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## Human Life is Not Yet Humane

### The Duty Of Intellectuals

By Prof. S. Radhakrishnan

WE are living in great times. History is being made before our eyes. It is the duty of the intellectuals to interpret the events, direct the course, and contribute to the march of events. Round about us, Parliamentary Government—involving the play and counter-play of varied interests and opinions—is slowly giving place to dictatorship either of the right or of the left. The Communist plan of a dictatorship for the benefit of the proletariat, or the Middle class tyranny, organised in the assumed interests of the nation, makes thought difficult. If any one thinks or speaks against the established power, he is either killed or put into prison. It is at the expense of the individual that the so-called economic salvation is attempted to be achieved. Freedom of thought and conscience, of speech and discussion, is conspicuously absent in these times. The interests of the minorities are ruthlessly set aside. It is forgotten that man does not live by bread alone. Even supposing that we organise the world on what is supposed by many people to be—sound and efficient lines, and give everyone a dole, or, as Chancellor Hitler says, give every man a job and every woman a husband, we shall not make for true happiness. The ends of existence are those personal relationships like love and friendship which are beyond the scope of science and organisation. The most sacred moments of our life are those when we are most alone—when we meditate on the deepest values. In his relations to his Maker or to the woman he loves, man rises above the crowd, and is most individual. It is not an accident that attempts are made to abolish religion and home—for these refer to the ultimate, the intimate side of human life. Today many national leaders want to suppress thought, dehumanise man, convert him into a unit in a crowd, make use of him for 'national' purposes. We are all crippled humans; we cannot build up a better social order, unless we regain our individuality, and have courage to assert ourselves.

#### World A Civilised Society

The world has become very nearly one civilised society and yet about sixty different sovereign states are trying to control this one-society. It is a state of anarchy that prevails, a state of war or perpetual conflict. Apparently war is the normal condition of States, though it has two phases—one static, one belligerent. Human life is not yet humane. There is so much vulgarity, cruelty, and coarseness in it, and we cannot remove them unless we have the courage to stand against the crowd, resist its pull, and make it listen to us—though it may beat us down. Even the intellectuals, I am sorry to say, are not loyal to their ideas. When hot passions take hold of them, they bid good bye to their intelligence and slip into the rut. The uniforms we wear enter into our flesh, the silence of the steel suppresses our thoughts and when national passions are roused, we are swept off like Gadarone swine. We cannot build

up a pacific world order by simply shouting for it. We cannot pick up pacifism in the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

If there are individuals in the country who refuse to be stampeded, who are prepared to seal with their blood their faith in humanity, our goal can be brought nearer. It is no use waiting till the world is converted. Let us wage war against life's abominations, its lies and sorrows—not because we expect that our cause will meet with success in the near future, but because we know that our cause is just. How many of us are prepared to assert with our lives: "So long as one man is in prison, I am not free; so long as one country is subject, I belong to it?"

#### The Pacifist's Task

I am glad to have this opportunity of saying a few words on the need for intellectual co-operation in these difficult times. While science and organisation are building up a single world-body, the world does not yet function as a single organism. Our political partitions and economic barriers are dividing the one-world into a number of independent states. The one civilized society is being governed by sixty and odd independent sovereign units. It is our duty to build up a world soul, a world culture, a world conscience to inform and animate the one world-body. The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation is endeavouring to build up such a world culture—by furthering international sympathy and understanding.

While thought is important and necessary, it is not enough. In the last War, the intellectuals exhibited more bad feeling than the masses. Mere enlightenment has never yet stopped a bullet; in spite of our pacifist professions, we easily fall victims to mob passions and national egotisms. Those who stand up for the ideals of peace among the nations—for the ideals of social progress and of human brotherhood—must have not only the mental agility but also the moral courage to suffer for their ideals. We talk about peace in Geneva, but prevent reforms, delay disarmament and fight shy of all generous ideas. The change needed is not so much an intellectual as a psychological one. Unless individuals and groups of individuals arise in every state,—men who are prepared to suffer and be mauled to the earth for the sake of peace,—we shall not get nearer the goal.

#### Contribution Of Eastern Nations.

"I believe that the Eastern nations, China and India, who are pacifists by tradition and temperament, have a good deal to contribute to the new world culture. They are the necessary complement and corrective to the dominant, rationalist pragmatism of the West. They may not be advanced politically, but political values are not the highest, nor are they all the values. If we are servants of the values of spirit, of truth and justice, of peace and honour, let us adopt in our lives—and with our lives—the maxim, So long as one man is in prison, I am not free. So long as one nation is subject, I belong to it."

(In a speech at the Students International Union, Geneva)

## The Gita And Spiritual Freedom

By Prof. D. S. Sarma

As freedom is one of the most important aspects of spiritual life, it would be interesting to know the comprehensive teaching of the *Gita* on this subject. And I think it would be convenient if we divide the subject into three parts:—(1) Freedom from the bonds of the flesh, (2) Freedom from the bonds of the world, and (3) Freedom from the bonds of the spirit itself.

(1) The control of the animal appetites is the beginning not merely of spiritual life but even of human life. Only in spiritual life it assumes such importance that the tendency may easily develop into asceticism. Therefore the question may be asked at the outset—Does the *Gita* support asceticism? Does it ask us to gain spiritual freedom by suppressing the flesh altogether?

The *Gita* recommends to us foods that promote longevity and strength, condemns in very severe terms all kinds of penances which consist in the torture of the body, and leads everywhere for the wise direction of nature and not for its repression. According to its teaching the ideal Yogi is a resolute spirit riding his flesh with a firm hand but never using his spurcruelly. It is remarkable how often the *Gita* admits the strength of nature in man and recognises the importance of the sublimation of one's instincts and tendencies.

Thus freedom from the bonds of the flesh is only through obedience and discipline. This preliminary discipline, by which a man gains inner control and unity, the *Gita* calls Buddhi Yoga. But it is only a precarious freedom, requiring perpetual vigilance. True freedom comes to us spontaneously and easily when we set our minds on something higher than mere self-control. Accordingly we are led on from the preliminary *buddhi yoga* to the main yoga or fellowship with God to be gained through righteousness, love and wisdom, through Karma, Bhak i and Jnana.

(2) Just as harsh repression is not the way to freedom from the bonds of the flesh, so hasty renunciation is not the way to freedom from the bonds of the world. Just as one has to use one's body for the purposes of the spirit, so also one has to use the world for the rehabilitation of the soul. The *Gita* would wholeheartedly endorse the remark of the English poet that life is a valley of soulmaking. It teaches us in a hundred different ways that spiritual freedom is not for him who runs away from the world, nor for him who becomes a slave to it, but for him who remains in it and works there in the light of a higher world. Man's activities in this world become fetters to his soul only when he is self-centred, but they become the very channels of freedom when their object is not the self.

#### Ideal Yogi

In these passages the ideal Yogi, who remains in this world but is not affected by it, is implicitly compared to a sacrificer. But in other passages he is also compared to a faithful servant or a skilful artist. For Yoga is perfect service, it is also skill in action. The artist who is devoted to Beauty, the scientist who is devoted to Truth as well as the moralist who is devoted to Righteousness feels in his heart of hearts amidst all his activities: "Thy service, O Goddess, is perfect freedom."

It is well known that the *Gita* teaches every man to do his *Sva-dharma* with *Svabhava* or the man's own nature. The duties of men in this world are determined both externally and internally. Externally they are determined by their station in life

## READJUSTMENT OF ELECTORAL DISTRICTS

Commission Appointed

A Commission composed of Mr. M. M. Wedderburn (Chairman), Mr. J. C. W. Rock and Mr. S. Obeyesekere, K. C., has been appointed by the Governor

"to visit the several provinces of the Island and, after bearing such evidence as they may deem necessary, to make recommendations for any readjustments which the Commission may consider expedient in the boundaries of the electoral districts as defined by Proclamations by the Governor dated July 4 and 29, 1930, for the election of members of the State Council, it being a condition of any recommendations which the Commission may make that the boundaries of electoral districts should coincide with those of revenue districts or of Headmen's divisions or of areas under the jurisdiction of local authorities."

The Commissioners are required to report as early as possible upon the matters referred to them.

#### To Hold Good For Ten Years

The existing electoral districts were defined in the Ceylon Constitution (Register of Electors) Order-in-Council, 1930. The revision of boundaries about to be undertaken is in accordance with section 5 (2) of the (State Council Elections) Order-in-Council, 1930, which is as follows:—"Upon the expiration of a period of three years from the date of the definition of electoral districts as aforesaid and upon the expiration of each succeeding period of ten years, the Governor shall appoint a Commission to submit recommendations as to the revision of the boundaries of electoral districts and may, by proclamation in the 'Government Gazette,' effect any readjustment of such boundaries which may seem expedient to him."

and internally they are determined by their own natural endowment. The latter is far more important than the former.

Thus the gospel of *Sva-dharma* taught by the *Gita* is connected with man's natural endowments below and the service of God above. Hence it is not only a gospel of freedom but also a gospel of beauty. For what is beauty, as some one has said, but the blissful perfection which creatures attain when they are absolutely true to the law of their own being? It is an aspect of spiritual freedom which is commensurate with the Law.

(3) By freedom from the bounds of the spirit I mean freedom from all traditions and institutions which are the embodiments of the spirit in the past. Just as harsh asceticism is not the way to freedom from the flesh, and hasty renunciation is not the way to freedom from the world, so also a total non-conformity is not the way to freedom from the rule of custom and tradition. Freedom from the institutions of the past has to be gained in the same way as freedom from the flesh and the world, that is, by obedience and transcendence, and not by rebellion and non-conformity. The wisdom of the teaching of the *Gita* on this point is remarkable. It does justice both to the authority of tradition and the sovereignty of the soul.

(Continued on Page 4.)

## Why Is Gandhiji Fasting?

WANTS FREEDOM FOR HARIJAN WORK

### Government Communique

Simla, Aug. 18

The following communique has been issued by the Government of India:

After his arrest on the 1st August at Ahmedabad, Mr. Gandhi addressed a letter to the Superintendent of the Ahmedabad, Central Prison, wherein he made the following request:

You might know that before my discharge, owing to my fast, from the Yerawada central prison in May last, I was permitted to do Harijan work and in that connection to see freely visitors and equally freely to receive and send letters, to have a typist and to receive newspapers, magazines and other literature. I hope I would be given the same facilities now. I may state a weekly newspaper called the "Harijan" is issued at Poona, and it is necessary for me to send matter for the paper and otherwise instruct the Editor.

On the 4th Aug. after his arrest and re-arrest at Poona consequent upon his refusal to obey the order served upon him, Mr. Gandhi repeated this request, remarking that Harijan work could not be interrupted except at the peril of his life, and asked for a reply by Monday the 7th August. He was informed that the matter was under consideration, but that it was impossible for a decision to be reached by the date specified. Subsequently on the 8th and 10th August, he addressed reminders to the Government.

#### Gandhiji's Letter To Bombay Government

On the 14th August, Mr. Gandhi forwarded the following letter to the Government of Bombay:

It is now noon of Monday, and I am yet without an answer to my request for the resumption of Harijan work on the same terms as before my fast. This request was first conveyed on the 1st instant from the Central Prison of Ahmedabad, and has since been thrice repeated. The strain of the deprivation of this work is becoming unbearable. If, therefore, I cannot have permission by noon next Wednesday, I must deny myself all nourishment from that time save water and salt. That is the only way I can fulfil my vow, and also relieve myself somewhat of the strain mentioned above.

I do not want suspension of nourishment in any way to act as a pressure on the Government. Life ceases to interest me, if I may not do Harijan service without let or hindrance. As I have made it clear in my previous correspondence and as the Government of India have admitted, permission to render that service is implied in the Yerowada Pact, to which the British Government is a consenting party, in so far as its consent was necessary. Therefore, I do indeed want permission but only if the Government believe that justice demands it and not because I propose to deprive myself of food if it is not granted. That deprivation is intended purely for my consolation.

"On the 16th of August, Mr. Gandhi was informed that it had been decided that he would be granted the following special facilities for purposes of work strictly confined to anti-touchability:

(Continued on Page 4.)



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(H. 75. 10-8-33-9-2-34)

### NOTICE.

The Assistant Commissioner of Excise, Jaffna, will receive tenders up to 12 noon on Tuesday September 12, 1933, for—

- (1) the transporting of casks of arrack (capacities varying from 160 to 180 gallons each) from the Vavuniya Railway Station to the Arrack Warehouse, Vavuniya, and for returning empty casks from the said Warehouse to the said Goods Shed, from October 1, 1933, to September 30, 1934, and
- (2) the transporting of bags of sealed bottles of arrack (each bag containing 5 gallons) from the Vavuniya Railway Station to the Vavuniya Arrack Warehouse and for returning the empty bottles from the said Warehouse to the said Goods Shed within the aforesaid period.

Tenders should be made on forms obtainable on application to the office of the Assistant Commissioner of Excise, Jaffna, from where all particulars on the subject can be obtained.

A. N. STRONG,

Excise Commissioner,

Office of the Excise Commissioner,  
Colombo, August 14, 1933,  
(G. 20. 34th & 28th.)

### DENTAL NOTICE

DR. V. SINNETAMBY

Dental Surgeon, Colombo  
will be at the Jaffna Rest House  
on the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and  
4th of September.

(Mis. 81. 28-8-33.)



## Hindu Organ.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 24, 1933.

### AUDIT CONTROL OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURE

THE AUDITOR GENERAL'S REPORT for the year 1931-32 is a voluminous compilation running to 179 pages and contains detailed statements, abstracts, tables and appendices which are likely to prove attractive to the serious student of public affairs and economics. The average reader will find interesting sidelights on the administrative machinery of Government in the portion of the Report which deals with financial irregularities. It may be mentioned that the term "financial irregularities" covers a wide field extending from technical contravention of regulations and directions and errors in interpretation involving financial loss to the country to serious breach of trust and downright misappropriation. A perusal of the Report gives one the impression that the tendency appears to be to condone past 'irregularities' while laying down stricter rules for future guidance. In the absence of a Standing Committee on Public Accounts on the model of the Committee in Great Britain for which the Auditor General made a vigorous plea in his report for last year, the recommendations of the Auditor General with regard to "financial irregularities" in the various departments of Government are bound to remain as pious hopes. The Financial Secretary has, however, undertaken to refer the recommendations of the Accounts Committee to the Heads of Departments concerned and report in a Sessional Paper the action taken by the respective authorities. Though the control of expenditure exercised by a Parliamentary institution is 'post mortem' in character, tradition has made it none the less effective in Great Britain. The Civil Servant in England is so jealous of his own reputation for efficiency and integrity that he cannot view with composure a report regarding himself or his Department to the Accounts Committee. In our own country, the best efforts of the Auditor General to prevent wasteful expenditure and control the passion for extravagance on the part of spending departments have proved futile owing to the privileged position of superior officialdom and the need to maintain the prestige of the white man. The Financial Secretary or the Governor or the Secretary of State is willing to regularise the irregularity pointed out by the audit. The shadowy character of the authority enjoyed by the State Council even in the sphere of "votable" expenditure tends to deprive the legislative expedient of an Accounts Committee of its potency as an engine of control and correction. The Auditor General rehashing his plea for the appointment of a Standing Committee on Public accounts says:

"Attention was drawn to the fact that the absence of a Standing Committee on Public Accounts is a serious defect in the Ceylon (State

Council) Order-in-Council, 1931, for the appointment of a Public Accounts Committee to consider my report on the accounts of the Island. The Committee, which considered the reports for the years 1929-30 and 1930-31, has recommended that the Rules and Orders of the Council should be so amended as to contain special provision for the appointment of a Standing Committee on Public Accounts, but the recommendation has not been given effect to yet. The Financial Secretary has, however, agreed to adopt the following procedure in regard to the reports of Public Accounts Committees. When the report is tabled in the State Council the Financial Secretary will refer the various recommendations to the respective authorities for action. As soon as possible the Financial Secretary will cause to be published as a Sessional Paper a report on the action taken by the respective authorities on the various recommendations and, where no action or only modified action has been taken, he will indicate in the report the reasons for the non-acceptance or modification of the recommendations of the Public Accounts Committee."

We trust that the members of the State Council will realise the necessity for the appointment of a Standing Committee of Accounts and make suitable provision therefor, if only to educate public opinion on the necessity to bring the Public Service under the control of the elected representatives of the tax-payer.

The function of the audit authorities ceases with bringing to the notice of the Governor and of the Council any failure in the observance of the Order-in-Council and the Laws of the Island and of all lawful directions of the Governor in all matters relating to finance and accounts. The Report contains all matters which the Auditor General considers in terms of section 184 of the Order-in-Council (1931) should be brought to the notice of the Governor and of the State Council. The Department has addressed during the year no less than 10,778 queries on the accounts of the financial year 1931-32. It is interesting to note that the largest sum refunded as the result of a single query was Rs. 4,000. The report deals with the more important of the irregularities and these will be examined and reported upon by a committee appointed by the State Council. Principal departmental officers will appear before the Committee as witnesses to be examined on questions arising out of the accounts and sometimes a wide ground of administrative question is covered by such examination. The procedure, not unoften, leads to exposure of improprieties of varying magnitude and thus offer the average reader a glimpse or two of the official 'heart', to maintain which in sound working order and comfort and dignity more than 50% of the revenue is appropriated each year. The report of the Committee on Accounts together with the notes of the evidence of the departmental witnesses will throw a lurid light on the methods of expenditure which commend themselves to Departmental chiefs despite the protests of the Auditor General. There is no provision to compel Government to accept the recommendations of the Committee. The check thus exercised by the Committee could at best be only of a moral character, for, the right to condone the irregularities is vested in the Executive Government. But, publicity such as is given to these cases in the report of the Auditor General and that of the Committee on Accounts has its own value to the average reader. For this reason at least, we commend to the State Council the Report of the Auditor General.

### Obiter Dicta—XI.

## Great Soul Gandhi

#### And Jaffna

That white cap does look lovely. And the veshti and the shawl both of Khaddar. The incongruity of a shirt of Fuji silk only enhances the attractiveness of everything. But the Manchester wrist-watch is the limit. It is an index to the mentality of the proprietor of the entire outfit, cap and all. *The mind has not assimilated the Gandhi ideals.* Externally it is all very fine, and fierily fine. The *show of Gandhism.* For instance if one were to say that the Mahatma had made a mistake or Andrews had missed something or Rajagopalacharya had blundered or Devadas is a burglar or Miss Slade is a fanatic there would be bloodshed, metaphorically, that is to say, there would be "Letters to the Editor" buzzing about you and you would be asked to learn of the unpeccability of Mahatmaji, the infallibility of Charlie Andrews and the "innerancy" of the rest.

It is the Mahatma's birthday, and here we are all in full Gandhi uniform and we carry flags and his photograph and go about the streets croaking honour to Gandhiji. The day closes with a mass meeting on the Esplanade with Mr. Adicheha Kattuk Adinaji in the chair. And speeches are made, such speeches, all in English (for English is our national language!) and then? Nothing. Gandhiji goes his way, the way of sacrifice and we go our ways, the ways of gaining the maximum of merit with the minimum of endeavour. While we weave beautiful garlands of boastful words, Gandhiji's feet are treading his *via dolorosa* that leads to a Calvary and to a Cross.

#### Sacrifice

For any cause a man may make any sacrifice. Is the cause worth the sacrifice? Now what briefly is Mahatma Gandhi's cause? If we know this then we shall be able to assess the value of his sacrifice in terms of the cause. To my mind the cause is the temporal and material good of India, and since India is not all mankind, the cause has its limitations: it is not of universal import. The sacrifice, nevertheless, is indeed very great, and this fact has drawn a whole world's attention to Mahatma Gandhi. The two great elements in his sacrifice are sincerity of sympathy translating itself into conduct and the fact that he himself has very little to gain by it. The second really is the effacement of self and there can be no sacrifice without it. This accounts for the paucity of followers of Gandhiji in Ceylon. A Satyagraha may be easily enacted for spectacular purposes but there is no sacrifice in it. *There has not yet arisen in Ceylon a single man or woman who can be said to be a follower of Mahatmaji.* Why? Because the sacrifice is hard to make. Is the defence of an long opinion a small sacrifice? Take the attitude of the Mahatma towards Temple-entry for the Untouchables (I don't like this word at all) and ask how far Jaffna has joined forces with him. Jaffna's gesture is decidedly one of dissent from the Mahatma's views. True nobody has said so, but everybody knows that everybody is against Gandhiji in Jaffna in this matter. One is undoubtedly quite free to differ from Mahatmaji on the subject of temples and Untouchability, but one is not free to affect a Gandhi cult for purely apocryphic or spectacular purposes. Jaffna is entitled to run its temples in its own way in accordance with age-long usage, but Jaffna is not entitled to pretend to be obedient to Gandhi principles. By all means let Nandhan continue to worship God from across impassable barriers of custom and caste, but God breaks down all barriers and bestows His benediction on Nandan all the same. No one can dare deny that in respect of one of Gandhiji's momentous moves Jaffna has elected to be a laggard.

#### My Ignorance

My intellectual infirmity stands in the way of my appreciating the sense of Civil Disobedience. To me disobedience is disobedience. When it

is emasculated of all the vigour of resistance and the virility of force and becomes an anemic thing, a lassitude, it is termed civil. Sometime ago a learned member of the local Bar (peace be to his soul!) received the shock of his life when I told him in my irreverent way that the earliest record of Civil Disobedience is in the story of Balaam's Ass that refused to budge one inch, despite old Balaam's many blows. It struck me later that I had hurt the feelings of that learned gentleman. If I had told Mahatma Gandhi of Balaam's Ass I am sure he would have enjoyed the joke, for he, great soul, has a supreme sense of humour. After the year since my discovery of the famous ass in the context of Civil Disobedience, am I any the better? I fear I continue to be ignorant and uninformed and possibly lacking in political understanding to be able to see eye to eye with Mahatmaji on the subject of Civil Disobedience. Of course there are giants in this land who could set me right but I am afraid I am too dense to be convinced. A little boy refuses to be washed. He is deprived of his toys and sweets and he refuses to be washed. He is locked up in a room and he refuses to be washed. He is spanked and he refuses to be washed. He does not bite when he is washed by force. This is a form of nursery civil disobedience.

#### That Plea of "Guilty"

Some years ago I happened to read that Mahatma Gandhi had pleaded "guilty" to a charge in a court of law and had been duly sentenced to a term of imprisonment. At the time of the event learned men began to write a lot on the trial and its sad end. Some zealous people discussed the trial in my hearing. They quoted from this and that to show that justice had not been done to Mahatmaji. I at first declined to say anything on the matter but being expressly invited for a candid opinion I remarked, "The Mahatma is a lawyer of note and there is no difference between his plea of "guilty" and that of any other man—the Mahatma, as a lawyer, knew exactly what he was doing". This infuriated some people immensely in Madras in 1925. "Can't you see that Gandhiji became a martyr when he pleaded?" I was asked. I answered "I don't see that at all. If what you say is sound then every accused who pleads guilty is a martyr." My difficulties of 1925 are enhanced by recent events. The Mahatma pleaded "guilty", we read, and was sentenced to one year's imprisonment. What does the plea mean? It means, "I have broken the law and deserve to be punished. I admit the law and its sanctions". And what does it not mean? It does not mean "Your law is an unjust law. It had been made by tyrants for our oppression. The people had no hand in the making of it. I question the right of the Raj to make this law to try me or to curtail my liberty." Really the Mahatma's plea has greatly embarrassed me in my endeavour to think lucidly on Civil Disobedience. To my mind Civil Disobedience is as unthinkable as holy sin. Of course, I confess I may be quite wrong in all this: give me credit for candour even in postulating error.

#### Sainthood in Practice

We all know there are theoretical saints in all lands. In moments of exaltation most men and even women affect sainthood soon to see that it is after all a pose, very difficult to be sustained long. With Gandhiji it is different. To him sainthood is simply the hallowing of the commonplace. It lies in the things of everyday life. He has in his person illustrated not for the first time in the East, the possibility of transmuting even the dull and the drab in duties into the gold and the glory of the Divine. How exactly he does this is part of the secret of his inmost life, and those who know the things of the Spirit have no difficulty, in believing that he hears the voice of God in India as certainly as Socrates heard it in Greece. I have recently been reading again Plato's "Apology of Socrates" and the similarity between Mahatma Gandhi of 1933 A. D. and Mahatma Socrates of B. C. 399 and one or two salient points struck me. Thus Socrates on the Voice suggests Gandhiji on the Voice:

"The prophetic sign which I am wont to receive from the Divine



Voice has been constantly with me all through my life till now, opposing me in quite small matters if I were not going to act rightly. And now you yourselves see what has happened to me; a thing which might be thought and which is sometimes actually reckoned the Supreme Evil. But the sign of God did not withstand me when I was coming up here to the Court, nor at any point on my speech when I was going to say anything." (Apology XXXI 40 E.)

The monetary and directory voice of God appears to be the same in Gandhi's voice as in that of Socrates.

**A Great Achievement**

That Mahatma Gandhi studied the *Sermon on the Mount* does not thrill me at all: that he strives to practise it evokes my admiration. That Mahatma Gandhi patted Christ on the back in a gush of patronage would be of no interest to me; What is more vital and of greater value is that he is seeking to live Christ, a fact which makes him the most outstanding non-Christian Christian since Plato. By fasting and prayer and intent listening to the *Voice* he has attempted great things and achieved great things. What he has done to Caste in India belongs to the Romance of Religion. He has not overthrown Caste but he has paved the way for its spontaneous abolition so effectually that Christian Missionary efforts hitherto made in that direction have seemed signal failures. The doctrine of the brotherhood of man is being lived more than being taught and it is an extremely hard thing to do to live the teaching. And the beginnings of brotherhood are to be in the matter of public religious worship by opening the temples of India to the so-called outcasts. Since Gautama the Buddha there had not been felt in the whole of Brahmanic India any influence so forceful as Mahatma Gandhi's for the freeing of man from the fetters of Caste. He has made us all think and we now realise that Caste in some of its aspects is sin, and sin soils religion. The beginning of his great and noble work has been in the right place, in the sphere of the commonest of all human endeavours, worship. He has begun at the top. India had long seen those, who acting under the impulse of western ideals have been trying to present the Christ of Asia in clothes from Europe. Such people have learnt that it is a very difficult thing to ask Indians to break the barriers of Caste while they themselves have barriers of colour, barriers of class, barriers of rank and barriers of race, they always remembering that they are first white folks and then Christians. By precept and practice Mahatma Gandhi has taught us many lasting lessons and the great world is glad to hear again echoes from Galilee. The background of all Mahatma Gandhi's activities is an intense sense of spirituality. Prayer is to him no magic or mantra but a power full of the promise of performance. Religion he has so translated into conduct that many a professor of any religion may well feel ashamed of his own inability to live his faith. With Mahatma and with Apostle "faith without works is dead". Gandhiji is indeed a great soul worthy of being numbered with the Saints of God.

**WHY HE BROKE THE LAW?**

**Gandhiji's Statement**

"I would like to make a brief statement as to why I have committed what might be described as wilful and deliberate breach of the orders of the Government of Bombay. It cannot be a matter of pleasure to me to commit a breach of the orders of constituted authority. I am a lover of peace and I regard myself as a good citizen, voluntarily tendering obedience to the laws of the State to which I may belong. But, there are occasions in the life time of a citizen when it becomes his painful duty to disobey the laws and orders of his State. As is well known, such a painful duty came upon me in 1919, and I have not only regarded it as my duty to offer civil disobedience, but also to preach it to others.

**RESISTANCE**

"This law or Act under which I have been tried, is a glaring instance in proof of my contention that the system under which India is being governed to-day, is not merely unjust, but dragging her down economically and morally, I have had recently a spell of freedom, and was in the midst

**LETTERS TO THE EDITOR**

**TEACHERS AND POLITICS.**

Sir,—Mr. Watson's unfortunate speech on the occasion of the J.I.C. Old Boys' Day Celebrations has given rise to much controversy over the question of whether or not teachers could take part in politics. As one belonging to the teaching profession, I might be allowed to express my views on the subject through the courtesy of your columns, especially because Mr. C. K. Swaminathan appears to be making capital use of the silence on the part of the teachers regarding Mr. Watson's speech, for his own political ends.

It is usually a disappointed politician who calls politics 'a dirty game' and warns the public against it, and in this, he compares favourably with the disappointed fox in the fable. To the ordinary man, however, politics merely means the business of organising and managing the Government of a country, and as such every person living in that country has an indisputable claim to be a share-holder in that business. Viewed in this light, far from being something dirty and untouchable, politics is a perfectly innocent human affair, with a clean antecedent, and capable of great developments. No doubt, under the garb of politics inhuman crimes are perpetrated, just as behind the mask of religion grave sins are committed. But those who possess a wholesome respect for public opinion will not dare to advocate the wiping of religion off the face of the earth. Why then should these people be vehement about tabooing politics from the communal life of a people?

All civilized countries consider politics quite a healthy and legitimate human concern. If this is so, why should teachers not take part in politics? If one advances the absurd argument that it takes up much of a teacher's time, thus seriously interfering with his professional work, then it may become necessary to point out to that individual that the remedy lies in the hands of the manager of the school (which employs him.) The idea that teachers are seditious mongers preaching to the school children the overthrow of the British rule in Ceylon is too absurd to be taken seriously. It could exist only in an imagination running riot. There is a parallel case of a European planter who made the great discovery some time ago that the spreading of crime in Ceylon was mainly attributable to the spreading of education in the island. Though there was some correspondence in the Press over the matter, yet no serious notice was taken of the hallucinations of that very enterprising Empire-builder. However, it is quite natural, though unfortunate, to find here and there a few panicky loyalists who are ready to see treason everywhere. But of-course, the mischievous twaddle of these people should be rated at its true value, and then flung into the dung heap.

Though the days are past when a school master could make himself a petty tyrant, imposing his will and pleasure on the children he taught, yet the influence which a teacher wields even today in the formation of the character and aspirations of the rising generation is incalculable. Hence the public is perfectly justified in expecting a higher standard of social responsibility on the part of a teacher. If a teacher, therefore, were found to use his influence on the boys

of the people, and had an opportunity of coming into contact with a very large number of men and women, I made what was to me a most painful discovery, that men, high and low, educated and uneducated, rich and poor, were demoralised and were living in perpetual fear of loss of liberty and of their possessions. It was a trial for me to live in the midst of that atmosphere. Being by nature from my childhood a confirmed believer in the methods of non-violence, I sought shelter in self-suffering such as might fall to my lot. That was the only way in which I could relieve myself of some of the agony that was burning in me. It is for reasons such as this that I am offering all resistance to this system of government—resistance that is within my capacity and resistance that is as peaceful a man like me could offer."

in his charge for personal ends and immoral purposes, it is the duty of all public-spirited men, and especially of those who desire to see the teaching profession purged of the filth which will eventually sully the good name of a noble profession, to expose the worthless being either to the proper authorities or to the public. Though my personal experience does not cover a long range of time, I have never known so far a teacher who thus abused his influence and yet retained his position. Mere insinuations will not convince the public of the truth. Why not expose to the full blast of public opinion those teachers who use undue influence of a political nature over their boys? But this is not forthcoming. Those who insinuate are not prepared to go beyond that stage.

No one who has the faintest notion of the scope of education will maintain that teachers should not create an interest in politics in the minds of the boys of today, who will become the citizens of tomorrow. I don't think there is any educational institution in Ceylon where a discussion of political subjects either in the class rooms or in the school literary unions is banned. As a matter of fact, one of the teaching devices in subjects like Geography or History is the reading of newspapers with a view to keeping the boys in touch with international affairs. Again, some of the questions set in the local examinations involve a discussion of political matters. Thus teachers cannot, even if they desire it, escape the duty of instructing the classes in the element of local and international politics. Hence, those people who are panting hard for the safety of the British rule in Ceylon would be better advised if they sent a memorial to the Minister of Education to modify the syllabus of work in Ceylon schools, instead of spreading falsehoods about teachers among the people.

It is quite ridiculous to say that teachers should not take part in politics. From times immemorial they have taken a very active interest in the affairs of the country. Some of the greatest political leaders and statesmen of the world began their political career when they were employed as school masters. It is to the great credit of the teaching profession in Ceylon that the chief leaders of the anti boycott movement in the North are all long experienced teachers who have devoted a considerable portion of their lives to public work. Hence, the spectacle of these superannuated school masters with an elaborate programme of anti-boycott propaganda in their pockets, deploring the political activities of the younger teachers who exhibit some enthusiasm over the boycott, resembles that of Satan rebuking Sin.

Matale, Yours etc.,  
17-8-33. K. Sivapatham.

**ORIGIN OF DRAVIDIAN MUSIC.**

Sir,—Could you or any of your readers kindly give the origin and growth of the music known as *Mela Vathiyam* which consists of Dhol (drum), Nagasura, Drone Bass and Tala? The music is commonly held to be of Dravidian, particularly Tamil origin. Among the Sinhalese the Dhol is known as "Dhemala Dheree"; in Malabar, I am told, the entire Vathiyam is called "Thamil Melam".

2. What is the function of the Dhol please? Why is the music named after the minor drum (Melam) when the chief instrument is obviously the Nagasura?

Yours etc.  
V. Kandiah.

**Motor Accident**

A motor accident occurred yesterday morning near Kilner College, Matale, when a car X2077 overtook another car X865. The rear mud guard of the latter was damaged it is said by the buffer of the former coming into contact with it.

**Personal**

Professor K. S. Maniam, Astrologer and Palmist of Malaya, is on a short visit to Ceylon. He arrived in the 20th instant by Conte Rosso and left for Malaya by Conte Verde on the 20th instant.

**"State" Telegrams For Dinner**

**STATE COUNCILLOR'S 'STATE' BUSINESS**

**Auditor-General's Findings**

Forty-nine telegrams were sent by an officer of the State Council to the Members inquiring whether they would join in a farewell dinner to be given to a departing official who was also a Member of the Council (from the Auditor-General's report). The telegrams were marked "State" and were sent free, but the Postmaster-General requested the sender to pay the charges due on them, on the ground that they did not pertain to official business. The latter maintained that the contents were "official business", and the matter was submitted by the Postmaster-General to the Executive Committee of Communications and Works for instructions, as to what further action should be taken in the case.

**Exercised It Badly**

The Committee resolved to authorize the Postmaster-General not to press for the recovery of the cost of the telegrams, and on this authority he did not propose to pursue the matter further. I was unable to accept these telegrams as telegrams sent on official business, and as I could not agree that the Executive Committee was the authority competent to waive the recovery of the sums due for the services rendered by Government in the matter of these telegrams I surcharged the amount involved. In the correspondence which followed, the Postmaster-General stated that, when the right to demand payment was disputed, the question was referred to the Executive Committee of Communications and Works, which presumably had the powers of Government in the matter, and, if in reality they had this authority, nothing further could be done other than to hold that they had exercised it badly. He added that, while the subject of "State Telegrams" was on allocated in the Ceylon Government Manual of Procedure to the Executive Committee of Communications and Works, the subject of payment for services rendered by Government was not specifically allocated to the Financial Secretary. I drew his attention to Schedule I of the statement of administrative procedure, prescribed for the transaction of business with which Officers of State were concerned, in which it was laid down that payments to Government for services rendered constituted one of the subjects and functions assigned to the Financial Secretary in the division of Finance. I suggested, therefore, that since charges on telegrams were payments due to Government for services rendered, questions connected with such charges should be dealt with by the Financial Secretary, and that the Committee had not the powers of Government in the matter. The Postmaster-General re-submitted the case to the Committee which merely adhered to its previous decision not to press for recovery.

**Not Official Business**

The matter was then put before the Financial Secretary by the Postmaster-General and the latter was informed that, since the Executive Committee was apparently not prepared to rule that the telegrams in question were properly sent on official business and since the recovery at this date of the charges involved might be regarded as oppressive the appropriate course appeared to be to treat the matter as one of waiver of surcharge; and the necessary authority was accordingly granted. The Postmaster-General put the case to the Committee for the third time, and I was informed that the previous decision of the Committee not to press for recovery constituted a ruling that the telegrams in question were properly sent on official business, I do not agree, however, that these telegrams, which were sent to inquire whether Members of the State Council would join in a farewell dinner to an official, were, in fact, sent on official business.

**EXTENSIONS TO UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.**

**Committee Not In Favour For The Present.**

The sub-Committee of the Executive Committee of Education, it is learnt, is not in favour of giving effect immediately to the demands made by the Principal of the University College in a memorandum submitted to the Education Committee before he left on furlough recently.

It was stated in the memorandum that unless more accommodation was given, the College authorities would be forced to turn away a large number of entrants this year.

The immediate needs were stated to be two lecture theatres, to seat 150 students each, an examination hall, four professors' rooms, extensions to the advanced chemistry laboratory, and increased accommodation for the library.

It was suggested that a portion of the accumulated interest on the University Fund be used.

**Obituary.**

**MRS. P. VYTHIALINGAM**

We regret to record the death which took place at Panadura on the 18th instant of Mrs. Vythialingam, wife of Mr. P. Vythialingam, Police Magistrate, Panadura. The deceased succumbed to heart failure after a brief attack of influenza.

The funeral took place the next morning and the ceremonies according to Hindu rites were held at the residence.

The business establishments in town along the route to cemetery were closed as a mark of respect to the deceased.

There was a large attendance at the funeral. The following acted as pall-bearers: Messrs. P. Saravanamuttu, O. G. D'Alwis, M. H. Jayatileke, W. P. H. Dias, E. R. P. Gunatilleke and Mudaliyar C. W. Gurewardene.

The deceased leaves her husband, one son, two daughters and a host of relatives and friends. We extend our heartfelt condolence to the bereaved.

**Order Nisi**

**IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA.**

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 8255.

In the matter of the estate of the late Naganaher Karthikesar Kanapathipillai of Pankudutivu East Deceased.

Karthikesar Nagalingam of Pankudutivu East.

Petitioner.

Minor. 1. K. Thirunavukkarasu and 2. Muttupillai widow of Muruksu, both of Pankudutivu East.

The 1st respondent is a minor appearing by his guardian-ad-litem the 2nd respondent

Respondents.

This matter of the petition of the abovenamed petitioner praying that Letters of administration to the estate of the abovenamed deceased be granted to the petitioner coming on for disposal before D. H. Balfour Esquire, district Judge of Jaffna on the 17th day of July 1933 in the presence of Messrs Sivapiragasam and Kathiresu Proctors on the part of the petitioner and on reading the affidavit and petition of the petitioner.

It is ordered that Letters of Administration to the estate of the abovenamed deceased be granted to the petitioner as the brother of the said deceased, unless the respondents abovenamed appear before this court on the 25th day August 1933 and show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this court to the contrary.

Sgd. D. H. Balfour,  
District Judge  
July 27, 1933.  
O. 17, 21-8-33.



## Why Is Gandhiji Fasting?

(Continued from page 1)

(1) To receive newspapers and periodicals, but not to be allowed interviews for publication in the Press, whether with Press correspondents or others;

(2) To see not more than two visitors a day;

(3) to send instructions or contributions to the editor of the "Harijan" three times a week, and a limited number of letters to other correspondents; and

(4) To have at his disposal a convict-typist and books, newspapers etc. needed for Harijan work.

### Note to Jail Superintendent

On this decision being communicated to him, Mr. Gandhi at first indicated that he would not fast. Later, however, he addressed the following letter to the Jail Superintendent:

"I see that I have hastily and stupidly told you to restore goat's milk to me. It shows how disinclined I am to starve. But on reading the notes of the orders you have left with me, I find they are so far short of the original orders of the Government of India and of my requirements that I must not be precipitate in breaking my fast. If the Government wish to go back upon those orders, I shall be sorry, but I may not work under the new orders which are a manifest departure from the original and which seem to me to be grudgingly given. I observe, you cannot even let me have the letters already in your possession, and to hand the manuscript to the acting Editor for this week's 'Harijan'."

"It pains me to have to write this letter, but it will give me much greater pain if I break the fast, now, and have to enter upon a prolonged controversy with the Government on many matters that need elucidation. I miss the Government's response to the meticulous care with which I am endeavouring to observe jail discipline and as a prisoner to render co-operation, which as a citizen outside the prison walls I consider it a religious duty to withhold."

"I have read your notes three times, and each reading has increased my grief to discover that the Government cannot appreciate the desperate need there is for me to do Harijan work without let or hindrance. Much, therefore, as I am disinclined to continue the fast, I feel I must go through the agony if I cannot serve the Harijan cause without the tremendous handicap which it seems to me the orders conveyed by you put upon it. Will you therefore, please withdraw the milk and fruit already received by me, and accept my apology, for having hurriedly told you that I would break the fast?"

It had been explained to Mr. Gandhi that the orders permitted him to interview the Editor of the "Harijan", as one of his daily visitors, and to hand him his manuscript, and that letters so far as they dealt with Harijan matters, would be delivered to Mr. Gandhi.

The Government are not aware, what Mr. Gandhi means by saying that they have admitted that permission to do Harijan work in prison is implied in the Yerowada Pact, through it is true that, in the exceptional circumstances, prevailing immediately after that Pact, the Government did permit Mr. Gandhi, as a State prisoner, to inaugurate the movement to which he appeared to be devoting his whole attention. Protests were made at the time on behalf of the orthodox Hindu community who did not agree with Mr. Gandhi's policy in this matter against his being allowed facilities to conduct a public campaign from jail, and it might well be argued that Mr. Gandhi having now after a period of freedom courted imprisonment again on a purely political issue, should not be allowed any special treatment that is not given to other 'A' class prisoners.

"Nevertheless, the Government have been reluctant to take action which could be regarded as unreasonable interference with the work of social reform, or to take their stand too rigidly on the fact that Mr. Gandhi is by his own deliberate act a prisoner convicted for breach of the law. In spite of the inconvenience to jail discipline and the anomaly of the position, they have allowed Mr. Gandhi facilities for pursuing his anti-untouchability work which will enable him to make an important and effective contribution towards it.

### "Natural Concomitants of Imprisonment"

"It was noticeable that when Mr. Gandhi was at liberty, he did not ap-

pear to devote the major part of his time or attention to this movement. His main energies were employed on politics and on continuance, in whatever form it might be possible, of the movement of Civil Disobedience. His present claim that he should be allowed from prison to carry on his Harijan work 'without let or hindrance', amounts to a refusal to accept for himself the normal concomitants of imprisonment, except restriction on his actual physical liberty, and in effect is a claim to dictate the terms of his imprisonment.

"The Government are satisfied that the facilities they have allowed are ample to enable Mr. Gandhi to conduct such work in favour of the removal of Untouchability as is in the circumstances, reasonable. If Mr. Gandhi now feels, however, that life ceases to interest him if he may not do Harijan service without let or hindrance, the Government are prepared, provided Mr. Gandhi is willing to abandon all civil disobedience activities and incitements, to set him at liberty at once so that he can devote himself wholly and without restriction to the cause of social reform. Mr. Gandhi has been informed accordingly."

## The Gita And Spiritual Freedom

(Continued from page 1)

It advises us to go to the *Sastra* for guidance, but insists on our following the spirit and not the letter. As I have said elsewhere, it tolerates neither the arrogant free-thinker who discards all scriptures and becomes a law unto himself, nor the blind literalist who makes a fetish of his scriptures and follows the letter of the law, killing its spirit. Hence the apparent inconsistency in some of its utterances regarding the authority of the Vedas. On the one hand it includes the study of the Vedas in its lists of virtues, because it is a means to the knowledge of God, and speaks of the divine

origin of the Vedanta; but on the other hand it says that the vision of God can be gained not through the Vedas nor through gifts and penances but by exclusive devotion to the Lord. There is, however, no inconsistency in teaching for a student who understands its general spirit. It is easy for any one to tear a passage from its context and prove that the *Gita* supports authority and not freedom or *vice versa*. There is, for instance a passage which conservatives who want to uphold the authority of the ancient codes of law at any cost are never tired of quoting. It occurs at the end of the sixteenth chapter. If we read the whole chapter dispassionately we shall learn from the context that the *Gita* advises us to seek the guidance of the *sastra* for curbing the three deadly sins of lust, wrath and greed, and not for resisting any desirable social reform. As against one or two texts like this upholding the authority of tradition, we have scores of texts in the *Gita* which assert the freedom of the sovereign soul.

But more than the precept, the example of the *Gita* in this matter is invaluable to us. Everywhere it follows the old Upanishadic tradition, but it extends that tradition in such a way as practically to re-create it. As I have shown in my Introduction to the Students' Edition of the *Gita*, it takes the traditional concepts of *yoga*, *karma*, *yajna*, *dharma* and *varna* and gives them a far wider connotation than they originally had.

Thus the answer which the *Gita* gives us in this part of our enquiry is the same as that which it gives us in the other two parts. It advises us to use our scriptures as we ought to use the bodies with which we are endowed and as we ought to use the worldly circumstances in which we are placed. Scriptures are not ends in themselves, but are only the means to an end; and the road to spiritual freedom lies through obedience and discipline.

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