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"I DO NOT WANT ENGLAND TO BE DEFEATED"

GANDHIJI'S ADDRESS TO A. I. C. C.

RENDERING TRUE HELP TO BRITAIN

"I do not want England to be defeated. I do not want England to be humiliated." Thus declared Mahatma Gandhi addressing the All-India Congress Committee which held its session in Bombay last week. He addressed for nearly two hours, first in Hindi and then in English.

The following is the text of Gandhiji's English speech:

"I know that you have listened to me with the greatest patience. I am specially grateful to you to-day, for the simple reason that I have said many things which may have displeased you. But it was never my intention to displease those whom I want to harness for the great work that lies before you and before me. I have to speak to you at length because I have to shoulder this burden. I have not come with a prepared speech at all. The thoughts will come as I proceed.

"Let me begin with a thought which has been weighing with me for a considerable time. When the war broke out and I went to Simla to see the Viceroy, I issued a statement the next day, not in a representative but in my individual capacity. A friend has now reminded me how good it should have been if I had simply hung on to that statement although I could not take the Congress with me; and on the eve of shouldering this responsibility, he prayed that I should be guided by God to take up that original position and retire. I have very great regard for him. I have not forgotten that statement, nor have I any regret or apology to offer. If such a thing occurs—and history often repeats itself—and I happen to go to another Viceroy, I should make the same statement if there was a similar occasion.

"Although I spoke only for myself, deep down in me there was the Congressmen speaking. The Viceroy also did not send

me because I was M. K. Gandhi. M. K. Gandhi has absolutely no place in his books. The man who wields the sceptre could not have room for individuals. He sent for me because he thought I would represent the Congress view and I would be able to carry conviction to Congressmen.

"I withdrew from that position, not as an individual but as a Congressman, and because I failed to carry conviction even to a single Congressman. Happily, you have got on the Working Committee men with sterling honesty who had the courage to tell me that although it was my statement, they did not feel like accepting it. They added that they had had bitter experience behind them, and therefore they would not be able to take that position. Thus, you had the resolution that was passed by the Congress immediately after the war, and I agreed with the resolution as a representative, although I said to them that if I could carry conviction, my original position was the best possible one to take up. If I had urged the members of the Working Committee to accept my position, they would have done so, but it would have been only mechanical. The statement was not made to deceive the Viceroy or, for the matter of that, a single soul. It came straight from the heart. It was not a theatrical display. It was the opening up of the secret recesses of the heart before the world, the Viceroy and the Congress. If these words of mine could not find an echo in their hearts, they would have been of no use whatsoever.

(Continued on page 4)

DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

CASTE SYSTEM AT PUTTUR

VALUE OF CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETIES

THE caste system at Puttur is one of the difficulties which have to be met before the objects of the Rural Development work can be fully achieved. This observation has been made by the Rural Development workers in charge of the Puttur Centre, in their report for the seven months they have worked in the area.

The following are further extracts from the Report of the Puttur Centre:

Estimates were prepared for the erection of a centre building to house a reading room, library, meeting hall, office room, store room and a textile weaving room. A portion of the Village Committee land has been obtained to erect this building. Towards the construction of this building the Village Committee has voted Rs. 100. Messrs. Colombo Distributors have through their representative also promised to contribute Rs. 100. The timber required for the construction of this building has been donated by twenty villagers. One villager has given permission to remove the required sand from his land which adjoins the Village Committee.

Estimates were prepared and sent to the department for furniture required for the library, reading room, meeting hall, and for the office.

The depressed section of the village who number about 150 families reside in a hamlet called Vembirai. A shed is being erected there for their convenience. Adult classes, palmyrah work and co-operative credit society meetings, &c., will be conducted in this shed.

Permission was obtained for the use of this land and an agreement was signed for a period of three years. Five palmyrah trees have been given free by the villagers for the shed. Except for the carpentry work, the rest of the labour has been done free by the villagers.

Social

A Valuper Sangam was organized on April 5, and since then three committee

meetings have been held. A mass meeting was also held when Mr. Sivapragasa Jokiswerar spoke on religion.

The objects of this Sangam are to bring about cultural upliftment to encourage local games, encourage religious activities and to take part in all matters that would promote the welfare of Puttur.

At short notice this Sangam made arrangements to celebrate the Hindu New Year. Games were organized and light refreshments were served on that date.

A Scout class will be organized soon. A batch of students from the English School and some from this village will be trained in scouting. Mr. Chelvarajah, a Scoutmaster, has promised to render all assistance in this matter.

A dispute between two functions in the depressed class section of the village was amicably settled.

Talks were given both at the Mission School and the Health Clinic on Rural Development.

Rural Development work at this centre is beset with a number of difficulties which have to be met before our objects can be fully achieved. The caste system has a tremendous influence over the people. People follow caste rules in the choice of occupation, which are regarded as inherited vocations rather than as a means of greater prosperity. Consequently the higher caste despise technical labour and a good number of them scorn manual work, while the lower castes find numerous impediments in this way to the more profitable occupations.

The higher caste people are averse to taking up to carpentry

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Order Absolute in the first instance declaring Will proved &c.

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF COLOMBO

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 9364.

In the matter of the Last Will and Testament of Kamalambikai Ammal wife of Subramaniam Kandiah deceased, of Kokuvil, Jaffna.

This matter coming on for determination before C. Nagalingam Esquire, District Judge, Colombo, on the 24th day of August 1940, in the presence of Mr. J. Tambyah Bartlett, Proctor, on the part of the Petitioner Subramaniam Kandiah, and the affidavits of the said Petitioner dated the 29th day of June 1940 (2) the two of the attesting witnesses to the last will dated the 3rd of July 1940 having been read.

It is ordered that an Order Absolute be entered in the first instance, and that Probate of the Will of Kamalambikai Ammal be issued to Subramaniam Kandiah on his tendering the usual Oath and Bond

Sgd. C. NAGALINGAM
District Judge
4-9-40

(O. 51. 19 & 23-9-40)



Hindu Organ.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1940.

THE CRISIS IN INDIA

THE RESOLUTION WHICH THE Indian National Congress passed last week by an overwhelming majority, giving dictatorial powers to MAHATMA GANDHI on the issue that India should be free to dissociate itself from the present war is the logical outcome of Britain's short-sighted refusal to grasp the hand of fellowship offered by the Congress and to concede the demand for the recognition of India's right to independence and the establishment of a provisional National Government at the centre as an earnest of Britain's good faith. Our readers may be aware that the Working Committee which met at Poona some time ago offered to help Britain actively in the War on condition that Britain agreed to the above-mentioned demands. In making this offer the Congress went back on its creed of non-violence on questions affecting state policy, confining the creed to the internal struggle for India's freedom, even at the risk of losing MAHATMA GANDHI'S guidance and wise direction.

The action of the Working Committee in re-affirming its faith in non-violence and withdrawing the Poona offer does not lay the Committee open to the charge of inconsistency. The Congress has had no occasion to decide its policy in the sphere of statecraft and has adopted some measure of force in putting down individual and communal violence

during its administration of the various provinces. Unlike MAHATMA GANDHI who is opposed to the use of violence under any circumstances, the members of the Committee find no objection to the use of minimum force in the present state of the world. In withdrawing the offer and entrusting GANDHI with dictatorial powers they have not changed their political views in any material point. Britain's failure to concede the demands of the Congress has forced the Committee to regard the offer as having lapsed and to revise its own attitude towards Britain in the conduct of the War. On the outbreak of the war Congress Ministries resigned because India had been committed to the war against Germany without her own consent. The Congress as the only national organisation rightly thinks that India should have the same right to keep out of the war as the Dominions have. Now that India's right to self-determination has not been recognised, the Congress is also of the view that Indian citizens should have the right to speak out their minds and to preach a no-war campaign in a non-violent manner. However much they may detest Nazi methods and sympathise with Britain in her struggle for existence, yet so long as Britain is not in a position to relax her hold on India and to trust National India with responsibility for its own government, the Congress and its leader cannot regard the war as one intended for the independence of subject peoples, but as one of competing capitalisms. Viewed in that context the stand taken by the Congress leader and the Committee seem to be reasonable and not intended to embarrass the British Government at a grave crisis.

The interview which the Viceroy will grant may not be productive of any good. The viewpoints of the two parties are so diametrically opposed that they may have to agree to differ. Britain cannot tolerate a dominant party like the Congress conducting a campaign against giving assistance in the war. Of course mass civil disobedience is ruled out by the MAHATMA. But when a leader with such a hold on the masses starts individual civil disobedience, it must necessarily degenerate or develop into a mass movement. That will be the inevitable result. It is yet possible for the British Government to show real statesmanship and to save the situation before it deteriorates.

Personal

Mr. K. Sivasangaram of "Sivakudil," Karaveddi, has passed his Proctor's final examination obtaining a first class honours and scholarship of 360/-. He is the nephew of Mr. S. Aramboc, (late of the F.M.S. Medical Service), and an old boy of the Jaffna Hindu College.

WEEK BY WEEK

REHABILITATE THE CIGAR INDUSTRY

(BY MAN ABOUT TOWN)

THE time has come for a radical reform of the cigar industry by concerted action by the people concerned and the Government. The sad plight of the industry today is largely due to the suspicion one finds among the workers and manufacturers. As such any scheme put forward so far for the improvement of the industry was conceived in mutual distrust. Before any thing can be done for the improvement of the industry it must be placed on an organised footing. Manufacturers must know the potential demand and should co-operate among themselves and the workers to place on the market really good stuff to suit the tastes of the modern smoker. The proposed Minimum Wages Ordinance will protect the workers in regard to their pay, conditions of work etc. They can be sure of regular payments and a living wage. Any efforts for the improvement of the industry must largely depend on the manufacturers. They must cultivate a co-operative spirit, and the formation of societies for the manufacture of cigars will go a great way to help the small mudalals and to place quality cigars in the market. A baneful tendency in the country today is to look up to the Government for spoon-feeding in every matter. What is sadly lacking among the people is self help. Let all interested in the industry co-operate with a determination to do something for this dying concern. Failing this the authorities must step in to interfere. This brings me to the utter indifference of our Tamil representatives to the economic regeneration of Jaffna. Their career as legislators and representatives returned on a mass vote has been one barren of achievement. They have done nothing for the economic advancement of the place. Their sole interest lay in sowing seeds of discontent and promised their voters a heaven from balanced representation. In the economic and agricultural field they have done nothing to help the people, nor have they stressed the importance of the economic aspect of life. While they would shout from house tops accusing the Government for their lethargy towards Jaffna, they would not place constructive suggestions for its economic improvement. No they believe in more seats, more power for themselves and vote-catching measures like tree tax.

Election Activity

The Urban Council elections are near at hand. One finds today election agents rearing their heads like mushrooms around a rotten tree praising the virtues of this candidate and that candidate. With the extension of the franchise one finds a class of professional election agents or rather I would put it touts. Their's is a nuisance value during election times. With the absence of well-defined parties there is enough scope for these men to play their game on the credulous masses. The country must guard itself against these political pests who became a positive danger to the country under the guise of

popular leaders. In this connection let me warn the electors of the Urban area against giving their vote—a sacred privilege—for personal considerations. Candidates in Ceylon elections resort to various questionable tactics to gain votes for themselves. Arrack and toddy play very important parts in the choice of a member. Voters must not thus barter their vote and misuse their privilege. The future of the Town depends on the men the voters elect as their representatives. Much good or harm can be done by these members. Therefore it is very important that the right type of men—men of principle with a record of service to the people—should be selected to the Urban Council.

Jaffna Leads

To Jaffna goes the pride of place as the first town in the island to have provided a public radio for the benefit of the rate-payers. The radio at the esplanade seems to be popular with the citizens of Jaffna. The Urban Council deserves the thanks of the rate-payers for providing such an amenity specially at a time when there is a thirst for news. This is perhaps the beginning on a planned scheme for providing amenities to the residents of the town. The Council should see that there is adequate lighting of the esplanade and enough seating accommodation provided for the people who go there in the evenings.

Tobacco Trade with Travancore

Minister Corea will be in Travancore early next month to discuss common trade questions with the Dewan, Sir C. P. Ramasamy Iyer. I am sure Mr Corea would take this opportunity to interest himself on behalf of the tobacco trade with Travancore. The recent increased tariffs on Ceylon tobacco imported into Travancore has greatly hit the tobacco industry in Jaffna. Tobacco is the economic mainstay of a majority of Jaffnese. The prosperity of a large number of Tamils depend on this trade with Travancore. Mr. Corea must open discussions with the Travancore authorities on this subject and do his best to get a reduction in the duty imposed on this commodity. The action of the Travancore Durbar in raising the duty on Jaffna tobacco can be traced to their anxiety to give protection to the Indian tobacco. Mr. Corea should endeavour to get a reduction on the tariffs even at the risk of Travancore fixing a quota on the quantity of Ceylon tobacco that could be imported into that country. I would suggest to our tobacco merchants in Jaffna to place their case before Mr. Corea and post him with all the facts. This would greatly help him in his task in Travancore.

Balkan Finale

The exit of Carol and the dictatorship of Antonescu constitute no more than an emphasis on what has been a fact for sometime. The

(Continued on Page 5.)

JAFFNA URBAN COUNCIL

MONTHLY MEETING

REQUEST FOR OPENING OF PASTEUR INSTITUTE

A General Meeting of the Jaffna Urban Council was held at the Office of the Council on Monday, the 16th instant, at 5 p.m.

Present:—Mr. C. Ponnampalam, Chairman; Mr. S. M. Aboobucker, Vice-Chairman; Mr. R. A. M. Thuraiappah, Superintending Engineer, N. D.; Dr. S. C. ThuraiRajah, Medical Officer of Health; Mr. R. E. Nalliah, Mr. M. Jacob, Mr. V. A. Durayappah, Mr. K. V. Sinnathurai, Mr. K. Aiyadurai, Mr. S. Patanjali, Mr. S. A. Sabapathy and the Secretary.

Before commencing the meeting the Chairman moved that the Council do place on record its appreciation of the services rendered by the late Mr. H. A. P. Sandrasegra for Local Self Government in the Island and pass a vote of condolence—Carried all present standing.

The Minutes of Proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on the 9th day of August 1940, copies of which had been previously furnished to each member were taken as read and confirmed subject to the following amendments:—

Item 5:—"When Mr. S. Nagendram's name was proposed Mr. S. Patanjali pointed out that Mr. Nagendram's name could not be considered as he was not recommended by the Chief Engineer and Manager, Department of Electrical Undertakings."

Item 7:—The words "until the Council frames its own by-laws" to be interpolated between the words "conducted" and "according"

Mr. S. Patanjali presented a petition from S. Rasiyah (Peon/Binder who was retired) requesting that he be paid 3½ months' salary or taken back. Mr. K. V. Sinnathurai moved that S. Rasiyah be paid Rs. 148/75 as compensation in lieu of notice.

Mr. V. A. Durayappah seconded—Carried.

It was decided to sanction payment of Rs. 148/75 cents out of the available salary.

Mr. M. Jacob moved with the special sanction of the house:—

"That a branch Pasteur Institute be opened in Jaffna."

Mr. V. A. Durayappah seconded—Carried.

Considered papers re widening of Hospital Road.

Mr. S. Patanjali moved:—

"This Council censure the Superintendent of Works for encroaching on Government land without the authority of the Council."

Mr. S. A. Sabapathy seconded.

Mr. W. F. Ratnagopal, Superintendent of Works, was called in and admitted that he had made a mistake.

The Council having heard the explanation of the Superintendent of Works while accepting his explanation that he made a bona fide mistake censured him for having done the work without the express authority of the Council.

Service Connection Fees

Considered papers regarding recovery of service connection fees from incoming tenants in cases where the outgoing tenants had defaulted and it was decided to adhere to the resolution 17 of the Council passed on the 16th July 1937.

Considered papers regarding re-connection fees from incoming tenants. It was decided to recover re-connection fees of Rs. 10 in cases where the consumer who was disconnected for non-payment required re-connection; Rs. 4 where the incoming tenant required re-connection on the date of his application, and Rs. 2 where the incoming tenant required re-connection the day after or any

date other than the date of his application. It was further decided that the re-connection fees of Rs. 4 and Rs. 2 respectively should only be recovered if the rental in question was disconnected and the Council had to send an electrician to do service.

Considered papers regarding arrears of Electricity dues.

It was decided to write off Rs. 948-85 cts arrears from 1931 to 1939 as irrecoverable.

Considered papers regarding recovery of licence fees for Artificial Manure Stores and Places for Storing Artificial Manure.

It was decided to delete item 1 of the Schedule of Licence fees in the Council's by-laws and to charge Rs. 15 as licence fees for Storing artificial manure in any one place.

Considered letter from the Government Agent, N. P. regarding resuming possession of the Kacheheri Gala and it was decided to accede to the Government Agent's request on condition that some other Crown Land near the Council's office is given in exchange.

Exemption from Assessment Tax

Considered papers re arrears of assessment tax in respect of properties No. 1034 and 1084A and 1056 and 1056A in Ward No. 2 for the years 1938 and 1939 from payment of rates as the lands were bare and the owners were resident outside the peninsula.

Considered letter of September 3; 1940 from the President of the Association of Urban Councils of Ceylon re holding a special meeting at Bristol Hotel, Colombo on September 20, 1940 at 10 a.m. to consider the question of fees for services rendered by the Government Electrical Department to Local bodies and it was decided to send Mr. S. Patanjali and the Chairman (if possible) as delegates.

Considered letter No. C, 585 of July 15, 1940 from the Commissioner of Local Government re collection of electricity dues and collectors' receipt books.

It was decided to inform the Commissioner of Local Government that unless the present system of employing collectors and revenue inspectors is in force it would be difficult to reduce arrears and that payment system was tried till 1935 and abandoned.

It was further decided to appoint Messrs. C. Sivapathasundaram and E. Subramaniam Revenue Inspectors on probation for one year on a salary of Rs. 360 per annum and commuted travelling allowance of Rs. 144 per annum with effect from 1st October 1940.

Considered letter No. 1511 of July 29, 1940 from the Commissioner of Local Government re subsidised latrines and by-laws for making the land on which they were built being made primarily liable for money spent in building latrines thereon and it was decided to request the Medical Officer of Health to prepare a scheme for the entire Urban area and not for Karayur, Passaiyur and Navanturai only and to furnish the Council with a list of owners of lands who deserved assistance in erecting latrines in their premises.

It was decided to defer consideration of letter No. E. 12-215 of July 11 1940 from the Government Agent, N. P. re cost of survey for acquisition of land for Water Supply Scheme.

It was decided to defer till Budget Meeting the consideration of papers regarding a supplementary vote of Rs. 1,000 for expenses in connection with the Dietary Survey of Jaffna Town.

Radio for Town

Considered papers re erecting a pavilion for Radio listeners and it was decided not to erect a pavilion for radio listeners.

It was further decided to sanction a supplementary vote of Rs. 360 under head "F 3" for the purchase of the Radio set and furniture etc required for same as well as for building the column for fixing the loud speaker etc.

CENTRAL PROVINCE SAIVA MAHA SABHAI

National Day Of Prayer

Sunday was observed as a National day of prayer, and on the instructions of the President, Gate-Muhandiram N. Canaganayagam M. M. C., there was a special Poojah at the Pillaiyar Kovil, Katukelle, Kandy, under the auspices of the Central Province, Saiva Maha Sabhai, Ltd. Kandy.

Prasadhram was served to the large gathering present. This was followed by a very instructive speech by Mr. A. K. Veluppillai who explained lucidly that they enjoyed perfect liberty in all respects under the British rule and added that the King, who does no wrong, should always be regarded as their living God, that it was their sacred duty to pray to God Almighty not only on that particular day but every day for the speedy success of the United Kingdom with which they were bound for many score years by ties of freedom and love and that British victory and British victory alone would provide the salvation of the entire civilised world. (Cor.)

DISTRIBUTION OF SALT

New System to Begin From November

The new system for the distribution of salt by the Government will come into operation from November 1.

A decision to this effect was made by the Executive Committee of Local Administration at its last meeting.

At present the Salt Department sells throughout the Island through the medium of contractors. In future salt will be sold at Government depots at which retailers will be able to get their supplies.

It is estimated that both the Salt Department and the Railway will earn considerable new revenue as a result of the new arrangement

An Ideal V.C. Chairman

Pt. Pedro, Friday.

The Government Agent's inspection report on the Puloly Village Committee administration concludes with the following reference to the Puloly Village Chairman. "..... Village Committees in the Jaffna District cannot but prosper if they have more men of the stamp of Mr. R. W. M. Walton as members and Chairmen. I have not seen any-one so ideally suited to be a chairman as Mr. Walton." (Cor.)

New Raj Agent

Colombo, Saturday.

Mr. T. N. S. Raghavan, I. C. S., the successor to Mr. A. Vittal Pai, I. C. S., as the Agent of the Government of India in Ceylon, arrived yesterday morning by the Talaimannar train.

Mr. Raghavan was formerly the Deputy Secretary of the Finance Department, Madras.

Mr. Raghavan will take over duties as Raj Agent on September 26.

Jaffna Co-operative Stores Ltd

Eighteen Per cent Dividend for 1940

The Jaffna Co-operative Stores Ltd. have declared a dividend of 18 per cent for the year 1940. This was approved at the annual general meeting of the Stores held on the 14th instant.

Following are extracts from the Twenty-second annual report adopted by the annual meeting.

Shareholders

The number of shares had increased this year by 49 making a total of 443. The Directors note with great pleasure this increase and thank those who have taken shares and hope that they will not only take a few shares more but also induce their friends to take some shares.

Meetings

During the year under review 8 meetings of the Board of Directors were held.

Sales

The sales for the year under review was Rs. 459,617-24, and the figures for the last four years were as follows:—

Year 1936: Rs. 237,679-90; Year 1937: Rs. 272,856-95; Year 1938: Rs. 329,761-63; Year 1939: 390,621-84.

It would therefore be seen that the sales in the past years had increased steadily and the increase in sales for the year under review was nearly twice that of 1936.

Profit and Loss Account

The net profit for the year was Rs. 14,365-52 after allocating a sum of Rs. 500 to the Jaffna War Plane fund, Rs. 208 to Charitable Institutions and Rs. 500 as bonus to the staff; as against Rs. 8187-11 in the previous year. The amount available for disposal is Rs. 12,641-87 after reserving a sum of Rs. 1723-85 for the payment of income tax. The Directors therefore recommend that a dividend of 18 per cent be paid to the share-holders which will amount to Rs. 7685 95 and the balance Rs. 4,955-72 be transferred as follows:—Reserve Fund Rs. 455-72 Building fund Rs. 4000-00, Reserve fund for bad debts Rs. 500.

North-Ceylon Sinhalese Union

An Association has been inaugurated under the name "North Ceylon Sinhalese Union".

The objects of the Union are:—

(a) to cultivate among its members a spirit of fraternity and service

(b) to foster in the members a sense of good citizenship

(c) to look after the welfare of the Sinhalese in the Northern Province

(d) to work for the better relationship and unity of the Tamils and Sinhalese

(e) to associate with other bodies working for the general betterment of Lanka.

The membership is open to every Sinhalese, irrespective of caste, creed or vocation, who is domiciled or living in the Northern Province.

The chief-office bearers are:— President: Mr. Ariya Pathirana, Hony. Secretary: T. N. Peries and Hony Treasurer: Mr. E. C. De Silva.

"I DO NOT WANT ENGLAND TO BE DEFEATED"

(Continued from page 1)

ever to the Viceroy, to the great English nation or to India. That still remains my sentiment. If I could not convince the Congress of my attitude, it would not carry us further. It would have been a wrong step to take, and hence it was not taken. With that back-ground, I approach this resolution.

"I have made repeated statements that I would not be guilty of embarrassing the British people or the British Government when their very existence hangs in the balance, that I would not be true to my Satyagraha, would not be true to non-violence, would not be true to the truth which I hold dear if I did so and therefore could not do so. That very man now stands before you to shoulder the burden of Satyagraha. Why? There comes a time when a man in his weakness mistakes vice for virtue: and virtue itself, when taken away from its context and from the purpose for which it was dedicated, becomes vice. I felt that if I did not go to the assistance of the Congress and take the helm even if it be in fear and trembling, I would be untrue to myself.

"Rendering True Help to Britain"

"I feel that in taking the step that we are doing, we are rendering a great service not only to the Congress but to the whole of India. And we are rendering a service not only to the whole of India. History will record—and Englishmen will be able to grasp this statement some day—that we are rendering help to the English nation, and they will find that we were true to our salt and have the same bravery and fearlessness of which the Englishman is proud and for which he is renowned. I who claim to be a fast friend of the British people, will be guilty of unfriendly conduct if, under a false sense of modesty, or because people may think otherwise about me, or because Englishmen themselves, will be angry with me, I did not issue a warning that the virtue of self-restraint now becomes vice, because it will kill the Congress organisation, and it will kill the very spirit which is exercising this restraint.

"When I say this, I am speaking not only for the Congress, but for all that stand for national freedom—Muslims, Parsis, Christians and even those who are against the Congress, so long as they represent the aspiration of India, namely, unadulterated independence. It should be untrue to all of them, if at this time I said, 'No Embarrassment to the British' I must not repeat parrot-like 'No Embarrassment'. Then, that resolution would be just as useful for my salvation or for the guarding of my virtue as the repetition by a parrot of God's name which cannot bring him salvation, because it is only a mechanical and vocal effort without any intelligence behind it. Therefore, if I

exercise that suppression at this critical moment in the history of the nation, it would be useless. I would be perfectly untrue to myself if I hid myself in Sevagram and said, 'No, I have told you, "No Embarrassment".'

Right to Carry on "No War" Propaganda

"The language of the resolution is absolutely mine. It appealed to Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru also. He saw it was inevitable, if we were to be true to non-violent resistance to the extent to which we wanted to go. And the Working Committee has accepted this phraseology deliberately, well knowing its implications. The result is this: If we can get a declaration from the British Government that the Congress can go on preaching anti-war propaganda, go on preaching non-co-operation with the Government in their war effort, we will not have civil disobedience.

"I do not want England to be defeated. I do not want England to be humiliated. It hurts me to have learnt that St. Paul's Cathedral has been damaged. It hurts me as much as I would be hurt, if I heard that the Kashi Vishvanath temple or the Juma Masjid was damaged. I would like to defend both the Kashi Vishvanath temple and the Juma Masjid and even St. Paul's with my life, but would not take a single life for their defence. That is my fundamental difference with the British people. My sympathy is there with them nevertheless. Let there be no mistake on the part of Englishmen, Congressmen or anybody else, whom my voice reaches, where my sympathy lies. It is not because I love the British nation and hate the German. I do not think that the Germans as a nation are any worse than the English or the Italians are any worse. We are all tarred with the same brush; we are all members of that vast human family. I decline to draw any distinctions. I cannot claim any superiority for Indians. We have the same virtues and the same vices. I am not going to say that humanity is divided into water-tight compartments, so that we cannot go from one room to another. They may occupy one thousand rooms, but they are all related to one another. We fight because we have hardened our hearts.

"I would not say, India should be all in all; let the whole world perish. That was not my message. India should be all in all, consistently with the well-being of other nations of the world. I can keep India intact and its freedom also intact only if I have got that goodwill towards the whole of the human family and not merely for the human family which inhabits this little spot of the earth called India. It is big enough compared to other smaller nations, but what is India in the wide world or in the Universe?

"Let there be no mistake as to what I am about. I want my individuality to remain unimpaired. If I lose my individuality, I would be of no service to India, much less to the British people, much less to humanity. My individual liberty is the same as the nation's, convertible with national

liberty. I do not claim any greater liberty for myself. Hence my liberty is equal to the liberty of all of you and no greater. I feel that if my liberty is at stake yours is also at stake. I claim the liberty of going through the streets of Bombay and say that I shall have nothing to do with this war, because I do not believe in this war and in this fratricide that is going on in Europe. I admire the bravery. But what is the use of this bravery? I deplore the foolishness and the crass ignorance. These people do not know what they are fighting for. That is how I look at this war that is going on across the seas. I cannot possibly take part in it. Nor do I want the Congress to do so.

"The part that I would like to take is the part of peace. If the British people in their wisdom had recognised the independence not of the Congress but of all India, and if other parties in India had also co-operated with us, we would have taken the honourable place of peace-makers between these nations. Such is my ambition. But to-day I know that it is a day-dream. But, sometimes, a man lives in his day-dreams. I live in my day-dreams, and picture the world as full of good human beings—not goody goody human beings. In the Socialist's language, there will be a new structure of society, a new order of things. I am also aspiring after a new order of things that will astonish the world. If you try to dream these day-dreams, you will also feel exalted as I do.

"Voice of Freedom About to be Stifled"

"And now, I come to our 'tin-pot' Congress—tin-pot in the estimation of others, not my own. The Congress will disappear, and if the Congress disappears, the national spirit disappears. One after another Congressmen are being selected and jailed. It is not satyagraha to watch people being taken away. It is much better for all of us to rush into the jaws of the opponent. After all, as the Maulana Sahab once said, India is a vast prison. Let us get out of this slave-prison by breaking the prison bars. As the Sikhs say, 'You may protect one gurdwara; but what about the vast gurdwara that is India?' We have to deliver it from bondage. Those words ring true in my ears. If this liberty of the nation or the movement for freedom is likely to be choked, then I say that the virtue of self-restraint is going to become a vice. That virtue of restraint cannot be carried to the extent of self-extinction of the national spirit wherever it may reside, whether among Congressmen or non-Congressmen.

"I do not want to hurl civil disobedience or anything in the face of the Government without making my meaning clear, the meaning I attach to the sum total of Government actions—actions beginning with the declaration of the Viceroy, the statement of the Secretary of State for India and the series of actions and the policy at the Government have pursued. The sum total of all these things has left an indelible impression on my mind that there is something wrong, some injustice being perpetrated against the whole nation, and that the voice of freedom is about to be stifled. It is there in the resolution, not in the exact language which I am

JAFFNA U. C. TRIBUTES TO K. C.

Vote of Condolence Passed

A vote of condolence was passed by the Jaffna Urban Council, at its meeting on Monday, on the death of Mr. H. A. P. Sandrasegara K. C.

Before the proceedings for the day began, Mr. C. Ponnambalam, stated that the meeting which should have been held last Friday, had to be postponed as a mark of respect to the late Mr. H. A. P. Sandrasegara, K.C.

Mr. Sandrasegara had, said the Chairman, been closely associated with the development of local self-government in Ceylon. He had been a member of the Committee which had reported on the introduction of Local Self-Government. It was in consequence of that report that the Local Self-Government Ordinance, No. 11 of 1920, was passed and Urban Councils constituted all over the Island. The late Mr. Sandrasegara had been a member of the Local Government Board till he resigned from it owing to ill-health a few years ago.

The late Mr. Sandrasegara was an ornament to the Tamil community and one of the outstanding orators Ceylon had produced. He belonged to a generation of leaders which was fast passing away, men who studied public questions in all their aspects and did true service to their community and to their country.

The vote of condolence was passed, all members standing.

using now but you will see the meaning clear as daylight.

"Will Place our Difficulties Before Viceroy"

"In order completely to clarify our position, I propose to approach the Viceroy that he will be good enough to see me, and I have no doubt that he will. I will place my difficulties before him; I will place the Congress difficulties before him. I will approach him in your name. I will tell him that this is the position to which we have been reduced. We do not want to embarrass you and deflect you from your purpose in regard to war effort. We go our way, and you go yours undeterred, the common ground being non-violence. Left free to ourselves there will be no war effort on the part of our people if on the other hand, without your using any but moral pressure, you find that they respond, then we cannot help it. If you get assistance from the Princes, from the zamindars, from anybody high or low, you can have it; but let our voice also be heard. If you do so, it will be eminently honourable; it will certainly be a feather in your cap. It will be honourable of you—although you are engaged in a life and death struggle—that you have given us this liberty. It will be honourable of you that you take this great step, although you have limitless powers to choke our voice, and that you give us the fullest possible freedom, consistently with the observance of non-violence, to tell the people of India not to join the war effort.

"Let the people use any reasoning they like. My reasoning is the only reasoning which will sit well on Congress lips. But I do not expect all to restrict themselves so that reasoning. Those who have conscientious objection, as I have, will adopt my reasoning. Those who are tired of Bri-

(Continued on page 6)

ANGLO-AMERICAN COLLABORATION

PETAIN WITH CHUNGKING

JAPAN'S EYES ON INDO-CHINA

London, Saturday.

THE "imminent" Japanese invasion of Indo-China is regarded by the State Department as probably the thorniest immediate problem in the foreign relations of the United States, according to the Washington correspondent of the "New York Times".

Mr Cordell Hull declined to discuss Indo-China at his usual press conference. All the New York papers prominently report from Washington that the United States and Great Britain are believed to be considering a basis for co-operative action in defence of the Pacific and most correspondents see Singapore as the fleet base for the United States.

While no news has reached Britain of the conclusion of a Franco-Japanese agreement on the subject of Indo-China, there is reason to believe that the Vichy Government has accepted most of Tokyo's demands in principle, says "The Times" in a leading article. It adds that the difficulties of Admiral Decoux's position have been increased by the more extensive territorial demands made by Thailand.

"The Times" regards it as possible although there is no clear evidence of it so far, that the Japanese advised Thailand, with whom they are reported to be on good terms, to press their claims. Both countries may be reminded, concludes "The Times," that the maintenance of the political status quo in Indo-China interests both the United States and British Governments.

Hongkong cables that, according to the Hongkong "Daily Telegraph" the French are said to have promised not to oppose entry into Indo-China of Chinese troops.

The paper also asserts that secret conversations between Chinese and French representatives were recently held at Chungking, at which military collaboration was agreed upon in the event of the invasion of Indo-China.

BOMBS RAIN ON ENEMY

London, Saturday.

The Air Force has struck new blows on the Nazi "invasion" ports. An Air Ministry communique states that last night strong forces of B. A. F. bombers again attacked the enemy-occupied ports of Antwerp, Zeebrugge, Ostend, Flushing, Dunkirk, Calais and Boulogne. Further damage was done to military stores, large concentrations and shipping.

Other bomber forces revisited distribution centres and the goodsyard at M. nheim, Ehrang-Krefeld, Hamar, Soest, Osnabruck and Brussels.

The Dortmund-Ems canal, railway communications near Duisburg, a supply train, an ammunition factory near Maasticht, and several enemy aerodromes were also heavily bombed.

Coastal Command aircraft carried out bombing attacks on two enemy supply ships which were hit and severely damaged. Two of our aircraft have not reported to the base.

WEEK BY WEEK

(Continued from Page 2)

new dictator Premier has allied himself with Nazi Iron Guards and has been issuing decrees and proclamations, designed to show that Rumania has gone 'Axis'. Rumania virtually becomes a political and economic vassal of Germany. Militarily she may be left alone for the time being for Hitler does not want to quarrel with Russia.

Hitler Has Lost This War

While Hitler continues to batter his aerial head against the iron walls of British quality and determination, he is losing the war. The daily hammering by the R.A.F. on the German military machines is telling a different tale to the world than what Goebbels would make us believe. The much advertised invasion of England will never come, and the war enters another winter. It also takes a longer and more stubborn character. Hitler realises this and cannot with confidence face this prospect. He hoped, he lied and acted as if he can smash England before this summer is out. But the R. A. F. has taught him a different lesson. He is hard put to the task of preparing the Germans to a long war. He had promised them an early victory and that they need not pass through another war winter. But now his tune is changed. Now he puts the blame on Britain for a possible shortage of food in Germany. He raves at Britain's strangle-hold on Europe. Both Berlin and Rome are slowly breaking the bad news to their people.

St. Helena or Droon?

While the whole of Europe lies bleeding under the heels of the Nazi marauder and the Fascist bully, England becomes stronger every day and prepares herself to inflict the final blow on the sinister combination of the Fuhrer and the Duce. History will repeat again. People do wonder with a shudder if Hitler is superhuman. All vampires seeking the domination of men's souls and the souls of nations enjoy this dubious reputation, till they are beaten at last and put on the ignoble shelf of a St Helena or a Droon. Hitler's successes, astonishing as they are, are not miraculous. He is brave, and he has the natural propensity for taking the offensive but *L'attaque* did not achieve all, craft had its part, too, and cunning and sheer treachery. Hitler's might and cunning is no match to England's determination and her lofty purpose in the war.

Matrimonial

RAJADURAI—MANONMANY-AMMAL

The marriage of Miss Manonmany Ammal, second daughter of Mr. N. Swaminathapillai, Landed Proprietor, Trincomalee, and Mrs. N. Swaminathapillai, with Mr. S. N. Rajadurai, Advocate, Colombo, youngest son of the late Mr. and Mrs. Srinathambay of Adiravely, Jaffna, was solemnized according to Hindu rites at "Suthara Vasam," Division No. 5, Trincomalee, the bride's residence, at 10-45 p. m. on Saturday, 21st September, 1940. The high priest of Veeragobalpillayar Temp'le, Trincomalee, officiated, and the civil ceremony was performed by the Registrar of Marriages. Several friends and relations of the bridegroom came from Colombo and Jaffna specially to attend the wedding. Several prominent residents of the town were also present on the occasion. (Cor)

JAFFNA 'PLANE FUND

Amount already acknowledged Rs. 32,611.72cts.

Mr. S. S. Thiruchelvam (amount collected):—

Messrs. S. S. Thiruchelvam, Alawwa Rs. 25; A. B. S. Rasiah Alawwa Rs. 10; K. Vadivelu Alawwa Rs. 10; P. S. Thambirajah Alawwa Rs. 5 and S. Sebastampillai Alawwa Rs. 5. —Total Rs. 55

Mr. K. Velupillai (amount collected):—

Mr. K. Velupillai, P. W. D., Kamburupitiya Rs. 5; Others Rs. 10.

Drs. C. G. Hoole and A. M. D. Richards Rs. 60; Mr. S. Sangarapillai, Contractor, Campbell Place Colombo Rs. 350; Mr. V. Nagalingam, Proctor S. C. and Notary Public, Vaddukoddai Rs. 100; The Staff of Hindu English School, Neerveli Rs. 8; Mr. V. D. Chinnappu, Methodist Mission Tamil School Rs. 13; The Staff of Parameswara College, Jaffna Rs. 200; Karainagar Saiva Vidyasalai Rs. 10; The Hindu Tamil mixed school, Urumpirai Rs. 13.75cts; Proceeds from a concert held at Ramanathan College, Chunnakam Rs. 100; Mr. T. Vatham Edwards, Reigate, Rosemead Place, Colombo Rs. 250; The Colombo Cargo Boat Co. Rs. 250; Mr. M. Tambyah, "Villula", Torrington Place, Colombo Rs. 150.

Mr. C. Muttuvelu, J. P., Kokkuvil, Jaffna (amount collected):—

Messrs. C. Sanderasekaram Rs. 5; S. Rajadurai Rs. 50; M. Kanagasalingam Rs. 15; S. Navaratnam Rs. 10; P. E. Santhirasekarampillai Rs. 100; S. Sabapathipillai Rs. 5; S. Ratnasabapathy Rs. 10; S. Kandiah Rs. 5; C. Muttuvelu, J. P. Rs. 32.50 cts; Others Rs. 17.50cts.—Rs. 250

Total Rs. 34,437.17.

Note:—

It is regretted that two errors have crept into the list published in the "Times of Ceylon" on 11 September 1940.

(1) The gentlemen who subscribed the sum of Rs. 550 sent by Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam are:—

Mr. Abraham Gardiner Rs. 250; Mr. Alfred L. Tambiaiyah Rs. 200; Mr. J. N. C. Thiruchelvam, J. P. Rs. 100.

Rev. Fr. T. M. F. Long was responsible for the collection of the above sums.

(2) The sum of Rs. 25 collected by Mr. A. Kanagasabapathy was subscribed by Mr. S. R. Williams and not Mr. S. Ratnam.

M. PRASAD,
Hony. Treasurer,
Jaffna Plane Fund.

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Difficulties In The Way Of Rural Reconstruction

(Continued from page 1)

try and other allied work.

The 150 families of the depressed section (Pallas) with the sole exception of one family possess no land whatsoever. There is another section called Kovias of about 75 families and who are in status inferior to the higher caste called Vellalas but superior to the Pallas. The majority of these families do not own any land. All these people are tenant farmers. These farmers cannot cultivate their land with any new crops without the prior sanction of the landlords. At present the landlords advance all the money needed for the cultivation expenses and an interest charge of nearly 20 per cent. is levied. The principal crop grown by the tenant is tobacco and the land-lords take particular care to harvest this crop and obtain the money for the same. From this the money advanced plus interest is deducted and the balance given to the tenant.

A Co-operative Credit Society will go a great way in helping these people. But there are obstacles in the way. The landlords use their influence indirectly and prevent such societies developing and secondly a great majority of the cultivators are illiterate and cannot even count the daily wages when paid in cash.

Any improvement in agriculture to increase the income of these cultivators who form the majority in the village may have a tendency for the rents of the lands to be increased and consequently the landlords will be benefited and not the tenant cultivator.

The encouragement of cattle farming likewise present difficulties, as the majority are landless and during summer time the villagers are confronted with the problem of feeding the cattle.

The people are very conservative and it will be difficult to introduce new ideas and better ways of improving their mode of life in all spheres within a short period.

The higher caste people will be a hindrance to any progress of the depressed sections whether economic or otherwise, as the higher caste who are the landlords will not tolerate the elimination of their traditional customs and observances. They have an inward fear, that the moment the depressed section, including the Kovias, benefit economically, there would be a fight for equality, and other privileges.

The Tidal well at Nilawanni which is about 1/2 of a mile from this village is a potential source of wealth in the form of providing water for a suitable irrigation system, to the lower paddy lands, where two crops could be grown, whereas only one crop is grown now and even in this the yield is poor due to the lack of rain during the ripening season.

This is an urgent need and efforts should be made to hasten this scheme of irrigation.

"I DO NOT WANT ENGLAND TO BE DEFEATED"

(Continued from page 4)

tish imperialism will use that argument. There may be others who will have other arguments. All these should be covered under this freedom of speech, provided however they all accept non-violence, provided that what they say is said openly and not secretly. These are the implications of my Generalship. If these do not satisfy you, you must reject this resolution summarily. So long as you can preach non-co-operation with war effort in men and money, there should be no civil disobedience, but if you have not that liberty, there is no liberty but perpetual bondage. I would like the British people and the Viceroy to be able to tell the world that they have given the leaders of the Indian people liberty to preach to their people what they like. The British can then say to the world: 'Judge us by our conduct. Here in India, we are playing the game.'

Freedom cannot be got as a Gift

"I do not mind the British not responding to the Delhi resolution. They may say, 'At the present moment, we cannot interfere with the management of affairs as they stand. Deliverance will come to you when it comes. At this critical juncture, do not worry us.' I will understand that argument I will sympathise with it. I will hold my hand so long as there is no fraud or falsity in what they say. It is impossible for them to give us freedom. If freedom has got to come, it must be vindicated by our own internal strength, by our closing our ranks, by unity between all sections of the community. It cannot descend from heaven, nor can it be given as a gift from one nation to another. I do not know whether I am representing the feelings of the members of the Working Committee because I have not discussed it with them. But you have to take me with all my limitations, with the workings of my mind.

"The Viceroy will say, 'You are a visionary'. I may fail in my mission, but we will not quarrel. If he says he is helpless, I will not feel helpless. I will make good my position. I cannot sit still when I see Ram Manohar Lohia and Jai Prakash Narain in jail, than whom I do not know braver or straighter men. They have not preached violence, but simply carried out the behests of the Ramgarh Resolution. It was a point of honour with them.

"I have restrained myself, and will restrain myself. I will not seek imprisonment. I do not want to offer civil disobedience. I will not place myself in peril. In this battle, I will not expose myself to imprisonment. But if Government chooses, it will not be difficult to take me away. I will not be able to seal my lips or restrain my pen. It will be difficult for them to keep me in prison, not because India will rise in rebellion. India will be wrong if it does so. My own instinct is that they will not be able to keep me in jail.

"Shall Strain Every Nerve to Avoid Satyagraha"

"I will place this before the Viceroy. I may fail in my mission, but I have never approached a mission in despair. I may have approached it with the consciousness that I may be faced with a blood wall. But I have often penetrated blood walls. I shall approach the Viceroy in the confidence and hope that he will understand the great reasonableness of the request of the Congress for full liberty to

preach 'No War' in India. Everyone should have perfect liberty to preach by pen and tongue. 'We cannot aid imperialism: we cannot help spoliation.' I shall strain every nerve to avoid satyagraha in your name. What shape it will take, when it comes, I do not know; but I know that there will be no mass civil disobedience, because mass civil disobedience is not required for this occasion.

"I have impenetrable darkness before me regarding the future course of action. I have no mysteries. It is not a question of mysteries. I do not know how I shall lead you, what action I shall put before you. I hope that any action that we may take will be worthy of the Congress traditions and of the occasion.

"I have said that I do not know the Congress mind, as I have buried myself in Sevagram. It is because of the Congress difficulty that I have dragged myself to Bombay, and immediately I am released from this duty, you will find me in Sevagram. But I have got strength and resourcefulness enough to lead this battle, although I am buried in Sevagram. I want to inform you that I shall do better and clearer thinking remaining in Sevagram than anywhere else simply because I have produced an atmosphere there for my growth. I may be growing old, but also in wisdom. It may be self-deception but there is no hypocrisy. Even that is good sometimes in that it helps one to remain cheerful and not to give way to despair. It will be therefore wrong of you to drag me from Sevagram, and I promise that I shall give a good account of my stewardship.

Complete Adherence to Non-Violence Needed

"There are many parties in the Congress. We are not all of the same opinion. There is indiscipline in the Congress. I know it is inevitable in a mass organisation which is growing from day to day. If it is all indiscipline and no discipline, the organisation is on the downward path. Let it not be said of you that you come to the Congress although you do not believe in non-violence. How can you possibly sign the Congress pledge with violence in your breast? I want complete obedience to the policy of non-violence. While the policy lasts, it is the same as though it was a creed, for so long as it holds good, it is as good as a creed. My creed holds me for life; yours so long as you hold it. Resign from the Congress, and you are free from it. Let us be clear regarding the language we use, and the thoughts we nurture. For, what is language, but the expression of thought? Let your thought be accurate and truthful, and you will hasten the advent of Swaraj even if the whole world is against you just as England is today opposed by practically the rest of Europe. You will have won Swaraj without having to spend nine million pounds a day or without burning a single home. If you are true to your policy, I am sure without doing any of these things, you will build up the majestic edifice of freedom.

"Now for the Violence Party. It may be outside the Congress also. Do not mix up the issues if you can help it. Let it go its way. I will say to it 'You have restrained yourselves for some years. Restrain yourselves for some more years. It is not a small battle. If you restrain yourselves, you will be vastly stronger. This is the foundation of your Swaraj. If the foundation-stone is in danger you have to exert the whole of your might in order to defend that single stone. May God help you.'

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