

much paddy I had brought in from the country. I said about six garse. He then told me to issue it to the coolies who were at work. I said I would do so. He then told me to measure what liquor I had, and deliver it at the Fort to M. Cornet who would pay for it; and added that the canteens would need no liquor as Monsieur would issue it direct to the soldiers. He then ordered it to be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom, that all Tamils, Europeans, Topasses and Muhammadans should deliver all their liquor to M. Cornet who would pay for it, and that if they neglected this they should be hanged. I said it should be done, but added that the Europeans and the sepoys in the town were entering the Tamils' houses and stealing the rice and whatever they could find. He ordered it to be proclaimed also that Europeans and sepoys doing so should be hanged. I had these orders proclaimed accordingly, but they are not being obeyed. Even as the proclamation was being made, a Coffree entered a house and stole some rice, but the Governor did nothing. Who will fear unless the Governor punishes some one? But he does not care, and only gets angry with those who report the news to him. The Coffree was kind-hearted; he only took away the rice and let the Chetti alone; but another might have beaten the Chetti, entered the house, and carried off whatever he could find. There are many robberies like this. The peons go into houses and carry off the rice set aside for food,

pretending that they have Madame's orders, and beat to death those who would hinder them. Although all the Europeans and Tamils know this, and even the Second himself, none does anything. I cannot say how ill are the times or what next may happen.

The Governor wrote some Europe letters this evening, and gave them to the Surat messengers who were sent off by catamaran and landed at Kûnimêdu. The catamaran people report that they landed them safely.

The Governor ordered it to be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom that all coolies, cultivators, etc., who could work should assemble to-morrow morning, and that they should receive one small measure of rice and the usual wage. I had it proclaimed accordingly.

M. Paradis and 'Abd-ul-rahmân have interceded with the Governor on behalf of Appu who was imprisoned, and got him released.

*Sunday, September 8.*<sup>1</sup>—Yesterday, 200 soldiers, 60 or 70 troopers and 200 sepoys were stationed at St. Paul's Church in view of the matter in hand. This morning, M. Gerbault (the Engineer), the priests with diggers, masons, coolies and others, 200 in all, with spades, pick-axes and whatever is needed to demolish walls, began to pull down the southern wall of the Vêdapuri Îswaran temple and

<sup>1</sup> [27th] *Āvani, Vibhava.*

the out-houses. At once the temple managers, Brāhmins and mendicants came and told me. I have already written what I heard last night.

Before M. Dupleix was made Governor, and when he was only a Councillor, all the Europeans and some Tamils used to say that if he became Governor, he would destroy the Īswaran temple. The saying has come to pass. Ever since his appointment, he has been seeking to do so, but he has had no opportunity. He tried to get Muttayya Pillai to do it in May or June 1743. But the latter would not consent, though the Governor threatened to cut his ears off and beat him publicly and even to hang him. So Muttayya Pillai devised a way whereby to dissuade the Governor, and said, 'There has come a Brāhman saint to Tiruppāpuliyr. As there is a festival there, I will go thither, bring the Brāhman here, and make him tell the heads of castes to remove the lingam and build another temple.' Being reluctant to be guilty of this sin, and desiring the temple for which his father had worked and died to remain there for ever, he thus deceived the Governor, and for the sake of his father's fame he resolved to bear no matter what. He reflected that all things were transitory except glory; and so risked both his wealth and the poligarship. As about then Gopālanārāyanappayyan had been seized and made prisoner, he feared the Muhammadans might molest him, if he went by land. So he obtained permission, and prepared a masula

boat used to carry nuts, put all his goods into it, and landed at Cuddalore, having beforehand sent his women by land to attend the festival. He then went to Venkatammālpēttai and lodged in Sadāsiva Pillai's house. But for this stratagem, the temple could not then have been saved.<sup>1</sup>

Now all have left the town by reason of the troubles. The English are besieging us, and the few that remain cannot depart. Moreover the town is full of gunpowder, guns and cannon, so all are alarmed. The Governor allowed the Brāhmins to depart, because ten or twenty of them might be bold enough to suffer death, and because he suspected them of being spies; but he ordered that those who went should not be readmitted, thus taking advantage of the war to get rid of the Brāhmins, though other caste people might return. So all, both men and women, have departed. Besides he has posted soldiers to frighten away even fifty or a hundred persons, should so many come to speak on behalf of the Brāhmins. The four gates of the Fort have been closed by reason of the troubles; and he has ordered the destruction of the temple. What can we do? There are not even ten of the heads of castes to assemble and speak. We can do nothing, because he has taken advantage of this

<sup>1</sup> In Vol. I, pp. 225 and 262-263 Ranga Pillai describes Muttayya Pillai's departure from Pondichery and dismissal from the poligarship. It is curious that he made no reference to the temple affair in his diary of that time.

time of war to accomplish his long-standing object and demolish the temple. So I told them they could do nothing but remove the images and other things to the Kâlahasti Îswaran temple. They again asked if I could not speak, but I repeated what I have written above, and told them at once to remove the images used in festivals, vâhanams,<sup>1</sup> etc. The managers departed, saying that they would tell the heads of castes.

About seven o'clock I ate cold rice and went to the nut-godown near the Governor's house. At once Tillaiyappa Mudali, Uttirâ Peddu Chetti (the coral-merchant), Ammayappan, Pichchândi, Dêvanâyaka Chetti of Negapatam, the mason Venkatâchalam, his brother Lachigân, Kuttiyâ Pillai, Chinnadu Mudali, Ândanâyaka Mudali and two more weavers, Muttukumarappa Mudali, son of Ariyaputhiri Mudali, a Vellâla, the husband of Sadayappa Mudali's sister-in-law, an Agamudiyan whom I do not know, three or four cultivators, and the managers of the temple came and said, 'The temple is being demolished, as they think it the best time to do so. We will speak to the Governor about it, and tell him that if he insists, some of us will die, and none will care to remain here. Please come with us and tell the Governor. But if you will not, we will speak with him and then leave the town.' I replied, 'Many have already left the

<sup>1</sup> Vehicles representing horses and other animals used in carrying the images of the Gods.

town; there are hardly ten of you remaining. Not even a hundred or a hundred and fifty of you can go and tell your grievances to the Governor. So of what use going to him? If you had wished to depart, you could have gone long ago with your women on account of the war; and now it does not matter who remains or goes. You may go if you like.' They replied, 'The Governor ordered us not to assemble to-morrow or the day after, and said we had better not depart, that he would settle our business if we told him what it was, and that we could assemble, leave the town or do whatever we pleased if he failed to satisfy us. But as the temple, as dear to us as life, is being demolished, as in this time of war we cannot assemble and settle any business, and as the town itself is in great trouble and deserted by the people, we are resolved to speak with the Governor. If he hears us, well; but if not, we can only depart.' I replied, 'The heads of castes are intended to report to the Governor any wrongful deeds done in the town. He has told you to report to him whatever is done without his knowledge, and that he will give the necessary orders. But this does not include what he himself may do; and as the present matter is his own action, it will be no use petitioning him. Carry away the temple articles, the images used in festivals and so forth, to the Perumâl and Kâlahasti Îswaran temples.' But they refused to do so, still saying that they would speak with the Governor. So I continued,

'Is there so much union among you? Or has the Governor even thought of consulting you? The temple is being demolished; why talk vainly? They will carry off the temple articles also. Then you will forget the destruction of the temple, but have to ask him to return the goods, and he will triumph, in that after all you have come to beg him for the articles. He thought that all would desert the town and fifty or a hundred be killed if the temple were demolished; so he did not go himself, but being afraid sent others and stationed soldiers, sepoys and horsemen there beforehand. If now you go to him, you will remove his fears. So do not go to him, but go to the temple and remove the articles.' They began saying, 'Do you think us so foolish? Do you not know our wisdom?' I said, 'There are among you Ârumugatta Mudali and Lachigân, mason Venkatâchalam's younger brother, the men who said that they would get people's consent to demolish the Vêdapuri Îswaran temple and build it elsewhere, if Annapârna Ayyan was made-Choultry dubâsh. Have not you been telling Madame for the last two months that, if Malayappa Mudali (Tambichâ Mudali's son) and the other were made Chief Dubâsh and Choultry dubâsh respectively, you would see that the Vêdapuri Îswaran temple was demolished? Moreover, did not Annapârna Ayyan tell the St. Paul's priests that he had obtained the people's consent to demolish the Îswaran temple, and that he would secure its

destruction if he and Malayappa Mudali were appointed? Formerly the Governor sent for you, and told you that the temple must be destroyed, as it was near the church and in the middle of the street; and so there has always been a struggle between you and him, as he has been urging you to build it elsewhere, and promising to pay the cost and give a good site, never more interfere in your religion, and allow you to do as you like. For the last fifty years he has been promising to give everything in writing; but you have replied that the *svayambhu*<sup>1</sup> *lingam* cannot be removed elsewhere; yet you have agreed among yourselves to build the temple in some other place. Understanding this, the Governor reflected that if he consulted you, you would make great demands; and Madame has assured him that you are disunited and will not cry out, however much you are beaten; so he has not consulted you before he gave the order. Do you not know this? Not ten of you think alike, so can you talk boldly and becomingly? Ârumugattâ Mudali and Lachigân said that they would persuade the rest to allow the temple to be removed; but now they cannot boast. Peddu Chetti always takes the winning side and claims a share; and is frightened if a palmyra falls ten miles away. I cannot approve of your words; you had best say nothing; if you speak now and fail, there is no

<sup>1</sup> Literally, 'self-existent,' i.e., not made by man.

hope left. I heard just now that the southern wall and the outhouses had been pulled down, and that they were demolishing the Arthamantapam<sup>1</sup> and Mahâmantapam.<sup>2</sup> Don't delay. Remember how blindly matters are being driven on. The St. Paul's priests will send the European soldiers, Coffrees, Topasses, and even their Pariah converts with clubs into the temple to carry away, break and damage all they can. If you complain, they will only beat you. So you will lose not only the temple, but also the articles, the images used in the festivals, the Pillaiyâr and all the other images. Any one can do what he pleases here now, and there is no man to question him. Still worse is it in matters connected with our temples. By his wife's advice, M. Dupleix has accomplished what has been attempted in vain for the last fifty years. But now the time has come. I cannot describe the boundless joy of the St. Paul's priests, the Tamil and Pariah converts, Madame Dupleix and M. Dupleix. In their delight, they will surely enter the temple, and will not depart without breaking and trampling under foot the idols and destroying all they can. So go quickly and remove all the articles.'

But they did not listen to me. Ândanâyakam, Tillaiyappa Mudali, Kuttiyâ Pillai, Chinuadu Mudali and the three or four others made as though

<sup>1</sup> The court next the shrine.

<sup>2</sup> The great court.

to depart, still believing that the Governor would not permit this destruction if they asked him not to. Even when I reminded them of what Ârumugattâ Mudali and Lachigân had said and done, the former said that he could not believe that the Governor would really do so, or at least a new site and money for the temple would be given. So saying he went away muttering, with a pale face. Lachigân believed me, understanding that it was no use talking about the matter, and started to go; but when I related what they had secretly planned to do, he grew pale and he still stood in their midst.

Just then news was brought that Father Cœurdoux, the Superior of St. Paul's Church, had kicked the inner shrine with his foot, and had ordered the Coffrees to remove the doors, and the Christians to break the vâhanams. I then told them that my words had been justified, and went to the Governor's, telling them now at least to go to the temple.

The Governor said nothing, thinking that I should say this and that if he began to speak with me, and went in Madame's coach to St. Paul's Church. I was relieved that he should go away without speaking about it, and, thinking that it was best to do nothing, I followed him, meaning to go to the nut-godown.

Jus tthen Ârumugattâ Mudali, Peddu Chetti, Tillaiyappa Mudali and other heads of castes,

ten in all, went and salaamed to the Governor as he was passing the cattle-shed west of his house. The Governor asked Varlâm what they wanted. Varlâm replied falsely that they sought permission to remove the articles from the temple which was being destroyed. The Governor approved, gave them permission, and then told the peons to beat and disperse the crowd.

The Governor and Madame ordered the ancient Muhammadan mosque, that stands opposite to and west of the Capuchins' Church and behind M. Godivier's house, to be pulled down; and when he sent men to pull down the Îswaran temple, he told them to pull down the mosque also. When they were pulling down the walls round the mosque, some Lubbays went and told 'Abd-ul-rahmân; so he came running to the Governor, salaamed and said, 'It is said that you have ordered our mosque to be demolished. If so, not a sepoy will be left, for they will all fall upon the workers and perish.' On this the Governor revoked his order, for he depended upon them in certain matters; and so, having dismissed him, went to St. Paul's Church. If the Tamils had only had some among them as brave in word if not in deed as these Muhammadans, none would have thought of touching the temple.

'Abd-ul-rahmân, having thus obtained leave that the mosque should not be touched, sent away his men and came to my nut-godown. He said, 'The Governor was wrong to have recalled his troops

from Ariyânkuppam and the bound-hedge when the enemy came to attack Pondichery; and he is disquieting men by interfering with religion. While the troubles last, he should please all, and encourage them to worship Siva so as to achieve success. But instead of this, he listens to his wife, seizes men as spies, imprisons them and makes them carry earth; so that the people have begun to wish that Pondichery may fall into the hands of the English. The town is full of Christians, and justice cannot be had. Even those who have paid their debts are imprisoned, and by Madame's power required to pay more. Every house is being plundered by men who say they are Madame's peons. As though these were not enough, he has ordered the Hindu temple to be destroyed. He should not make the people tremble. What times these are! God brings these troubles on the town in anger at Madame's injustice; a town is sure to be ruined when it is governed by a woman who dominates her husband. The Councillors do nothing. Why do not they ask whether he is managing either the Company's affairs or his own, and whether the Company appointed him or Madame Governor? Can they not tell him what injustice his wife commits? Is not this a sign of evil? Madame gives us orders even about the war. Is this government?' Having thus spoken at great length so that all could hear, 'Abd-ul-rahmân took leave.

I then heard that the priests of St. Paul's Church told the Coffrees, soldiers and Pariahs to beat the heads of castes when they went to the temple to remove their articles. They were scarcely suffered to approach the temple, and when they were removing the vâhanams, shoulder-poles<sup>1</sup> and temple documents, each man was beaten twenty or thirty times. It was with extreme difficulty that they rescued the idols used in the processions and the Pillaiyâr.

Then Father Cœurdoux of Kârikâl came with a great hammer, kicked the lingam, broke it with his hammer, and ordered the Coffrees and the Europeans to break the images of Vishnu and the other gods. Madame went and told the priest that he might break the idols as he pleased. He answered that she had accomplished what had been impossible for fifty years, that she must be one of those Mahâtmâs who established this religion in old days, and that he would publish her fame throughout the world. So saying he dismissed them.

Then Varlâm also kicked the great lingam nine or ten times with his sandals in the presence of Madame and the priest, and spat on it, out of gladness, and hoping that the priest and Madame would regard him also as a Mahâtmâ. Then he followed Madame. I can neither write nor describe

<sup>1</sup> I.e., poles for carrying the vâhanams.

what abominations were done in the temple. I know not what fruit they will reap. All the Tamils think that the end of the world has come. The priests, the Tamil Christians, the Governor and his wife are more delighted than they have ever been before, but they have not yet considered what will befall them in the future. I have written what many persons have told me.

I think the Governor believes that by destroying the temple he has done what no Governor has been able to do for the last fifty years; for even when the King of France wrote thrice to M. Lenoir, himself as powerful as a King, the latter declared it impossible, because all the Tamil inhabitants would have left Pondichery in a body. He believes that the King will think none so great as he, if he can report that he has been able to overcome all difficulties and demolish the temple. He thinks also that the priests of St. Paul's will proclaim his glory throughout the country. But even though he wanted to demolish the temple at this time, he should have assembled the ten heads of castes who remained in the town in spite of the war, and explained that there was war between the French and the English, that the English had surrounded the town, that the temple must be destroyed for military reasons, and so he could spare it no longer, as a building had to be raised there, as high as the St. Paul's Church, to carry guns. With such excuses he should have told them to remove the

temple goods, promising a new site, where (as soon as there was peace) they might build a temple after their manner. Then he might justly have demolished the temple. If they did not remove the goods after having once been told, he could have begun the destruction all the same, since he could say that he had already warned them. Thereby his rule would have been beautified. God protects all equally, and as the lord of a town is as God to the inhabitants, he also should do the like and thereby beautify his rule. And even though the Governor is cruel at heart, he should at least act as I have said. If a man offends God, how can he answer it? So he should rule in justice, for, if he does not, what help is there?

I afterwards heard that the temple had been levelled with the ground, and that the whole people were troubled at heart. That has to-day been done which for fifty years has been impossible. The wise man will say that the glory of an image is as short-lived as human happiness. The temple was destined to remain glorious till now, but now has fallen. I have written as the matter appears to me.

As the English army entered the bounds this afternoon, all the guns mounted on the ramparts from the Oil-merchants' street to the corner of the Valudâvûr gate opened fire. Shells were also fired from the mortar at the Valudâvûr gate and fell upon the enemy. I hear that, when the shells

exploded, even those who had pitched their tents on the high ground at Olukarai were alarmed. I myself went to the Valudâvûr gate and saw the mortar being fired. The Governor too was there. The shell weighed 136 pounds, and, when it was fired from the mortar, it rose up into the skies and descending fell into the camp on the hill north of Olukarai. Its roar and its beauty as it fell, spitting fire, reminded me of the burning star in the Râmâyana. I have seen and heard God's thunder. I think this is man's thunder—no less. It made three different noises,—one when it was shot forth, another when it fell, and a third when it burst. This can be handled by none but Europeans; for they only can handle it with skill. After the bombs were fired, the guns on the ramparts fired continuously until six o'clock in the evening. Then they stopped, and the Governor and M. Paradis went home. I watched all this from the Valudâvûr gate, and then went to the nut-godown.

The Governor sent for me and told me to give the coolies one great measure of paddy each, and inform M. Gerbault of his order. I said I would do so, and ordered Chinnadu, the paddy-godown writer, to issue paddy when M. Gerbault's men asked for it. Then I came home. I hear that they used a maund of powder each time the mortar was fired.

Ever since M. Dupleix became Governor, he and his wife have been doing their best to get the