1704</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2400P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 1705</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3025P</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The revenue of the administration of Pondicherry was from several sources; the revenue from drinks was one of them. The revenue from Toddy had been steadily increasing, and became almost triple in twenty-seven years, between 1712 and 1739.
However, the total revenue on Toddy, Arrack and European Beverages did not increase at that rate.

**Table. 5. Farming of Arrack of Pariah (Toddy), Arrack and European Beverages-1700-1739.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>Arrack of Pariah</th>
<th>Arrack</th>
<th>European Beverages</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>500 p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1712</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1718</td>
<td>760</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1727</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1736</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1737</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>700 p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1739</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p-pagodas

X- Itemized figures not available; totals include all items checked in horizontal column


Source:
Kaeppelin, Op. cit., pp 538-539,
C.S.P.V. Vol.1. 114 and 199.
The revenue from the farming of betel and tobacco was steadily increasing from 1699 to 1742, except for a slight decrease in 1712.

Table-6. FARMING OF BETEL AND TOBACCO. 1699-1742.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>AMOUNT</th>
<th>DURATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1699</td>
<td>1880 p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1702</td>
<td>2100 p</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1704</td>
<td>2400 p</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1710</td>
<td>2500 p</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1712</td>
<td>2300 p</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1718</td>
<td>2600 p</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1728</td>
<td>4895 p</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1730</td>
<td>5000 p</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1735</td>
<td>5300 p</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1738</td>
<td>8179 p</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1740</td>
<td>9257 p 22f 62c</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1741-42</td>
<td>11413 p 5f 34c</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

p- Pagodas.  F-fanams (panams)  c-caasus

Source.
Kaeppelin, op.cit., pp 538-9,

The Land revenue from Pondicherry was 900 Pagodas in 1712, was decreasing gradually till 1728, and went on increasing until 1743. However, the Land revenue from Ariankuppam and Murungapakkam was almost uniform. The Land revenue from Ozhugari was steadily increasing from 1706 to 1738.
Table 7. THE FRENCH LAND REVENUE COLLECTION- 1705-1743

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>AMOUNT</th>
<th>PER</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PON</td>
<td>ARIA</td>
<td>MURU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1705</td>
<td>229 p</td>
<td></td>
<td>76</td>
<td>524 p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1706(2yrs)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1050 chacavatres (about 580p)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1708(2yrs)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>500 p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1709(4yrs)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>880 p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1710</td>
<td>900 p</td>
<td>490 p</td>
<td></td>
<td>930 p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1712(2Yrs)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1000 p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1713(2yrs)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>630 p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1715(4yrs)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>550 p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1718(4yrs)*</td>
<td>720p</td>
<td>420 p</td>
<td></td>
<td>50 p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1720(4yrs)</td>
<td></td>
<td>420 p</td>
<td>520 p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1721(3yrs)</td>
<td>550p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1050 p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1728</td>
<td>535p</td>
<td>415 p</td>
<td>520 p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1733(5yrs)</td>
<td>600p</td>
<td>391 p</td>
<td>455p</td>
<td>1200 p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1738(5yrs)</td>
<td>900p</td>
<td>475p</td>
<td>717 p</td>
<td>2060 p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1743(5yrs)</td>
<td>944p</td>
<td></td>
<td>751</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

p- pagoda.

*In 1718, Pondicherry and outer villages were rented out for 4 years but subsequently this duration was reduced to two years, on the demand of the renters.

Sources:

Kaeppelin, op.cit., p539.
Daigliesh, op.cit p. 69.
Cor.du con.Sup. et de la Com. Vol II, p.210

We admit that adequate data were not available. However, on the whole the increase of revenue in the first half of the eighteenth century suggests that there had been good agricultural production in and around Pondicherry, which fed the urban population of Pondicherry. The urban population, which consisted of merchants, artisans, officers, military men and other unskilled labourers, worked and earned in the town and consumed those provisions. Besides, the revenue of the administration, which was regular, was spent to put up shops, warehouse, buildings, fortress, roads and other developmental activities. Hence, the revenue administration helped urbanization.

Table-8. REVENUE THROUGH EXCHANGE| REVENUE ON IMPORTATION OF RICE. 82

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Revenue</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount of Revenue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Revenue through Exchange</td>
<td>1705</td>
<td>655 Pagodas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1706</td>
<td>500 p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenue on Importation of Rice</td>
<td>Sept. 1699- Sept 1700</td>
<td>2790 p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1705</td>
<td>1400 p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kaeppelin Paul, op. cit., p539.

Table-9. TOTAL REVENUE OF THE COMPANY- 1699 - 1705. 83

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Srl.No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Revenue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1699 A.D.</td>
<td>5341 pagodas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1705 A.D.</td>
<td>6130 pagodas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The administration had developed a system of giving lease. If need be, the administration went for direct collection of taxes also. Hence, the administration employed officers and workers in the finance organization. Therefore, we find increase in the employment. To ensure a fixed income, the French took to Ijara or ‘farming’ of its territories to the highest bidder. In case it could not get a handsome offer, the company restored to direct collection, appointing its own clerks and others. Villages were rented out usually for two, three, or five years. The contract could be terminated at the end of first year or after, if the renter so wished. Usually moneyed-men, who were having commercial contacts with the company, took to that opportunity of ‘farming’. At times, the company rented out villages, sale of tobacco, beverages, exchange of rupees, fishing
rights and other tax collections together, to the same bidder. The tax farming must have affected the farmers and dragged them to impoverishment. However, we do not have evidence to substantiate the extent of the impact of tax farming on poor farmers.

The administration initiated population mobility and encouraged the work of the artisans - the brick makers to immigrate to Pondicherry. It put up roads and avenues, contributing for urban growth. At times, the tax farmers lost their legitimate income due to the directives and activities of the administration. However, the administration compensated them. The administration allowed everyone to fish in the river, which belonged to the tax-farmer. It transferred a part of the population from one village to another to facilitate some of its plans. It made roads and avenues and permitted the brick makers to destroy productive agricultural areas in their quest for raw materials. During those situations, the administration compensated the tax-farmers for their losses, by giving some rebates and paying a part of it to the renters, or by renewing the farm on terms satisfactory to them, without calling for new bidding and possible increase in the 'rent'.

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. Sales tax at the rate of 15 gandas or 60 cauris for a rupee sold was levied on the sale of grains, vegetables, fishes, sugar and jaggery. A special import duty was levied on indigo. It was six pence for each load brought in by men. On the sale of slaves, the French, Europeans and the natives living in the colony, paid 5% by way of tax and Rs.1 ½ for stamp paper. However, the administration made efforts to arrest those who were involved in enslaving people and trade with them. We find this contradiction in the administration.

Concessions, reductions, rebates and priorities given to businesspersons and artisans were meant to keep them back in the town. This policy of the administration helped urbanization. However, Anwar-ud-din Khan, the Nawab of Carnatic was not given customs-duty-exemption on paddy sent to Pondicherry for sale. That was for other suppliers too. However, during drought and famine, entry tax was abolished. In 1718, the company was in a position to purchase all the behtilhas, a type of cloth, manufactured at Pondicherry. The artisans had planned to move out of Pondicherry in

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search of livelihood elsewhere. The Superior Council had reduced the rate of tax collection of out-going stock of behtilhas to half of its previous rate, thereby succeeded in retaining them at Pondicherry. In the same way, the Superior Council ordered for tax collection at half-rate of what was prescribed earlier on merchandise taken out of Pondicherry, if they were remaining unsold. Similarly, the entry tax into Pondicherry for exportation to France was exempted from paying customs duties. In 1724, the Superior Council agreed to the reimbursement of the taxes already paid on entry as demanded by the company merchants. 88

The administration made efforts not only to increase the revenue but also to extend its food crops supply area for its urban population. The son of Dost Ali Khan ceded to the Government of Pondicherry Archivak, Abisheipakam, Tidouvanatham (Thiruvanatham) and Villianur, which would yield 25,000 livres 89 Governor Dumas secured villages from the Indian Kings (see the table below) and thereby increased the company’s revenue by offering present and loan to them. Pratap Singh was the King of Tanjore. Dumas corresponded with the King’s uncle Caya Agy Rage Gattigny and promised 4000 Pagodas as present and a total loan of 1,00,000 chacras. Dumas received 33 villages in Thirunallar by offering a gift of 2000 Pagodas and a loan of 60,000 chacras in October 1739, and got eight villages by giving a present of 2000 Pagodas and a loan of 40,000 chacras in the same year. 90

Table-10. DETAILS OF THE VILLAGES RECEIVED BY DUMAS in 1739.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Srl.No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Gift</th>
<th>Loan</th>
<th>Villages Got</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>October 1739</td>
<td>2000 pagodas</td>
<td>60,000 chacras</td>
<td>33-Karaikal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Same year</td>
<td>2000 pagodas</td>
<td>40,000 chacras</td>
<td>8-Villages</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Mss.National Archives of India Record Center Pondicherry, folder 129, and 135.

The colonial administration tried to increase its revenue through customs duty by establishing customs houses in Pondicherry. The customs House of the Nawab of Arcot existed in Pondicherry from the establishment of Pondicherry, during the period of Lenoir, Dumas, and Dupleix and till 1749. In 1749, Anwardi Khan, Nawab of Arcot, father of Mohammed Ali Khan, died. Mohammed Ali Khan demanded Law de Lauristan,
the Governor, that a customs house to be established, as during the time of his father. In August 1749, Chanda Sahib became the Nawab of Arcot. He gave the French company the villages of Vazhudavur and Villianur. Thereafter, the rights of putting up a customs house for Villianur and Vazhudavur belonged to the company. Then the new customs house was established in the courthouse of Pondicherry.91

The rate of customs duty was increased to 3% by 1712 and by 1715, the rate was further increased to 4%. However, in September 1715, it reached an all time high of 5%. To attract more traders and artisans, the tax collection was abolished in 1720. However, when the company found to its disappointment, the abolition of tax failed to achieve the desired effects, it was reimposed on 1722 at the rate of 3% on entry and 1% on exit. In 1728, the rate was increased to 4% on entry and one-third on out-going merchandise. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Srl. No.</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>RATE OF CUSTOMS DUTY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1712</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>JAN 1715</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>SEPT 1715</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>1720</td>
<td>NO DUTY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>1722</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>1728</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>1735</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>1755</td>
<td>3 1/2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>1756</td>
<td>4 1/2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Martineau.a., Quatre Ans d'Histoire de l'Inde Français (1726-1730), Pondicherry, 1919, p39., and Anonymous, Pondicherry en 1746, p 6-7.

We find that the administration changed the rate of customs duty from time to time. On one hand, the administration intended to increase the revenue. However, on the other hand, 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 new source of income to the administration was through exchange of rupees into pagodas, and from the newly brought land from the Muslims. In 1699, the sale of
arrack, betel and tobacco was farmed out for an amount of 2,140 pagodas and in 1700 to 2,550 pagodas. Certain lands were accorded or bought from the Moorish at Archivak (Abhisheiapakkam). The revenues from those lands and the lease on betel and tobacco increased to more than 20,000 pagodas. In 1725, the lease of betel, tobacco and arrack passed from 1370 pagodas to 1710 pagodas. In 1739, the sale of tobacco and betel was rented out for 3 years, at the rate of 710 pagodas per year. The exchange of rupees was farmed out to the native bidders and it fetched about 500 pagodas per year around 1706. In 1728, to increase the income of the company, the exchange of rupees was left open for all those, who were interested, even from inland.

Pondicherry was a Fort town till 1761. Construction of the fortifications, besides other things, necessitated a lot of expenditure. In addition to collecting tax for fortifications, the administration allotted ¼ 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 tax for fortifications was introduced in 1724. In 1728, the Superior Council abolished the tax imposed on the local population, because it became unpopular. The Council slightly increased the rate of customs duty, and one-fourth of the amount thus collected was used for the fortification. Around 1750, Pondicherry and its dependencies like Valudavur, Villianur and Bahur had total revenue collection of 500,000 pounds. The French Company, as a sovereign titular power, claimed the ownership of the assets of those, who died without proper heir in its colonies. Their properties lapsed to the company. The Jesuits at Pondicherry opposed that step of the company and that led to a series of disputes between the contending parties.

The tax farming system assured the company a 'fixed income'. However, the amount was artificially fixed at a fairly low level by the co-operation of the bidders. The company attempted to increase the amount by its faithful employees. It was obliged to be considerate towards the tax-farmers, who were merchants and moneyed people. This did not damage the economic interaction. Thus, the revenue system followed by the French Company in India added to the already existing wealth and power of the capitalist class.

There were changes in tax rates. It confused the tax paying people and the tax collectors. It mostly went in favour of the tax collectors. That unsteady measure affected
the faith of the capitalist and merchant class in the company. Racial and religious
discrimination was found in the French revenue system. The Hindus were charged at a
higher percentage of customs duty. That prejudiced taxation caused tension between the
rulers and the ruled, which was a feature of colonial urbanization.

French revenue collection was considerate, in times of drought and famine. People felt relieved Yet, there was corruption and favouritism in French Company's revenue system. Some officers were corrupt. It was customary that goods destined for France were not taxed. However, Dupleix changed even that in 1745. The tax collected by the French Company in the territories, was almost feudal in nature and concept.

The main source of income to the company through taxes shifted from Agriculture to Commerce in 1740s. It seems that merchants prospered more than agriculturists. The French Government imposed an income tax on all the merchants of the Company and other whole sale and retail traders in the town. Income tax was also levied on the Arcot Dealers, Komuttis, Guzeratis and others, who had come to this town because of the incursions of the Marathas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Srl. No.</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>INCOME TAX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>The Company's Merchants</td>
<td>1000 Pagodas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Seshachala Chetti</td>
<td>500 Pagodas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Muttayya Pillai</td>
<td>300 Pagodas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Diarist</td>
<td>400 Pagodas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Parasurama Pillai</td>
<td>200 pagodas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Balu chetty's agent</td>
<td>300 pagodas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Diary, Volume I, p138.

The above table shows the list of people paying income tax in 1741. This list, of course, was the sample of the list of those, who paid income tax. The amount of income tax paid, might be taken as an indication of the taxpayer's affluence. All the people in this list belonged to the merchant class. Therefore, it seems that in the colonial town Pondicherry, the merchant class had become affluent, if not more affluent than the agriculture class. Even an agent of a merchant seems to be rich.
The Government fixed the selling price of tobacco in 1741. The selling price was fixed at the warehouse. It was 1 panam per ten palams. (A palam = 1.25 OZ). That strict measure of fixing the rate might benefit the people, but at the same time, it limited the percentage of profit, to both the dealer and the farmer. Hence, farmers felt difficulty to survive.

Some villages were leased for five years. Other persons stood security for the lessee. Conditions specified in the lease, ensured more or less, regular revenue to the administration from the lease. The villages forming the suburbs of Pondicherry and Murungapakkam were leased for five years at a yearly rent of 944 pagodas and 751 pagodas respectively, to Kumara Pillai, Vira Nayakkan, Chandramadi Pillai and Ella Pillai. Ranga Pillai stood security for these renters in 1743.

There were periods when Governor gave some tax concessions. During the days of Lenoir, in troubled circumstances, the tax on provisions was cancelled. However, in normal situations, the inhabitants were reminded of their tax obligation and had to pay even arrears, as in Ozhugarai in 1748.

Villages were leased only after estimating the probable amount of revenue. Before leasing the land, the quality of the land was assessed. The lease amount was directly proportional to its quality. That rationale, by which the lease amount was assessed, to some extent, avoided the friction between the ruler and the ruled, because, under normal conditions, the lessee could pay the lease amount.

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. Notary was an officer of the judiciary. The role of the Notary in the revenue system added a judicial dimension, found in colonial towns. Yearly rent was fixed for fruit trees. Rent for gardens were also assessed and fixed. That revision of taxes on fruit trees and gardens was meant to increase the revenue. Arrears of rent were also noted in the document, which was prepared. Cultivators were forbidden to convert paddy cultivation lands. This seems to be an important change, because it shows that the administration was particular about the paddy production, which supplied provisions to the urban population. Sub-lease was permitted. Thus, dues should be paid within one year to the Caissier. The following year the land will be sold by auction.
The council increased the lease amount, when it renewed the lease. The administration took into account the general price rise and increase of expenditure to provide the infrastructure facilities to the town, while renewing the lease.  

When the lease deed was signed, clarifications were sought about the terms of the lease of the land, if the land was given as inam. The deed also specified, if the lessee had to pay money dues on the grain brought from the village, which they had leased. The cowls, loan receipt, indicated them. They also mentioned that, if the villages were given as inams, the agreed tax would not be paid.  

The administration seems to be not obliging for the reduction of toll tax. The urban establishments functioned only by the revenue. The merchants felt that the toll tax was high. Lenoir, Dumas and Dupleix, though requested by the lessees, did not remit the toll. However, the Governor Godehue abolished the Valudavur toll. De Leyrit also abolished the Tollgate duty of Valudavur, because he was fond of adding land tax to the sea tax.  

There was another interesting way by which the administration got income. The company gathered income by giving protection to Indian princes. The French promised protection to Chanda Sahib and Mussarfar, who offered the revenue of Villianur to the Company in 1749.  

In 1753, Valudavur and Villianur were the company’s jagir. People suffered since tolls were collected both in Pondicherry and outside. Because of that, the price commodities went up and became difficult for sale.  

The people paid, partly in rupees and panams and partly in various kinds of pagodas. The pagodas had to be changed into rupees, and the panams had to be sent to the proper intermediaries, to be changed into pagodas, which, in turn, had to be changed into rupees. Madras rupees were of lower touch than those of Pondicherry, and therefore they were not used in Pondicherry.  

Tahsildars were a new set of urban-based officials, who emerged due to the colonial revenue system and subsequent urbanization. Security giving people also earned income through the lease system. They too formed the new class of moneyed people. The lessee appointed his own tahsildar and accountant to collect revenue. The tahsildars received five percent of the revenue, which they collected, as income. The one who gave
cash security also received five percent. The harvest season was found to be the best time to collect taxes from the cultivators.

The lessee of rent sub-leased some villages to ryots. Sometimes they did not pay their due. The principal lessee used force to collect the dues. However, when the complaints came from the sub-lessees, the Governor interfered and warned the principal lessee to handle problems only as permitted in the lease deed. 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 had been a 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.

In the revenue system, the cultivators’ interest was taken care of by giving him varam, a portion of production. There lay the interest of the urban population also. However giving varam was a tradition. The Councillors continually examined the accounts of amaldars and renters. According to the lease deed, the renter, had to allow ‘varam’ to the cultivator. Usually cultivators were allowed 60 percent of the varam on wetland and dry land at 30 panams the 100 Kulis. In 1756, Papaya Pillai was exempted from the payment of varam.

The colonial administration introduced the procedure of registering the deed of settlements of accounts in the village accounts category. While taking lands on lease, the lessee considered also the attitude of the people there. Sometimes the people, who went to auction of the lease of lands, withdrew from it, because they could not produce cash security.

It seems that the Governor did not use force unless warranted. The administration handled agriculture sector carefully, minding the revenue and the production. When the Governor sent his people to collect arrears there was loss of produce and lack of collection. Therefore, the administration gave Ananda Ranga Pillai the right to collect in Tiruvity Village and his country. Jamabandi was organised in respective villages where the lessee, Company people and cultivators agreed upon the amount of rent to be paid that month.

The administration continued the tradition of sparing a part of the government revenue, which was to be spent for charity purposes. The Nattars upheld the tradition in
deductions made in collections of taxes. The tradition was to pay the country establishments, the usual gratuities, the petty contingencies, the dancers, actors and beggars. After the Jamabandi, all those expenses were deducted from the collections, and the balance amount shown was then paid to the company. Sometimes the next lease amount was not changed. The amount of payment of the renter was shown in the accounts in the following manner. It was usually shown as the payment given to the surety, given to the Commandants and paid to the Sibbandis. The arrears were shown as the amount owed by the cultivators.

The administration intended to increase the revenue through sale of fish in 1756. The soldiers were forbidden to catch fish. The amaldars prevented them in case they tried. The sale proceeds of fish went to the government according to the lease. The lessee of the village only had the right to catch fish and sell.

The administration levied additional assessment of 25 percent on rent-free land, was to persuade the cultivators to bring the rent-free land under cultivation, so that supply of grains could be more to the town, besides additional revenue. On some occasions, the cultivators held an undue proportion of rent-free-land. In such cases a 'tafrik', an additional assessment of 25 percent, was levied on cultivators. At times, the cultivators bargained with the Governor, like Leyrit, about the share of benefits that they could enjoy. Though they were allowed 40 percent concession, they got pannaikattu also along with 40%. Pannaikattu was an allowance given to the cultivator at the rate of 2 kalams per hundred.

After colonial rule was firmly established, conquest of territory became difficult and virgin land that was occupied and cultivated became scarce. The colonial rulers 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. Failure to pay revenue, could lead to sale of land. Since land revenue was a major source of revenue for the colonial state, land (s) came up for sale for arrears of revenue. 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. The previous landowners and their dependent castes refused to co-operate and were not allowed to co-operate with new owners. Hence, it seems the major changes in rural social stratification due to land sales did not take place in colonial India.  

Group lease was also in practice. It seems more people ventured in that lease sector, though they were not competent to take the lease individually. A group also obtained the lease jointly. There was no systematic assessment of revenue of land. By virtue of experience, based on the quality of the land, the renter assessed the probable revenue. In most of the cases, they got it at a cheaper rate, as in the case of Kandappan and Ella Pillai group in 1756. Whenever payment was made, the Wazarat, like Raya Vijaya Ananda Ranga Rayar, gave receipt to the payer on behalf of the Government. In 1757, the rate was 354 rupees per 100 star pagodas.

It seems that there was favouritism in granting lease. It was a feature of the colonial town. When both, a group of Christians and a Tamil elite offered to pay similar amount, as in the case of Devanampatnam country in 1759, the Christian group was preferred and given lease. There were instances that arrears due on trading debts lasted more than one’s lifetime.

The government did not have resources to fund various schemes. Two lakhs of rupees were required to repair the ramparts that surrounded the town. In addition to that, the Government lacked funds for the payment of soldiers and Sibbandis in 1759. The need of funds was even estimated up to eight lakhs. Therefore, the officers ill-treated the Mahanattars to pay undue taxes. The Mahanattars were able to mobilize the feelings of the people and express their grievances by closing down the shops in 1759.

The list of payment expected, as suggested by La Selle, the Revenue officer, was as in the following table:
Table-13. List of people and the payment of (emergency) Tax expected -1759.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Srl.No.</th>
<th>Category of people</th>
<th>Tax for each in Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>56 Vellalas</td>
<td>7,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>113 Agamudaiyans</td>
<td>7,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>45 Idaiyans</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>91 Komuttis</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>28 Kavaraис</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>33 Shanars</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>13 Elavaniyans</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>9 Muchiyars</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>169 Chettis</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>5 Kammalas</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>32 Pallis</td>
<td>1,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>26 Brahmans</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>12 Individuals</td>
<td>2,215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>71 Christians</td>
<td>7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Venkatachala Mudaili</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Ayyam Perumal</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Mir Ali Nayakkkan (Mil Ali Khan)</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Mir A’azam</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Diary, Volume XI, p 413.

The people mentioned in the above table agreed to pay tax, due to the compulsion of the administration. The urban development necessitated funds to implement several developmental schemes and to repair the ramparts. Tax might have been levied relatively to the status of the people. The table suggests that the Chetties, who belonged to the merchant class, were more affluent than the Vellalas and the Agamudaiyans, who belonged to the agricultural community. The Komuties, who were involved in small trade, were estimated to be less rich than the Chetties. The artisans seem to be the growing class.

This type of collection of tax was not unique to Pondicherry. In the Mohammedan Palaiyams, as far as Setu (Rameshwaram) to the southward, the poligars, levied taxes proportionate to the wealth of the inhabitants. The sepoys took the merchants to the Fort and imprisoned them there, because they did not make payment. Many left the town,
because, they were afraid of the harsh treatment of the sepoys. There was much of harassment even of the notable people for collecting money. A season of collecting money by force continued in May 1760. Tax collections could be related to the wars waged by Dupleix and others to establish French empire in India.

There was unfair assessment of the emergency tax. Sakki Chetti a servant getting ten rupees a month at the mint had to pay 2500 rupees, barber Venkatachalam 1000 rupees, and packer Kutti Pillai 1500 rupees. Nayanar's servants, peons, Brahman beggars and Muchiars were in the list of persons to pay tax, but Black Smiths, Sawyers and coolies were exempted. Berthelin, a merchant, was to pay two lakhs of rupees. Since he did not pay, he was put in prison. Finally, he paid 20,000 rupees in cash and 30,000 in goods. Considering the situation the tobacco tax was abolished.

There was scarcity of paddy in Pondicherry. To encourage the inflow of paddy from outside villages and Karaikal, paddy was exempted from duty. There were about thousand deserted houses. The administration wanted to collect 6000 rupees from the auction of those houses.

Pondicherry town became economically poor. The tax farming procedure of land and sea-route taxes and lease of betel, tobacco and arrack were revised in 1789. Those were to improve the situation. The lessee should pledge his property as security. Formerly persons gave ‘security.’

Bidding was held for the lease of betel, tobacco and other taxes on December 17, 1789. Abhiram Mudali with the partnership of many men was the highest bidder. Anantham Nalla Chetty was announced the guarantor for the lease amount. The lease details were as in the following table:

Table-14. The Lease details of December 1789.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Srl. No.</th>
<th>Category of Lease</th>
<th>Revenue in Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>The Betel and Tobacco</td>
<td>12,210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>The Coastal Lease</td>
<td>6,160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>The Toll (Customs) Lease</td>
<td>10,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>The Arrack (Pattai) Lease</td>
<td>3,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31,900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following table gives the details of the lease (rent) bid by Abhiram Mudali in the ‘Gundu Grama’ lease, Anandu Pillai in Ariankuppam lease and Kattaikuchi Kuttaia Pillai in Alankuppam and Kalapattu lease, bidding in the Governor house on 14th June 1790:

Table-15. The Lease amount of Six Villages in June 1790.136

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Lessee</th>
<th>Villages Leased</th>
<th>Bid Amount in Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abhiram Mudali</td>
<td>Azhaci pakkam</td>
<td>8,050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oulugarai Khadana</td>
<td>6470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gundu Gramam</td>
<td>6540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anandu Pillai</td>
<td>Ariankuppam</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kattaikuchi Kuttaia Pillai</td>
<td>Alankuppam</td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kalapattu</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>23,890</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The reorganization of the *Cadastre* by 1791 was a significant change in land lease assessment. *Cadastre* was the land identification number given to specific areas of land. From the number, which was maintained in the record, one could know whose land was it. Nevertheless, the modification of the tax system, did not improve the revenue of the administration.

The French East India Company, on their arrival, was not financially sound. It was compelled to procure revenue from India itself. It adopted various techniques-gifts, loans- to secure lands for lease. Once well settled it was able to gather much revenue by the following sources: income through lease of land, tax farming of tobacco, betel and arrack, entrance tax, exchange income, customs duty, lease of fishing, property tax, sales tax on tobacco, import duty on indigo, slave tax, stamp duty, entry tax, salt tax, tax for fortification, income tax, toll duty and income by giving protection to Indian princes. By all that revenue the administration built shops, fort, market, ponds, warehouses, government buildings, chatrams, ramparts and roads, besides employing and paying military men and government employees. Those infrastructure facilities that the administration provided because of the revenue helped the urbanization of Pondicherry.
However, the administration was economically poor from 1759. Though it managed after 1770, it became economically sound from 1816.

2.5. MINT ADMINISTRATION AND URBANIZATION

This portion traces the origin and growth of the French Mint in Pondicherry and its influence on the urbanization of Pondicherry. One special caste people, 'thattan' (metal worker) got the job opportunity in the mint, and obviously, they flourished. It provided income to the Company, Dubash, Chetties, the intermediaries, Shroffs, appraisers, dy-makers, workers and coolies. The coins of various denominations issued by the mint of Pondicherry became the legal tender. It avoided the Company's dependence on Moghul coin. Hence, a lot of economic activities revolved round the process of minting coins in Pondicherry. Beyond all those benefits, income through exchange of coins became one of the sources of revenues of the administration of Pondicherry. That led to profitable trade in Bullion for the Company. The technology of minting coins was new to Pondicherry. All those mint-based economic activities helped the urbanization of Pondicherry.

The industries before industrialization displayed the characteristic of flexibility. Likewise, the career of the mint of Pondicherry in the 18th Century had the feature of flexibility. Production was easily adjusted more or less by increasing or reducing the workers or the numbers of hours worked. Technology was simple and skilled.

When the French settled down in Pondicherry, they felt the need for their coins. They did not use them in Surat. There they used Cauris. During their stay at Pondicherry, the Dutch minted some Cache. They were small copper coins. 64 Cache were needed to make a Panam and 20 to make a Liard. As those of Nagapattinam, these Caches carried on one side the figure of Kali, goddess of destruction, on the other side the name of Pondicherry. François Martin imitated the Dutch Cache, but he replaced the figure of Kali by a Lily Flower.

François Martin got the panam coins minted and circulated them to gain revenue by exchanging them for pagodas. In 1700, François Martin got minted some panams at the rate of 26 panams a pagoda. A panam was a small silver coin with the value of around 4 sol of French type, like cache with lily flowers on each side with the indication of place and date. One sol was equal to five centimes. Nevertheless, as silver had increased in
value, those coins were carried away somewhere else, where they could be exchanged for pagodas. They disappeared from Pondicherry. So, in 1701 Martin got them minted at 32 a pagoda, but leaving them the same nominal value as those panams could be circulated only in Pondicherry. He nominated four exchangers, so as to give at the rate of 26 a pagoda. The administration got a profit on the minting. It also received the profit of panam used in works of silver, which could consequently come back to the exchangers. Thus, exchange became one of the revenues of Pondicherry administration. 138

The silver material was imported from France. It was minted into sols. The silver rupee money of native type, divided into eight panams, were of value of 30 sols or 29 sols in 1666 and 33 sols in 1701. 139

By the capture of 'Phenix d'or', François Martin was in possession of 2,40,000 livres of gold. He thought of minting pagodas himself. The permission of the Moghal was not necessary to mint that money, because it was used only in the Coromandal Coast. He minted such 10000 pagodas. Nevertheless, if he wanted to use them, throughout India it should resemble the pagodas in circulation, which represented on the front the figure of Lakshmi, the Goddess of fortune.

The French administration tried to secure the right to mint coins from 1715, but, it succeeded only in 1736. It made indirect proposals in the year 1715 and more direct proposals in 1721. The new attempt was made in 1724 and in 1727. However, did not yield any result. Dumas obtained the permission to mint rupees of the coins of Arcot in the mint of Pondicherry, from the Nawab of Arcot, on 17th August 1736, through a mediator, his minister Gulam Imam Husain Khan (Imam Sahib). He consented to pay Citizor Khan, one of the nominated treasures of the Nawab, at the rate of 7 pagodas 2 panams for every one thousand rupees and to Imam Sahib 50,000 pagodas of silver metal, for every ship of France loaded at Pondicherry. 140

Dumas obtained on 17 August 1736 a firman from the Great Mughal Mohammed Shah authorizing him to mint coins. 141 It cost fifteen thousand rupees offered to Nawab, 5000 to one of his treasurers, 2000 to different officers, plus one rupee of tax per 1000 rupees minted to Imam Sahib and his direct descendants, because he had negotiated the business. That tax was paid till 1803. In 1816 as his male descendants expired, no member of his family was available to receive it.
The coins of Pondicherry had the features of native type and European type. The pagoda was the name given by the first Portuguese explorers to all gold coins, which carried Hindu divinity. Pagoda also signified a temple. Abbe Guyon gave their description. The pagoda and the rupee were of native type. The Pagoda was a golden coin made exactly as a small button of the coat and which valued 8 livres 10 sols. \((2 \frac{3}{4} \text{ sol} = 1 \text{ Livres})\). The bottom field of the coin was flat, which represented the idol of the country and the top, which was round, was marked by small grains as some buttons of sleeve. Often the idol was Lakshmi, Goddess of richness, small grains of paddy were symbols of abundance and in the center, there was crescent surrounding a pearl. The pagodas of Madras had a star that gave the expression star pagoda. At first, the pagoda was divided into 26 panams, then into twenty-four panams. These coins, which were minted from 1705, lasted till the Revolution.

Suggestions for improvement came from the company. The company gave the first chance to the Chetties to issue coins. The Chetties, who were usually involved in trade and commerce, were rich merchants. In the colonial period, they got opportunity to be involved in the production of coins, which became a new venture for them. The process was long and complex. Stringent measures were taken to avoid deception.

The administration's efforts to issue coins led to the building of a mint. It became a financial institution, working under a director, having definite economic role to play, and helping the urbanization of Pondicherry. In the beginning of the issue, there were some defaults, because there was no knowledge in Pondicherry in the field. At last, the company sent instructions to give a good temper and quality to the steel coins. The coins were produced subject to the quality control, so that they could be treated on par with other native coins. The attempt to refine the quality of the coin and the revised manner of minting improved the metallurgy status in the mint, which was an urban phenomenon.

Instructions for the trial of gold and silver and of the manner of minting some sample coins were also given. The work was entrusted with to Chetties and the workers were sent to learn at Alambarai. The technical know-how was nil or inadequate in Pondicherry. Workers went to Alambarai, learnt the techniques of minting and returned to Pondicherry for minting. Therefore, a new set of artisans emerged in Pondicherry and goldsmiths and silversmiths collaborated with them. At first the silver was given to the
drier, and to the goldsmith or silversmith, who reduced it into pieces to the weight of one rupee or ‘flan’; later it was passed to the market. The first coins were borrowed from the Mint at Alambarai. These coins remained in the hands of Legou, Director of Mint, who used to lock them. Every evening, the manufactured coins were given to him; the workers were to work only inside the mint. The workers, who were apprehended for theft or cheating, were condemned to death.

The Cache, in Sanskrit ‘Karcha,’ was a small copper coin, of which 64 had a value of one Panam. Thus one cache had a value of a little more than one denier – penny. The minting of coins was developed very quickly in Pondicherry. Thus, the Company acquired an important and new source of revenue. Every year five to six million rupees were minted and it gave to the Company another profit of 4 lakh livres each year. That income was spent for management and development of this urban center.

The Arcot money found a competitor in the Moghal money Sicca. Sicca was more valuable than Arcot rupees. Sicca is a Hindustani word signifying money. Sicca money was the best money. It was minted with the dye and the arms of the Moghal Emperor. Its intrinsic value was superior to the money of Arcot: 104 grains of weight against 102, and 11 cents 22 grains of title against 11 cents 11/20 grains. However, their real value was flexible and it depended upon circumstances.\(^\text{142}\)

The administration improved the economy by avoiding currency drain. Much of the coinage circulating in Pondicherry was debased. The French tried to reform the currency circulation, first by prohibiting the bringing in of country money. *Pagodas* and *panams*, which were coined in Pondicherry, were of standard fineness and had a good reputation in the area. In 1736, Governor Dumas was given a *firman* by the Nawab to coin rupees of Arcot standard in Pondicherry. The money thus coined had a good reputation in the country and the mint made huge profits on coining silver rupees. The result was that those coins, especially the pagodas, were drained away from the town as fast as they were struck, leaving the town short of them. In 1737, they reduced the fineness of their pagodas to halt the drain.\(^\text{143}\)

The reputation of Indo-French money was the cause of a profitable trade in bullion. The French rupees were little broader than English shilling and were very much thicker. 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 from exchange also changed from time to time.

The income got from the mint was an additional source of revenue to the French company, besides the income from trade. The new resource of Pondicherry was the profit got from the minting of Rupees. 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 Treasury. They were used for the needs of popular smithery. A new affluent merchant class was coming up in Pondicherry. They 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 for progress in this urban center. Paris was always obliged to sell to Pondicherry some gold and silver materials.

Though the French was empowered to mint coins from 10th September 1736, they did not mint until 5th December 1736. Then half of the goldsmith’s work in the mint was allotted to Potti Pattan. He came from Alambarai, and the other half to Velayuda Paranjoti and others. Melugiri pandit received dy for minting.

Silver coins weighing 2,100 seers were recoined. Hence, 100 seers gave Rs.2, 341 1/16. Expenses to fabricate them were not included in it. Because of the mint, the administration got revenue in several ways, in minting, exchange and in the trade, which it made viable. In addition to that, the native merchants enjoyed the share of profit as explained in the following table. The profit of coinage was shared as follows in 1737:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Srl. No.</th>
<th>Share holders of profit</th>
<th>Shares of profit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Sungu Seshachala chetti</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Kanakaraya Mudali</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Tiruviti Balu Chetti</td>
<td>½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Guntur Venkanna chetti</td>
<td>½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The production of coins naturally incurred a lot of working expenses. The following table explains how the allowance of Rupees 16 for every thousand coins was appropriated. It also shows the new category of employers related to the mint, which
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.

Table-17. Division of allowance of rupees 16 for every 1000 coins.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Srl. No.</th>
<th>Allowance holders</th>
<th>Share of allowance in Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>The goldsmith</td>
<td>13 5/32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>The stamper</td>
<td>27/32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>The mint master</td>
<td>1 ¼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>The chief Dubash Kanakaraya Mudaliar</td>
<td>½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>The chief of the peons</td>
<td>1/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>For charity</td>
<td>1/8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Diary, Volume I, p 9.

Dollar silver weighing 224 seers and 65 Pagodas (Standard weight of Pondicherry Pagoda was 1g.16mi.6) weight was coined into Rs.5,249 1/16. Therefore, the minting was at the rate of Rs.2,235 per 100 seers. This shows the equation at which the Pondicherry Pagoda was struck in 1737.

Table-18. Arrival of the amount of Silver material at the Mint in 1737.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Srl.No.</th>
<th>Name of the ship</th>
<th>Year of arrival</th>
<th>Amount of silver</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Phelippeaux</td>
<td>15\textsuperscript{th} June 1737</td>
<td>30,000 marcs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Due de Bourbon</td>
<td>17\textsuperscript{th} June 1737</td>
<td>30,000 marcs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Chauvelin</td>
<td>20\textsuperscript{th} June 1737</td>
<td>25,000 marcs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Comte Toulouse</td>
<td>------- 1737</td>
<td>40,000 marcs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,25,000 marcs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The arrival of ships to Pondicherry with silver chests brought economic life to the people who worked in the mint. The ship ‘Phelippeaux’ on 15\textsuperscript{th} June 1737 brought here 30,000 marcs, the ship ‘Due de Bourbon’ on 17\textsuperscript{th} June 30,000 marcs and ‘Chauvelin’ on 20\textsuperscript{th} June 25,000 marcs of French silver (1 Marc = 8 Ounces, 1 Ounce = 8 gros, 1 gros = 3 deniers, 1 denier = 24 coins). Those 85,000 marcs were made into rupees in the Pondicherry Mint and sent to Chandranagore. Including transport time, 3 lakhs of rupees were minted in about thirteen days and dispatched in the ship, ‘The Phelippeaux’.
on 28th June to Chandranagore. Five lakhs of rupees were minted in about twenty days and sent there in the ship ‘The Chauvelin’ on the 13th July. 150 Thus the Mint of Pondicherry minted coins for Chandranagore also. Hence, the mint influenced and was influenced by the sea-route transport. The minting process as noted before enhanced the employment opportunity of the artisans and the profit of the company.

40,000 marcs of Silver were received by the ‘Comte de Toulouse. 151 It could not be presumed that all the silver bullion was used in the Mint to fabricate coins. However, at times they were straight away exchanged for Pagodas as once happened with Imam Sahib. The exchange rate at which the company sold to Imam Sahib was 7 Pagodas and 2 Panams for one seer of silver. 152 That was an urban-based trade.

The Superior Council fixed the standard for Pondicherry Pagodas. Each Pondicherry Crescent pagoda had a fineness of eight touches. A full seer of those pagodas weighed exactly 81 ¼ pagodas. 153

The French Company negotiated with the English to popularize the French coins in Madras. Nevertheless, it could not succeed. The French made an attempt to reform their current Pagodas in anticipation of currency reform by the Madras Council in 1741. They approached the Madras Council with a proposal asking for the free circulation of the Pondicherry pagodas in Madras, in exchange of some privileges being granted to the Madras Pagodas at Pondicherry. The Madras Council rejected the proposal on the ground that it would injure the English company’s interest, if reciprocal treatment were offered to the inferior French pagoda.

The rupees of Pondicherry were made at the same rate as that of Arcot rupees. It distinguished itself by the crescent, the rupee of Madras by a Lotus, the rupee of Calcutta by a Rose, the rupee of Chandranagore by a Jasmine flower, the rupee of Yanam by a Trident. The French ‘fanom,’ in Sanskrit ‘Panam’, which was a piece of coin, was a small silver coin, of which 7 ½ had a value of one rupee and 24 panams had the value of one pagoda. Consequently, the panam had the value of little less than six sols. 154

Covelong Venkatesa Chetti was managing Ranga Pillai’s half share of the Mint. Half share meant half percent profit, on the rupees coined. It was originally granted to Kanagaraya Mudali for his share in the negotiation of the Firman, and that tradition continued to his successor Ranga Pillai in the capacity of Dubashship by the Company’s
special order to Pondicherry in July 1747. 155 Besides, one percent commission was given to the Dubash for managing the Mint 156

About 1740, all the European settlements had been greatly troubled by the debasement of Pagoda struck in the country. Pagodas of 8 touch (i.e. 8/10 fine) had been the normal currency; but mints such as Alambarai issued coin of 7 and 6 touch. As a consequence of that debasement, the English coined the star Pagoda. The French also attempted measures of reform, such as prohibiting into Pondicherry of Pagodas under 8 touch. Though that was not successful, the exchange rate was discussed in 1748. 157 Madras Star Pagodas were preferred to Pondicherry Crescent Pagodas, because they were of higher value than the latter. 158 Linga Chetti, who was skilled in alloy making used to be in Madras Mint. The Mint occupation pulled artisans from outside. He came here in 1747. He was coining rupees like those that were coined at Thiruvanmiyur and Chintadripet, with a Panam and three quarters of alloy. 159

The rupee money was dispatched from Pondicherry to the respective destinations like Europe, Mahe and Chandranagore. A lakh of rupees was sent to Europe and a lakh of rupees worth of ‘Mahe’ Panams for Mahe. There was flow of currency outside Pondicherry. Six lakh rupees were sent to Bengal by ship. 160 There was outflow of Indian rupees to Europe also. The drain of wealth may be related to colonization of India in general and of Pondicherry in Particular.

Shroffs were the verifiers of the touch of coins. Five or Six Shroffs weighed money in December 1749. Usually the money was counted and kept in writer Ranga Pillai’s godown (in the fort). 161

The administration was meticulous in fixing the procedure in producing the rupee coins. It stipulated the touch, weight, mark and size of the coin. The revised procedure was a technological advancement, which made Pondicherry an urban center. The specifications on the field of the coins were carefully verified and the touch was minutely compared with other types of coins. Ranga Pillai took the Mint contract to mint rupees in Villianur, to coin rupees of 1 ¼ Panams weight. The Panam weighed at Pondicherry was one ninth of a Pagoda weight. They were accordingly coined and Pillai received a sample of ten rupees. Rupees were sent by the messenger appraiser to see if their touch and weight were equal to those of the rupees coined at the Pondicherry Mint. Le. Maire,
who was the appraiser tested and found that they were right. They were distinguished by the mark of a sun according to the orders of the Governor. However, Pondicherry rupees were big. They would not pass so well, so, the breadth had to be reduced without reducing the weight. They had the same Crescent mark, as the Pondicherry coins with the addition of a dot. Those were equal to the Pondicherry rupees. Therefore, the Mint people coined them in that manner. The Shroffs checked and maintained the touch of the coins.¹⁶²

Shroffs earned profit as appraisers of Pagodas at different places. Before the payment of amount, the Shroffs examined the rupees' fineness. There was difference between Cuddalore and Pondicherry rupees. So, for the appraisal of Cuddalore and Chidambaram rupees the Shroffs demanded batta at the rate of 1 ½ percent, which was more than usual.¹⁶³ The English opened a Mint at Cuddalore early in 1747, in consequence of the loss of the mint at Madras.¹⁶⁴ While the English suffered a set back in minting coins in Madras, the French seemed to thrive well.

Venkatachala Chetti had the Cowle to coin the silver.¹⁶⁵ 'Cowle' was the royal permission to issue silver coins on behalf of the company. The Cowle was renewed once in five years. To smelt silver, charcoal and chunam were used. They were available in the surrounding villages of Pondicherry. The cost of those materials went up by 2 ½ times in 1750. Therefore, contractors were hesitant to renew the contract. Only large-scale production of coins gave a margin of profit to the mint contractor, due to the economies of large-scale production. Unless ten or fifteen thousand rupees were issued at a time, the contractors faced loss of one or two thousand rupees in alloying the silver with lead.¹⁶⁶ That sort of production system made Pondicherry the urban center.

The Porto Novo Pagodas were 8 ¼ touches. Pondicherry Pagodas were 8 touches. When the shroffs handled star pagodas, which had only 7 ¾ or 7 ½ touch, batta was given to the shroffs.¹⁶⁷ The Mint of Pondicherry had production sub-centers like Villianur and Thiruvannamalai in 1756.¹⁶⁸

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 parchment money was sold at a discount of 15 to 50%. In 1757, the discount rate went up to 60% or 65%. At least ten to
twenty Shroffs and Merchants discounted at that rate. Often the inscriptions on coins were shortened because of the diameter more or less reduced. In 1765, the Company sent to Pondicherry a machine to mark the coins on pieces. Those coins were in circulation in whole of India.

The mint of Pondicherry functioned till 1793. There was a short interval, between 1802 and 1803. It resumed in 1815 to the joy of workers. The people of 'thattan' caste did not opt for any other job except working with gold or silver. In 1830, the mint of Pondicherry was closed. It was reopened in 1837, and then the work stopped once for all in January 1840. Since then, the English Mint replaced the French mint.

The mint of Pondicherry had a flexible character. François Martin got minted the panams in the beginning. However, later, Dumas got the right to mint coins. The Company later improved the techniques and the fineness of the coins. The mint of Pondicherry with a few intervals functioned till 1840. The mint was the symbol of the French Sovereign power. It provided revenue to the government, job to people, work to the artisans, income to the shroffs, labour to the coolies, trade to the company and merchants, and metallurgy and technology to Pondicherry. Hence, the Mint in Pondicherry helped the urbanization of Pondicherry.

2.6. JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION AND URBAN GROWTH

A system of dispensing justice already existed for the natives in Pondicherry. The administration was there to dispense justice to the people. As far as this ideal was concerned, there was continuity in Pondicherry in the relationship between the administrators and the administered. However, the principles of dispensing justice, and the structure of the judicial organization went on changing from time to time during 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, which we analyze in this part. Under the Dutch domination, before 1699, a Finance Officer, who knew all the ordinary and important matters, communicated them to the Governor. Then Pondicherry needed a judiciary organization. The French Company, through François Martin, originated a new system of Judiciary. His Deputy used to preside over the meeting regularly on Monday and Friday mornings at the big public square of the town.
accompanied by another clerk and one interpreter to dispense justice. He used to judge immediately the current matters. For the most complicated ones, he used to postpone them to another meeting or refer them to François Martin. The native customs and laws were respected in trying the cases of the natives. Two parties were asked to nominate judges, whose report served as the base for judgment. Here, we find a change in the tradition; 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 their case.

The King created at Pondicherry in 1701 Sovereign Council. It was the wing of the administration, which dispensed justice. Its first sitting took place on 25th September 1702. The council consisted of three merchants for civil matters and five in criminal matters. François Martin added the post of a procurator of the King and recorder in the council. Such was the origin of Sovereign Council of Pondicherry. Its functions were not only judicial but also administrative. Apart from Sovereign Council, there was the Martial Court, which was constituted of military officers. François Martin founded it. It tried especially desertions case.

Some criminal cases were adjourned, which were very much in usage. In the eighteenth century, Judiciary of Pondicherry found a new purpose for adjournment. It was to keep the accused in custody. When the court had to judge on serious crimes, the accused was retained in prison for a period of more than one year. The accused faced a moral condemnation, which was as degrading as an actual condemnation. The tradition was not broken in the revised French Judicial System in dealing with certain cases. Summoning the soothsayer to find out the criminals in theft cases was a custom in vogue during the 18th century. It was continued. That sustained continuity of traditions.

Urbanization of Pondicherry had increased thefts. Corporal punishments were given, if people were found guilty of crimes like stealing. The thefts constituted a very large number of criminal acts judged by the Superior Council. The perpetrators of the thefts in 1720s were generally the domestics and the men of service. There were also some professionals and incorrigible old offenders who committed theft in spite of cane beatings and mutilation of ears. The tribunal of the Court of Pondicherry frequently ordered the punishment of mutilation of ears, which was borrowed from judicial manners
of India. The Superior Council, which judged cases, following the custom of Paris and the Royal Edicts, in 1830 sparingly used that punishment, because after mutilation, the culprit took to begging. 177

The punishment of forced labour was more in the traditions of the French justice. The Hindus, who had undergone that punishment, were sent to work in the plantations of the company in L' Ile de France and L' Ile de Bourbon. The European offenders, were sent back to France for such work. 178

The changing crime situation due to urbanization contributed the emergence of a new criminal procedure. The criminal procedure before the creation of the Superior Council was very simple. The head of the Indian Police informed of an offence to the Councilor, who fulfilled the functions of Attorney General. He briefed the President and his Council and requested the opening of the judicial enquiry. At last, the Governor took a decision. 179

The Magistrate, who examined the cases, received the declaration of the victims and the witnesses. During the initial years, the evidences were received in Portuguese language in a dialect, which was used in the Coromandal Coast. Many Hindus and most of the French spoke that dialect commonly at Pondicherry. Later, the interpreters of the Tamil language were attached to the service of Superior Council. The most remarkable of the interpreters was Mariadassu Pillai. After the verification of the depositions, the enquiring councilor handed over the file to the Attorney General, who gave his conclusions. Then the president of the Superior Council convened the council. 180

The accused and the witness were once again heard in public audience. The case underwent a last enquiry. The sentence was given immediately. In case 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. However, torture was rarely used. The accused were given opportunity to defend themselves. The profession of the advocates had not yet emerged in Pondicherry. 181 The thieves were sometimes hanged. 182

In Pondicherry, the French judges used both customary Law and Shastras for adjudicating disputes among Hindus. The policy of the French colonial ruler towards the administration of Justice to Hindus deserves attention. The government proclaimed
through regulations and Decrees that they would not interfere with native or caste customs. That was the safest means to follow in the early years of their rule, because most of the colonial rulers had limited knowledge of the local customs. The colonizers also relied on the shastras, particularly Manusmriti to dispense justice to the Hindus. It is strange that in the highly stratified Hindu Society, the majority of the people were not Brahmins, while Brahmins wrote the shastras. 183

To try the cases of the Tamils in 1746, arbitrators were appointed. They were Tamils. The appointment of the Tamils to try cases of the Tamils created a sense of security in the Tamil population in the town. The financial and trade disputes were settled in the Superior Council. The settlement of disputes by the council paved way for the healthy growth of commercial activities. Business and commerce survived despite the breach of trust by agents and intermediaries. Such agents were punished. 184

Due to the interference of Ananda Ranga Pillai, the Judgments were considerate to the Tamils. Because of his request to the Governor, some debtors of the company and criminal offenders were released from prison 185

Financial transactions were subjected to judicial proceedings. Brahmins, who became Shroffs or Sowcars, took the title Nayak. Ramachandra Pandit, the son of Melugiri Pandit, Vasudeva Pandit and Sankara Ayyan were named arbitrators. Brahmins thrived well as shroffs or sowcars and their role as arbitrators in business was an urban-based occupation in 1747. 186

On several occasions in Pondicherry, the orders were firmly worded, but they were not enforced strictly. The French Government ordered the Tamils, Europeans, Topasses and Mohammedans to deliver all their liquor to the Government or they will be hanged. A similar punishment was given for the Europeans and sepoys, who were entering the Tamils’ houses and stealing the rice. However, those orders were not obeyed. Enforcement of law became difficult for various reasons, one of which was the dense population of cosmopolitan nature. 187

The transfer of properties was legalized by a bill of sale in the name of the buyer in 1748. 188 In 1759, some financial disputes were settled by discussions. Some credit allegations ended in imprisonment. 189 One-man commission was appointed to settle some business disputes in the same year. 190
For effectively administering business justice over the colonies, the Decree of 1701 set up private commercial institutions. Decisions pronounced by those private commercial institutions were appealable on payment of a surety sum in respect of civil cases. Some Trade Organizations enjoyed Royal patronage for trade with countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope. They adopted suitable procedures for the dispensation of justice. They established administrative tribunals of their own. Nevertheless, they functioned within the framework of the Pondicherry Superior Council.

The local merchants were nominated to the Provincial Committees to establish Provincial Committees and to nominate suitable Councilors to carry out the various provisions of the Decree of 1701. That system allowed some less competent local men entering those provincial committees, which led to unhealthy competition among local men. Ultimately there was the division of the Pondicherry Superior Council into two groups.

With the help received from members of the Superior Council, the French Governors in Pondicherry were able to cultivate friendly relations with chiefs of neighbouring Indian States. When the English captured Pondicherry in 1761, the town was almost razed to the ground. Yet, it became possible for the Superior Council to conduct the affairs of the Associated Indian Trade Organization. However, there were opposing views posed by the members of the Committee. Groupism was there among the members. That actuated the then existing members of the committee to prevent the incursion of lawyers from outside.

The French company became insolvent. It requested the Crown to repay all its debts. The French Crown issued a Decree dated 8th April 1770. Consequently, the company associates surrendered their properties to the French Crown on 7th April 1770. The Constitution and powers of the Pondicherry Superior Council had to be suitably altered. The French Crown took over Company's administration and all the companies' possessions on Indian soil and the Superior Council was re-constituted in 1772. Tribunals were established with definite and well-marked jurisdiction.

In 1773, the judicial sessions proceeded slowly. As a result, Trade and Commerce suffered heavy losses. That gave rise to the promulgation of the Act of February 1776, by which the then existing Pondicherry Superior Council established a Council to dispense
free justice for the entire population. The new Superior Council was constituted of the
Lieutenant Intendant, Commissioner, Ordonnateur General, Commandant de la Marine,
Competent Senior Executive and seven Councillors. In all civil matters, 5 judges sat to
decide. In criminal cases, the number of judges was seven.

The Superior Council was reorganized with the new and old members of the
council, in order to dispense justice fairly. In order to benefit people, justice was made
free. Native opinion was included in the council by including native members of different
castes in the council. Superior Council was composed of general commanders, intendant,
oldest officer of the administration, seven councillors, the procurer general and a writer in
February 1776. It was discharged from its administration functions. It had only to render
civil and criminal justice free of charge and without accepting Judge’s fees. The
composition of tribunal of the court was also modified on two occasions, in August 1777
and January 1778. A room of consultation was allotted to it. The tribunal of the court
composed of eight notable Indians of different castes and religion to give their opinions
and views on the matters proposed by Superior Council. 191

When Pondicherry fell into the hands of English judicial administration lapsed. When
the French resumed their rule in Pondicherry in 1785, they tried to resume the system of
justice.

The merchants were able to settle their disputes with the help of the judicial
system, and carry on their trade without much hurdle. In 1805, dispensation of justice
was brought down to the Panchayat level. The micro level service of justice must have
been useful to the people. In the then existing conditions, the merchants availed justice
with the help of executives of offices serving under the French Crown. The Act of 1784
dispensed justice through Commercial institutions. 192

Since there was no proper Superior Council as such to dispense justice in
Pondicherry in 1785, it had to be restored. The governor re-established the Superior
Council and made the following nominations.

Members of the Council:
Presidents: Mr. Cossigny, Mr. Moracin.
Civil Lieutenant First: Mr. Gerard
The chief of Police: Mr. Mottet
They were nominated as the councillors. 193

The Municipal chamber was also constituted. To dispense justice to Tamils, Tamils of integrity and capacity were nominated. 194

Sometimes, the new judicial system caused social tensions. The people of Pondicherry challenged the decree of the Superior Council in the case of Chonasalam on 20th August 1791. Arumbattai Chonasalam was the creditor of the French company in India for a big sum. He had debts also and died without settling his debts. The creditors of Chonasalam claimed from his son Vinayagam the debts of his father. The company did not pay Chonasalam’s credit to his son Vinayagam. Therefore, Vinayagam was not able to pay the creditors of his father. One of them obtained from the Superior Council the seizure and sale of the properties of Vinayagam. A considerable crowd engulfed the court and prevented the holding of the auction on 20th August 1791. The sale of the wealth of Chonasalam had to be adjourned. 195

Urbanization paved the way for recorded court procedures, and the maintenance and preservation of the registers of court verdicts. The details of the court judgments of Pondicherry were recorded. The registers furnished the serial number, date of the verdict, and the nature of the cases referred to and the names of the contestants. Some of the civil cases were on mortgage, credit, and distribution of property, partition of wealth and so on. 196

The court adjudicated the problems regarding mortgage of property and the subsequent financial settlement. That function of the court helped to regularize the functioning of economic transactions. One such case was that of Ponnappa Pillai, who mortgaged his property and got a loan of rupees 1700 from Anna pillai, the Dubash of Shermont. 197 The recorded judiciary system was a feature of the French administration. The court of Pondicherry maintained a record of the judgments given to both the Europeans and the natives. Some of the verdicts given to the natives were regarding the division of amount between various creditors by selling the wealth of the debtor, as in the case of one Peter, permission given to one Kozhandai to construct a cloth shop and the sharing of the inherited property between three brothers. 198 The recording of cases led to
development of case law in Pondicherry. That is, judgments delivered in cases could be cited as precedent subsequently.

The development of the town included changes in the loan settlement process by the judiciary. However, the traditional social control regarding loan settlement also prevailed. The ex-Diwana Nainiatha pillai was believed to have got a loan from Savari Mutha Pillai. Nevertheless, the former denied it. Therefore, he had to pass through the formalities of swearing in the temple. He took bath in the Shakar Ayer pond, tied towel around his waist, put on red flower garland, went into Iswaran temple, accompanied by canon shots, received viboodhi and thirtham and swore that he did not owe anything to Savari Mutha pillai. However, the men who knew the truth abused him and the women said oppari, while he was passing them through the street, since they knew that he was not telling the truth.

The colonial administration registered the conventions of Pondicherry as we could see in the document NAIROP folder 88. Certain conventions that were registered were as follows: one Venkatachalam was nominated as the chief of his caste ‘Sembadava’. The administration registered and maintained a record of some conventional and legal activities. Some of those cases were as follows: Nomination of a person as the chief of his caste, which in this case was Sembadava, declaration of a person that his son, who was adopted by somebody, had no right on his wealth, and the lease for the rent of a shop at the rate of 1 franc per month. These types of legal activities regularized the economical activities of Pondicherry.

Even during the period between 1793 and 1816 when the French possessions in India came under the British rule, the French decrees and acts were in use in the dispensation of justice. 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 Chauderie’ 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. The Earl Dupuy re-organized the Judicial System on 8th February 1817; the Superior Council was re-established based on the Act of 1784. By the Act of 1819, the Pondicherry Superior Council was renamed as Court Royale (Royal Court). With the renaming, the former Pondicherry Superior Council came to an end.
The Superior Council fairly upheld justice in an upright manner. Its members were drawn from merchant community and traders. They were not quite conversant with the laws. Yet, looking at the various decisions pronounced by the Pondicherry Superior Council, one would only understand that there were probably no major lapses in the dispensation of justice.

2.7. PUBLIC HEALTH ADMINISTRATION AND URBANIZATION

This topic deals with the development of health services in Pondicherry and it explains how they helped urbanization. Colonial urbanization featured the increase of European population and French military personnel. The population needed health services. The French administration provided 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 good health services of the French administration were one of the causes of urbanization in Pondicherry.

The presence of the European population and the French military made the creation of health facilities - surgeons, hospital, and medicines etc. - obligatory. It was a long and continuous effort. Hence, it became the part of the urban process. The first French doctors in Pondicherry were from the Navy. The French doctors, who came in the beginning, were not good. They seem to have been attending governors and soldiers, and rarely Indian princesses. The first French surgeon arrived in December 1680. He was called Petitbois. Dr. Petitbois was in charge of curing the governor of Gingy. The Indian Monarchs required the care of the surgeons of Pondicherry. According to Dupleix, some surgeons did not prove to be good. The French preferred the native medicine and the native doctors to the treatment of the French doctors.

François Martin took care the question of French public health. Between May 1701 and August 1704, he constructed the first hospital for 3,216 rupees at the seashore. It consisted of 3 big halls, four rooms, Kitchens, and a big garden. The major hospital in Pondicherry was built in 1710. Medical facilities were not adequate to
cure people, when typhoid affected them in a large scale in 1729. The dense population made the problem worse. Hence, many were suffering from fever.  

The government took almost a decade for completing the construction of another hospital. It seems that the delay was also due to lack of organization and funds in the health department. In 1734, the French undertook the construction of a big hospital in the Company’s gardens. The mason work was completed in 1735. They received teak wood from Pegu in June 1736. The doors and windows were fixed only in 1739. 

The increase of population made the town unclean. Therefore, urbanization compelled the administration to launch measures for cleaning the town. The administration of Dumas gave priority to the maintenance of a clean environment. So, people were asked to dump the filth in a particular pit, from where the municipal people cleared it. The people were not allowed to deposit waste on the banks of Oupar. Defaulters had to pay penalty of six panams, of which their informers were given two panams. Some other hygienic measures were also taken in 1735 to protect the health of the inhabitants. The cleaning of the latrines was regularized. The latrines of the fort had not been emptied for 18 years. In 1735, their cleaning was done in the night.

The administration considered health care as the vital part of the administration. It took action to prevent diseases, which were caused and spread by pigs. It took steps to avoid pigs near the bound hedge. They were killed and carried away. The government fined or otherwise punished the owners of the pigs, if they did not maintain them on the west of the bound hedge.

The medical development in Pondicherry was also targeted towards the treatment of the military people. Among all the medicines that were imported, anti-venereal pills were uniquely meant for the affected soldiers, who were far away from their families or who were bachelors. Beyond that, it offered asylum to the European orphans. The average number of the sick soldiers in Pondicherry was from 30 to 40. Ozhugarai was an abode for the convalescents. It got notably the necessary things, such as vegetables and fruits. The Company furnished the medicines: pills and powder to reduce fever. There were also some anti-venereal pills. An inventory showed a total of 3,600 pills. The French administration was partial in giving treatment. The hospital was
meant only for the Christians. Therefore, the natives were dissatisfied. In 1758, the hospital was large enough to admit 1274 patients.

At the 4th siege of Pondicherry in 1778, there was an Inspector General of the hospitals, who was the naturalist Sonnerat. We could not find trace of his activity in that capacity. But, the archives of Pondicherry possesses some registers, which give in detail the progress of the hospitals from 1784 to 1793, which was the period of the fifth and last siege. The English administration in Pondicherry seems to have realized the necessity to maintain 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. Those who did not obey to this rule were punished.

It appears that free treatment was given to the French. In summer, the sick entries were more than other seasons. For Europeans hot season was an unbearable season. The surgeons maintained a record of the details of the sick in the hospital. We do not know if the natives could take treatment there. In the month of July 1784, which was a very hot month, the registers had 537 entries. It gave a total of 6716 ‘Hospital days’. The average of the days of stay per sick man in the hospital was of 12.5 days. There were eleven deaths that is around 2%. There were 12 European nurses. They stayed 355 hospital days, and there was no death among them. We do not know if there were consultations and hospitalizations for money. What lacked for the sick men was proper diagnosis. 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 from July 1789 to 31 July 1793.

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. He was in the service of the French. It seems that he was not useful to the Tamils. The Governor Bellecombe appreciated his caliber. Ambu’s value was known during the siege of Pondicherry in 1778. Ambu was appointed on 20th April 1782 as Doctor and Surgeon Major of the sepoys. On 27th November 1784, Ambu was integrated in the army in the capacity of Military doctor. Marquis Bussy appointed him Major Surgeon. He was placed under the title “Major surgeon of the Tamils.” He received a salary of 1,500 livres as Major Surgeon and a rent for life of 300 livres. He also practised as a labour
doctor. He was in charge of giving treatment to the workers, who were wounded in the working site of repairs of the town and Fort of Pondicherry in 1785. He rendered his service with “Charity and Alacrity.” He died on 24th August 1788. The Governor of France awarded him a gold medal with the image of Louis XVI.

Ambu had two doctor sons, of whom Zacharie succeeded his father. He vaccinated nine children against the small pox at the camp of Tippu Sultan. The Archives of Pondicherry File 5402 conserve an interesting document, a certificate of vaccination, which translates as follows:

“List of the names of nine children (sic) inoculated. (Follows the names of the children). This is to certify that Zacharie Ambu vaccinated the above children belonging to the nurses, doorkeepers etc. of Hyder and Tippu’s Mahal during the month of August 1804.”

That was one of the oldest certificates of vaccination that we could find. The issue of such certificates signifies the Pondicherry urban growth.

The Supreme Council took steps to improve the health condition of the French people. The Superior Council, on 1st March 1741, passed an order regarding the prohibition of the liquor of any kind. The excessive drinking of these liquors caused many diseases during the hot months of the year. There was punishment for breach of order.

The administration of Pondicherry made efforts to bring pure drinking water from a nearby village called Muttirapalayam. The neighbourhood filth-pits had contaminated the well water. The necessity of bringing pure water arose in Pondicherry due to the increasing density of population, because of urbanization. The administration identified the problem of getting pure potable water in Pondicherry. However, the source of pure water was far from the town. There was a pool of underground water of good physical and chemical qualities at the foot of the hill of Mortandi Chavady, which was nearer to Ozhugarai. In the 18th century, a project to fetch water was planned. According to the project, the water at the headsprings would be brought to Pondicherry by means of pipes, to replace the consumption of water of the wells. That project of Governor Leyrit was abandoned, because of high expenditure. Bourcet, the engineer of the period of the Governor Law de lauriston, revived the project. But owing to military reasons it was given up. The distance of Ozhugarai gave easy reason to give up the scheme. The
construction of a scheme to bring water to the fountains of grand bazaar and Governor's house materialized in 1865.  

The palanquins became a necessary vehicle to transport patients, who suffered various injuries, in times of war. They were very expensive. Palanquins in the town were employed, in removing to the hospital all those, who were wounded, mutilated or burnt in the face or body in the battle.  

Due to the increase of inhabitants in Pondicherry, the uncontrollable waste was dumped all around the neighbourhood. It made the surrounding areas unclean and hence unhealthy. The administration realized that urban problem and took up necessary measures. The Governor initiated development of some hygienic measures. Lally and Leyrit with the help of the Mahanattars cleared out the ditches and the Fort in April 1760. They instructed the people to level, clean and water the streets and clean the ditches. The laying down of roads and sanitary facilities were taken care of.  

Unprotected wells were a problem in the urban center. The administration, minding the loss of life, took steps to construct protected wells. The wells were at ground level, without edge, not even low railing. 24 people drowned in the wells. The drowning was all accidental. It was particularly numerous in 1766. It claimed 20 Indian victims, of age between 1 to 70 years. The infants were more numerous. A decree of the 30th September 1830, repeated in 30 July 1847 ordered construction of protected wells.  

2.8. URBANIZATION AND THE ROLE OF PUNISHMENT  

Crimes existed everywhere – in the rural areas and in urban centers. However, the nature of the crimes differed. Types of punishment, the executing bodies, and the people, who were accused of crime, were unique in colonial urban centers. The criminal procedures generally defended the interests of Government. They helped to hold the colonial administration in power, and hence, 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. During the 1740s, in the Fort jail, the criminals were maintained for a long period and in the prison attached to the courthouse for a short time.
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. Paramanandan was a slave trader. His men collected slaves for him. They purchased some, and seduced others into their clutches. Soude one of the keepers of the warehouse in the fort carried out slave trade with Paramanandan. In 1743, Paramanandan was arrested and put in the Fort Prison. Soude was dismissed from his appointment.

One of the undesirable practices, which emerged due to colonial urbanization, 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 a price that ranged from rupees two to fifteen. However, the document Folder 91 carries natives names like Mariammal and Codandaram Pillai 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. The document was written and signed by Nainia pillai, who was the writer of the town. The government maintained a register of the details of those deeds. The cost of male servants, who were treated like slaves, was from rupees ten to twenty one.

Any buried treasure found was considered Government property. It was the same during the period of the monarchs. We find the tradition was maintained, when the government took Arunachala Chetty’s buried wealth. Therefore, we can see continuity in the approach of the colonial government regarding buried treasures.

The administration was particular about protecting the cultivators from robbers, so that provisions could come freely to feed the urban population. The government saw to it that the needs of the population in the town were satisfied. Abolishing robbery was a measure in that direction. Severe punishments were given to robbers that too organised robbers. Pindarees and Kabas were bands of robbers. They robbed the houses and sometimes set fire to them. In February 1747, De La Touche, the police, arrested three of them in Azhisapakkam.

Some merchants, who had received loans from the company, did not clear the loan. The debtors of the company were obliged to clear their debts or face imprisonment. The debtors were merchants. Such punishment might have affected the initiative of the merchants, though that effort might accelerate the free flow of funds.
Those, who misused officers and caused loss to the government and the people, regarding the sale of food crops, were obliged to pay penalty for their crime. That effort helped the administration to control the price of paddy in the market and benefit the urban population. The administration fined Kommana Mudali a fine of 2000 pagodas, because, he received bribes and arranged to issue passes for the entry of crops from the villages and sold paddy at a price much dearer than the price fixed by the administration in 1748. 224

It seems that caste played a cardinal role in social life in Pondicherry. Only the right-hand castes were privileged to use a white horse, a white umbrella, white gown and white flag. The left hand castes were not permitted to use them. That was the practice through out Pondicherry. Muthu Ulagappa Chetti, who was rich, belonged to the left hand caste. He rode on 6th may 1748, on a white horse to the festival at Pudupettai. Therefore, what Muthu Ulagappa Chetty had done what was forbidden. So, he was put in prison. 225

Desertion from the army was deemed a grievous crime, especially in the colonial capital. On 19th July 1748 a military deserter, who was sentenced that morning, was hanged at five O’clock that evening. That type of punishment became necessary to protect the colonial settlements. 226

Urbanization was possible as long as 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 no other option but to leave the town. The government gave a warning that Europeans and sepoys doing so would be hanged. However, those orders were not seriously implemented. 227

When a crime was committed against a European 228 or the church 229 the administration reacted sharply and emotionally and was too quick to punish the natives and the Topass. A European’s house was robbed. The Nayinar who was the head of police was punished, because he failed in his duty to arrest the thief. The chief of police was treated harshly, because it was the European’s house, which was robbed, and Nayinar was a Tamil. Even before proving the crime, a Topass was given a harsh treatment of 60 stripes and shut up in choultry prison in May 1760.
It seems that the colonial rulers tried to change the tradition. Lubbais (Muslims) of Mysore accused a Brahman of spying with evidence. The council gave him death sentence, since he was accused to be a spy of the English in 1760. In former times, it was considered a great sin to kill a Brahman. Therefore, the Governor would let him off. However, Major Lawrence at Trichinopoly executed one Brahman for sending information to the French. 230

The administration used punishments as a tool to exploit the labour force to develop the infrastructure of the town. The administration ordered the labour force to make themselves available first for the Government work, especially during the period of reconstruction of the town such as in 1760s and 1770s. Employing men for private work was made illegal on 21st February 1774. 231 Some were found violating the law. Therefore, on 1st March, punishment was given to certain people for the breach of rule regarding the employment of labourers. 232 Violators of law were imprisoned in the Belfry tower. Sometimes they were confined elsewhere also. 233

Sometimes, innocent Tamil Nayanars, the police, were punished. It seems that the Tamils had to fight for their rights and justice every time they were accused. Once, a small part of the palanquin of a French notable was stolen, in spite of the vigilance of about sixty police persons. Those sixty people were not held responsible for the theft. However, strangely a Tamil Nayanar was alleged to be responsible, because he was the chief of Tamil police. In fact, he was in charge of the security of the Tamil town. Since the Governor understood that reality, he escaped a major punishment in February 1784. 234

The French officers used to gamble. Nevertheless, the government made it illegal. In February 1789, General Comte Conway imprisoned Bonnefoy for 15 days and severely warned the other officers not to gamble. 235

2.9. URBANIZATION AND THE NATURE OF CORRUPTION

Corrupt practices for selfish ends were present in rural areas also. Nevertheless, the use of bribery in the colonial urban centers was sometimes in the form of gifts and sometimes forced collection of money. 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 through bribes, which the colonial masters, capitalized. That sort of corruption happened due to urbanization.

The lease of paddy lands and betel cultivation in Pondicherry, and contract of trade were given out usually by auction. However, the leasee secured renewal by giving presents to the Governor. 236

We can cite an example of another type of corruption that prevailed in 1748. Some merchants gave bribes to officers to issue pass for the entry of forbidden goods like Ceylon arrack. Kommana Mudali let the merchants sell paddy at any price they pleased. The administration fined Kommana Mudali 2,000 pagodas. 237

Corruption affected the people of Villianur in a special way. The commandant of Villianur forbade drums and music on the occasion of marriages or funerals. However, he gave permission to those, who gave him nazars. Therefore, nazars became the fees for getting his consent to play the customary music for marriages and funeral functions. The people of Villianur complained to the Governor about that commandant. The Governor wrote a warning letter to that corrupt officer. 238

During the time of British threat in April 1759, the Officers, Sergeants and Corporals at the north gate, closed the Palmyra door. They let out only the women. 239 They did not allow men, but compelled them to give from six panams to five rupees, for granting permission to go out. If some people did not have money while entering, the guards allowed them inside, but collected the money through the Topasses, who worked under them. 240 Even Leyrit the Governor received such bribes. 241 Leyrit admitted of having received 9,000 rupees only, from 40 individuals, but the town people alleged that they had given 30,000 pagodas. 242
CHAPTER II
ADMINISTRATION AND URBANIZATION


3. Ibid. pp 9-11

4. Ibid. pp15-16

5. Ibid. p 36

6. Correspondence du Conseil Superieur et de la Compagnie 1726-1730. Introduction, pp.36-38


8. Labernadie Marguerite, op. cit p.6

9. Ibid.p.9

10. Ibid.p.13

11. Kaeppelin Paul, Pondicherry Administration, Revue Historique, Vol. IX, Ch.8, p.563

12. Labernadie Marguerite, op. cit. p.104

13. op. cit. vol. V., p. 119.


15. Labernadie Marguerite. op. cit. P.112


18. Dulivier's letter to Pontchatrain, dated February 12, 1714.


113
21. Ibid. October 28, 1713 and October 30, 1713
22. Labernadie Marguerite. V. op. cit. p. 121
28. Ibid, p. 101
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid. p.151.
35. op. cit., vol III, p. 207
36. Ibid. p. 122.
38. Ibid. p. 269.
39. Ibid. p. 370.
41. Ibid. p. 201.
42. Ibid. p. 228.
43. Ibid. p. 259., p. 16 and pp. 59-62.
44. Ibid, p. 283.
45. Ibid. p.291.
46. Ibid. p.356.
47. Ibid. p.379.
50. Ibid. p. 85.
51. Ibid. p. 368.
53. Ibid. p. 411.
57. Ibid. p. 147.
58. Ibid. p. 148.
60. Ibid, pp. 400 - 402.
66. Ibid., pp. 372-383.
67. Ibid., pp.384-386.
70. Ibid.pp. 268-270.
71. Ibid.pp. 218-226.
72. Ibid. pp. 268-270.
74. Ibid. p. 404.

115
75. Ibid. p.407.
79. Labernadie Marguerite V. op.cit. p. 59.
81. Ibid, pp. 538-539.
82. Ibid, p. 539.
83. Ibid.
84. Krishnamurthy B., op. cit. p. 2
85. Ibid, p. 4
86. Cauris or Cauries are small gastropod of Indian Ocean and their shells were used as coins of lesser value in Bengal and African Coast.
87. Krishnamurthy B., op.cit. p. 8
88. Ibid., p. 7
91. Mss. N.A.I.R.C.P. f. 102. 20e. Copie de questions posées à Monsieur Law par Mr.de Belleconbe et Repose de Monsieur law -1777.


96. Price J. Frederick and K. Rangachari, op. cit., vol I, p. 138

97. Ibid.

98. Ibid, p. 151.


101. Ibid, p. 240


104. Ibid, pp. 60-61.


109. Ibid., p. 245.


112. Ibid, p. 401.


114. Ibid, p. 45.

115. Ibid, pp. 50-51.


118. Ibid., p. 118.
119. Ibid., pp. 135-136.
127. Ibid, p. 413.
128. Ibid, p. 446.
130. Ibid, pp. 84-85.
132. Ibid, pp. 149-153.
133. Ibid, p. 229.
135. Ibid, p. 335.
137. Frank Perlin, Mint-Technology and Mint output in an age of growing commercialization, p. 301.
139. Ibid.
142. Martineau Alfred, op. cit. p. 405.


146. Ibid, pp. 8-9.

147. Ibid, p. 9.

148. Ibid, p. 11.

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151. Ibid, p. 36.

152. Ibid, p. 40.


161. Ibid, p. 316.


163. Ibid, p. 333.


166. Ibid.


172. Labernadie Marguerite, op.cit. p.60
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176. Ibid , pp. XV and XVI.
177. Ibid, pp.XVI and XVII
178. Ibid. p.XVIII
179. Ibid. p.XXIV
180. Ibid. pp.XXIV - XXV
181. Ibid.
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186. Dodwell Henry, op.cit., vol. IV. p.221
187. op. cit., vol. V. p.297
188. op. cit. vol. VI p.75
189. Price J. Frederick and K.Rangachari, op.cit., vol., X. p.40
190. Dodwell Henry, op. cit., vol., XI, pp.368-369


204. Bigot Alfred., La Me`decine Francaise a` Pondicherry au XVIIIe et XIX sie`cle, Le Trait d’union. 1969, p.120.

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219. Ibid, pp. 227-230
221. Price J. Frederick and K. Rangachari, op. cit., vol I, p. 172
222. Ibid. pp. 315-316
223. Ibid. p. 122
224. Ibid. pp. 423-424
225. Dodwell Henry, op. cit., vol. V., p. 27
226. Ibid. p. 150
227. Ibid. p. 197
228. Dodwell Henry, op. cit., vol. XII, pp. 116-117
229. Ibid., p. 155
230. Ibid., pp. 289-291
232. Ibid. p. 152
233. Ibid. p. 167
234. Veeranayakkar II, op. cit., p. 141
235. Ibid., pp. 179-180.
236. Dodwell Henry, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 264
237. Ibid. p. 424
239. Dodwell Henry, op. cit., vol. XI, p. 80
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