

The Hindu Organ.

"Arise! Awake! and stop not till the goal is reached."

THE ONLY NEWSPAPER IN CEYLON FOR THE HINDUS

HAS THE WIDEST CIRCULATION

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Education in Ceylon since British Occupation.

A. CUMARASWAMY, M. A. (CAL. & LOND.) BAR-AT-LAW.

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Changes in Educational Policy and Administration.

IV.

THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.

The Department of Public Instruction was established in 1869. The resolution in the Legislative Council on the 8th of January 1868 "that the Director be assisted by a Board of which he shall be chairman and consisting of six gentlemen fairly representing the different races and religious denominations" being lost he was left, solely responsible to the Governor, in entire charge of administering and supervising education. The year 1881, when the revenue of the Island was at a very low ebb, the Department combined in itself the policy of running its own schools, English and Vernacular, and aiding schools of voluntary agencies. In the aided schools the condition for grant laid down by the Central School Commission the only non-sectarian religious instruction should be imparted, was removed. Thus the Schools of any religious denomination were eligible for grant. Religious instruction was not touched, but a "conscience clause" enabled any conscientious objector withdraw his children from classes in religion. The Government grant was given on secular knowledge alone, the amount being determined after an individual examination of the pupils. In this policy the Department of Instruction in Ceylon was closely following the system of payment by results instituted in England a few years earlier by Robert Lowe. The system was applied to the schools, English and Vernacular alike, and continued for a long time. The evil effect of payment by results was gradually recognized, and it was dropped by degrees, first in the efficient secondary schools, and later in all schools. But strange to say, it still lingers in assessing the value of the instruction given in the vernacular subjects taught in English Schools. But its direct result was an enormous increase in the number of voluntary schools in the Island, for in one year the Christian Mission aided schools which were about 21 in 1869, had by the next year risen up to 229.

Up to the year 1881 the Department had established a few English, a few Anglo-vernacular schools, as well as some vernacular schools, but after that date it not only ceased to provide the various kinds of schools but discontinued most of these it had established. By the year 1884 its responsibility for the entire maintenance of schools had been narrowed to those teaching the vernacular of the people and to half a dozen Anglo-vernacular schools in the more important villages. The provision for English education has thus been left to private enterprise. In 1898 primary vernacular education was made free; children paid no tuition fees, but had to provide their own school books and other school necessities. The Department today (1927) runs about 17 English schools of which only one, the Royal College in Colombo, is a fully equipped secondary school, and 1199 vernacular schools throughout the Island imparting education to 191,816 pupils. Comparing this figure with 284,979 pupils who are being educated in other schools we shall not be far from truth when we say that the whole system has not gone beyond the "voluntary" stage. A com-

parison of the number of Government schools with that of the aided ones will show the enormous amount of work that is being done by voluntary agencies, be they Christian missionary bodies, Buddhist, Hindu, Mohammedan, or private.

	1872	1882	1892	1902	1912	1917	1927
Government schools.	200	421	453	515	779	839	1216
Assisted schools.	402	832	1024	1424	1968	2066	2152

The Rural School Ordinance of 1907 which introduced compulsory education has brought in another agency for the provision of education in the rural areas. The District School Committee is responsible for the enforcement of attendance in all schools through out their area and for the maintenance and upkeep of buildings of Government schools. Their expenses and the salaries of teachers in these schools are paid by the Department from revenue voted.

Besides running its own schools the Department administers and supervises education by its codes which regulate the curricula of studies in the different schools and lay down the conditions for 'recognition'. It also conducts a few examinations like the School Leaving Certificate, mainly intended for pupils leaving the elementary schools; and also the Teachers' Certificate Examinations by which teachers get themselves qualified for their professional work, in the absence of the necessary provision for accommodation in the Training Colleges of which there are not many. Further, the Department is the agent through which the Cambridge University conducts in Ceylon its Junior and Senior Certificate examinations intended for the secondary school pupils, and the University of London its external Intermediate and Degree examinations.

The Department of Public Instruction began with small beginnings. It began with a Director of Public Instruction, a few clerks, and two Inspectors stationed in Colombo, who till 1879 supervised all the schools in the Island. By 1886 Ceylon was divided into four inspectorate districts. In accordance with the recommendations of the Sub-committee which reported in 1912, the Department's name was significantly changed into that of the Department of Education and the Director of Public Instruction became the Director of Education. With the growth of education and the consequent increase in work, the Director is assisted today in his work by an Assistant Director and a Deputy Director. The Inspectorate at first was divided into English and vernacular, each of which was placed under a Chief Inspector. This watertight compartmental division of English and vernacular was abolished under the new scheme for the reorganization of the Department, after the recommendations of the Sub-committee which reported in 1928, and both these Inspectorate divisions were

placed under one Chief Inspector, while the schools instead of the old division of English and vernacular, were classified into Government and aided, schools. For "the work of all schools, whatever their medium of instruction is governed by the same principles and it is essential that there should be at the head of the Inspectorate one officer to co-ordinate the curricula in all the schools and the work of the inspectors, both English and vernacular". The Inspectors are the eyes of the Department through which it gets an adequate knowledge of the schools. They are also expected to provide as between the schools themselves that co-operation and mutual encouragement which a sound system of schools demands." There are 11 special inspectors and the following table shows the Inspectorate areas into which the Island is divided, with the number of inspectors in each, for the year 1927.

Northern Div.	Central Div.	Western Div.	Southern Div.
1 Div. Inspector.	1 Div. Inspector.	1 Div. Inspector.	1 Div. Inspector.
1 Dist. Inspector.	2 Dist. Inspectors.	5 Dist. Inspectors.	2 Dist. Inspectors.
18 Asst. Inspectors.	9 Asst. Inspectors.	16 Asst. Inspectors.	5 Asst. Inspectors.

Apart from the departmental officers the Director is now assisted by a Board of Education. The wisdom and the advisability of the creation of such a Board were not seen in 1869 when the Department was first established. This was the only direct means of consulting the wishes of the people. In recommending the resolution for such a Board Mr. (afterwards Sir) M. Cumaraswamy in the Legislative Council of 1888, said, "In carrying out any scheme of education the wishes of the committee should be consulted. In this matter of education especially vox populi is really vox dei." But it was left to Sir J. W. Ridgway to find the usefulness of such a Board and in 1896 he established a Board of Education "to advise the Director on such questions connected with the working of the voluntary schools receiving aid from the public revenues as he might wish to take their advice upon." The official character of this Board was predominant while the other members represented the different denominational religious bodies which were the main educational agencies. In 1912 there was a reconstitution of this advisory body with a slight unofficial majority, (4 officials and 5 non-officials) nominated by the Governor while the old principle of representation was maintained,—"to represent the interests of the grant-in-aid schools and of the principal religions of the Island." Their function was enlarged: the course of studies, discipline, inspection and examination of schools, duties of school managers, the qualifications required in school-teachers, their emoluments—all were brought within the province of the Board. The Board is not an administrative body, but the Governor or Director may refer any matter to the Board for their advice.

Under this system the number of schools during the last 20 years has increased by about 50% and about half the number of the children of school-going age are receiving education of some kind. It must be constantly kept in mind that most of the education of the country is done by voluntary agencies. While the number of Government vernacular schools may bear some comparison with that of the voluntary agencies the English schools of the Department are disproportionately fewer. Practically all English education is carried on by voluntary agencies receiving aid from the Department. About 50% of the children of school-going age are receiving an education of some kind or other, but if we remember that a very large percentage of these drop off after a purely primary vernacular education which influences their lives to a very limited extent, we shall not be deluded by the numbers of the school-going population. Even this poor quality of education is not available to 600,000 boys and girls of the country who "are growing up in ignorance, having no facilities of any sort provided for them." In our next series we shall see what attempts are being made to provide for universal education.

The Influence of Public Opinion.

Mr. J. TIYAGARAJAH, M. A., L. I. B., (Camb.)

(Being the text of an address to the Fort Study Club at Colombo on the 4th inst.—)

In this lecture I propose to deal with the nature of public opinion, its origin as a force in politics and the extent of its influence upon the Government of Ceylon.

On the eve of the great French Revolution of 1789 a famous thinker named Sieyès said "Qu'est ce que est le Tiers Etat? On n'est rien hier. On est quelque chose aujourd'hui. Ce sera tout demain." "What is the third estate (the people)? It was nothing yesterday. It is something today. It will be everything tomorrow." These were prophetic words indeed. What Sieyès meant was that public opinion which counted for nothing during the pre-revolutionary period in France was gradually making itself felt and that it would eventually become the decisive and controlling influence on Government. As you are aware, before the Revolution of 1789 France was governed in the interests of a feudal aristocracy and the masses were overtaxed and oppressed. The attitude of the King towards the people and their rights was summed up in the phrase "l'état c'est moi" — "the state is myself." But there was a gradual transformation of opinion. Philosophers like Rousseau, Voltaire and Condorcet voiced the grievances of the people and by exposing the vices of despotism on the one hand and preaching the gospel of liberty, equality and fraternity on the other they prepared the ground for the Revolution. To my mind there is no better example in history of the influence of political ideas and opinions upon the minds of men than the spell which philosophers like Rousseau cast on the French people. "Man is born free but everywhere he is in chains." "The sovereignty of the people" and other political ideals which the Reformers proclaimed made the people conscious of their rights and impatient of the tyranny they were subjected to. Hence they swept away the old order of things, and in its place they enthroned democracy. With the French Revolution there began the reign of public opinion in France and other democratic nations.

Now I would like to impress upon you that public opinion is the foundation upon which democratic Government rests. It is a check on the outrages of tyranny and a safeguard against the excesses of democracy. Without it, democracy is a sham. The form of Government a country enjoys is no doubt important because it is only through the proper machinery that the will of the people can express itself. Parliament, Cabinet, universal suffrage etc. are essential to a self-governing country. But even more important than this paraphernalia of Government is the underlying spirit which animates and guides it and that spirit is simply the attitude of the people towards the problems which affect their welfare. When that attitude is well informed and intelligent, conditions favourable to a true democracy exist. But if such an attitude is absent, in other words when public opinion is dormant, feeble and ill-informed or is suppressed for reason of state, then in spite of all the outward trappings of democracy, democratic Government cannot function. This is just what is happening in Italy today under the Fascist régime which is really a

(Continued on page 3)

NOTICE.

A meeting of those interested in the Ambalavanaswamy Temple Charity at Chidamparam, will be held on Sunday the 13th inst. commencing at 4 p.m. at the Vernacular School attached to the Jaffna Hindu College to consider the action to be taken by the Hindus of Jaffna in connection with the petition said to have been presented to the Hindu Charitable Endowment Board, Madras, for drawing up a scheme for the temporalities and other properties in India and Ceylon vested in the Sri Sabanatha Ambalavanaswamy Temple at Chidamparam. All Savites are cordially invited to be present.

A. Tillalambalam,
R. Sivagnanathan, Proctor,
V. Sivasubramanian Pillai,
(Vaidya Poopathy)
V. Subramaniam,
(Manager, Sivalakshmi Madam)
S. T. M. P. Sahantha-anatha Chettiar,
(Min 472 10th) 7-8-32

The Hindu Organ.

JAFFNA, THURSDAY, MARCH 10, 1932.

A PORT TRUST FOR COLOMBO.

SAVE FOR THE HON. MINISTER WHO is too timid to get into touch with the machinery of Government in his charge for fear of being caught up and buried head-long, the limits within which Hon. Ministers may indulge their passion to serve their country have never been defined for them. Their duties are enumerated in the Order-in-Council and the rules lay down the manner of approach to their exalted functions and responsibilities. The human element however, is woefully lacking. It would be easier to drive a motor car with a text-book on mechanics under one's arms than effectively control the working of Government Departments by appealing to rules and circulars. In practice, the Ministers find themselves hedged in on all sides with super-men of the service who, though under orders to be courteously helpful, still would fain regard their pseudo-masters in much the same way as the inmates of a harem welcome a new recruit to their ranks. When a Minister seeks information regarding the affairs admittedly under his control and meets with cold indifference, is it any wonder that he should feel like a peardiver with a hicough—disconcerted? The Hon. Mr. Peri Sundaram was thwarted by the Principal Collector of Customs in his endeavours to secure information necessary for some scheme he was evolving in his Committee to foster the trade of the Island. Whatever may be the character of other Departments of Government, the Customs is maintained and controlled primarily to serve British interests both here and elsewhere. It is a pity that the Hon. the Minister for Industry and Labour had not grasped this aspect of a Department under his supervision. The Principal Collector of Customs is also Honorary Imperial Trade Commissioner for Ceylon. His duties in the latter capacity are plainly intended to foster the trade of his own country with Ceylon. Apparently the Hon. Mr. Peri Sundaram desired to advance the trading interests of this country and seeks information to explore markets wherein we may sell profitably or buy cheap. The request for information does not inspire the P. C. C. to oblige the Minister. It will be interesting to know who pays for the correspondence, travelling and other incidental expenses of this correspondent to the Board of Trade. How expeditiously work connected with trade advancement is done may be gathered from the following statement of the P. C. C. in his Administration Report (1930):—

"In this connection it may be of interest to quote the opinion of a well known traveller on the facilities afforded in Colombo. This traveller, a Midland business man, contributed an article to the English Sunday Post of October 12 1930

in which he called attention to the difficulties put in the way of commercial travellers in various parts of the world. He instanced the practical impossibility of doing business in Japan and the four or five days which it takes to get samples through the Customs at New York. He singled out Colombo as a port where samples can be passed through within 15 minutes, with absolutely adequate and efficient checks on their contents"

He says further:—

"In his capacity as Trade Correspondent of the Board of Trade for Ceylon the Principal Collector of Customs rendered as usual what assistance he could in furtherance of British and Ceylon trade. Many inquiries have been received and answered and in certain instances business is known to have resulted. There have been several cases where British firms have become disenchanted with their local representatives and a good deal of the work of this Department has been connected with inquiries into such complaints and with attempts to find suitable local agents for British business houses"

The Report of the Committee appointed to advise Government on the desirability of establishing a Port Trust for Colombo have issued their Report (Sessional Paper IV, 1932) proposing a system of administration which they "feel confident will commend themselves to the Government and to the people of Ceylon". There can be no doubt whatever that Government—the Governor and his Officers—will be only too glad to accept the recommendations of the Committee. The system of administration proposed by the Committee will lift the Port of Colombo from the "political influences" of the State Council and confide its affairs into the keeping of twelve Commissioners to be constituted trustees of the Port. "The approval and sanction of the Government is required only in matters of major importance." What those major matters are we shall never know.

We are not so sure that the people of this country will accept the Report without amendments in important particulars. We recognise the necessity for an authority to co-ordinate and control the affairs of the Port of Colombo but the idea of creating an *imperium in imperio* cannot command itself to the people of this country even though our Ministers will be modest enough to deny any special knowledge of the various activities and working requirements of the port. Is such knowledge necessary to control the working of that Department? We think, not. It is certain that our Councillors will not throw away what may in the years to come turn out to be a great source of revenue and what will for all time constitute the one important attraction and asset of Ceylon. The Hon. Mr. Senanayake in a convincing "dissent" attached to the Report notes:—

"The tendency for foreign interests to separate matters in which they are interested from the general governmental control, in other words to create the *imperium in imperio* referred to by Sir Henry McCulloch has already gone far enough. The medical facilities in planting districts, the arrangements for the immigration and emigration of labour, Research Institutes, the separate budget of the Railway—all these are successful attempts to exclude the people of the country from a voice in the management of affairs pertaining to non-Ceylonese interests. In each of these matters, however, any loss that arises or any tax that is imposed, e.g., the medical wants cess, has to be borne by the general community."

The imposition of Protection tariffs in England and the invitation to the Colonies to accept Imperial Preference are steps taken to balance British trade. Lord Inchcape complained that invisible exports were showing decrease running into millions. Is the Port Trust calculated to secure power to discriminate in shipping against countries which sell us cheap today, or is it an Imperial move to virtually vest the administration of the Port of Colombo in the Council for the Board of Trade in England? Is the Port of Colombo to be offered to the British manufacturers and shippers as a *santorium* for the boons of universal suffrage and the abolition of communal representation in Ceylon?

"Dispersion of the Tamils"

Racial and Linguistic Affinities of the Ancient Tamilians.

SWAMY VIPULANANDA, B. Sc., (Lond)

Professor of Tamil, Annamalai University.

Mr S R Muttukumaru has compressed within the space of a single article a great deal of very interesting material, and, as far as I could gather from his thesis, he appears to hold that the original home of the Tamilians was in Western Asia from where they migrated to India and certain other places. He also gives a historical basis for the legends connected with Manu, Agastya, Ravana, the King of Lanka, and Bharata, son of Dushyanta and Sakuntala. The migration of the Tamils to Egypt, China, Cambodia, Java, Burma and Malaya is also mentioned. Everyone of the conclusions of the writer is, I dare say, well supported by one or more Western Scholars who have devoted their attention to the study of the races and languages of the East.

II

During the last century various theories have been put forward regarding the original home of the Tamil people and the linguistic connections of the Tamil language. Many of the theories have not been able to stand the test of time, some are under investigation and some have been definitely thrown out. Historical and literary evidence being scanty, investigation had to centre round the evidence offered by Palaeology, Archaeology, and Anthropology. Where the evidence from two sources led to conflicting conclusions, as often happened, judgment had to be suspended and the problem put off for further study and research. Gradually the vistas are clearing up and perhaps within the next few decades or, perhaps within a century or so, scholars may definitely come to the conclusion that the ancient Dravidians are indigenous to the Indian soil, that they have been all along living in this Pannayabum of Bharatavarsha, from whence they have sailed eastwards as well as westwards carrying the torch of civilization to distant lands, colonizing them and leaving behind in those countries traces of their language and racial traits.

III

It was Dr. Caldwell, the pioneer of the study of the comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages who put forward the *Scythian Theory* classifying Tamil with the Turanian languages. This theory does not find much favour now, for it has been shown that the linguistic connection is more apparent than real and that racially the Tamils had nothing in common with the Turanians. For similar reasons the *Mongol-Tibetan Theory* put forward by Mr. Kaoskasabhat Pillai has also been given up. The *Indo African Austral origin* of the Tamils put forward by Messrs Keane and Morris has a great deal of support behind it. Geologists assert that there was a vast continent extending as far as Africa and Australia and including within it South India, Ceylon and the Malay Archipelago. This lost continent of Lemuria claimed to be the seat of the earliest civilization now forms the bed of the Indian Ocean. Tradition handed down by Tamil Literature also supports the submergence of a vast tract of land South of Kumari; the fact that Tamils were indigenous to the Tamil land stands unassailed by this Theory. Lastly there is the *Sumero Accadian-Elamite Theory*. The existence of linguistic and ethnic affinity between the Tamilians and

the early inhabitants of the Euphrates and Tigris valley is established beyond dispute. It is said that the Assyrians claim old king Dasaratha as their own, calling him Dushratta (who died in 1350 B.C.). Now the crucial question is which is the mother country and which the colony. Dr. Hall suggested the possibility of the Sumerians being an Indian race which passed to the valley of the Two Rivers. He says, "We have at the present day a Dravidian population in Baluchistan, the Brahms; the Dravidian type has been noted in Southern Persia, and there can be little doubt that the non-Aryan peoples of Ancient Persia were of the same race, forming a connecting link between Babylonia and India. The legend of Canaan, the man-Fish quoted by Berosus, argues an early maritime connection with a civilized land over sea, Canaan swam up the Persian Gulf to the earliest Sumerian cities bringing with him the arts of civilization. It was in the Indian home that we suppose that their culture was developed. On the way they left the seeds of their culture in Elam." The excavations at Harappa and Mohenj Daro confirm this view. Dr. Chatterji says "It would be established, provided Hall's theory of Sumerian origins be true, that civilization first arose in India, and was associated probably with the primitive Dravidians. Then it was taken to Mesopotamia to become the source of the Babylonian and other ancient cultures which form the basis of modern civilization." Sir John Evans in his presidential address to the British Association says: "Southern India was probably the cradle of the human race. Investigations in relations to race show it to be possible that Southern India was once the passage ground by which the ancient progenitors of Northern and Mediterranean races proceeded to the parts of the globe which they now inhabit." In this connection it may also be mentioned that the ancient Egyptians had a tradition to the effect that their original home was Punt eastwards across the sea. Punt (Punt) may probably be ancient Malabar.

IV.

As Archaeological research progresses the perspective becomes wider and time times shift themselves further and further. At one time the civilization of ancient Greece was considered by Western scholars to be the most ancient civilization. Then Egyptology came in and proved that the land of the Pharaohs had a much earlier civilization. Then came Assyria, Babylonia and Onaldea with much earlier civilizations. The excavations at Harappa and Mohenj Daro have centred attention on the Indus Valley. South India has already begun to claim attention as a contiguous portion of the submerged continent of Lemuria. The ruins of the Siva temple at Anghorvat in French Indo-China and Archaeological finds in Java and other islands point to the spread of the Tamilian culture towards the East. Much has been done and a good deal of work yet remains to be done in the direction of tracing the racial and linguistic affinities of the Ancient Tamilians.

The Stamp Ordinance.

DEATH DUTY CLAUSE AMENDED

Committee "A" of the State Council which met on Tuesday last to consider the Stamp Ordinance approved of it with a few amendments.

Among the important deletions were the clause referring to stamp duty on the staying of land sales, and that referring to death duty on estates valued at and less than Rs 5000.

The Committee were of opinion that it was not fair to allow stamp duty on orders to stay Court sales and to charge duty on estates valued at Rs. 5000 or less.

Two Cents A Word

WHAT SPEECHES IN COUNCIL COST

At the meeting of the State Council on Tuesday last, during a discussion on the Government Press, Sir Wilfred Woods, the Financial Secretary, revealed that each word spoken by members in the State Council costs two cents to reproduce in Hansard.

Taking the average rate of speaking as 120 words per minute, a member speaking for a quarter of an hour costs Government Rs 36.

"Unsatisfactory & Perfunctory"
JURY ON THE MANNER OF
INVESTIGATION.

ACCUSED IN URUMPARAI CASE
ACQUITTED

The unsatisfactory and almost perfunctory manner in which the investigations had been carried out was responsible for leaving a serious crime go unpunished was the note of regret made in a rider by the Jury which returned a unanimous verdict of not guilty in a sensational case from Urumparai, that was tried last at the Northern Assizes.

The case came up for trial before the Chief Justice and an English speaking Jury with Mr. A. Kanagasabai B.A., as foreman, in which Vallipuram Thambirajah, Chief Clerk, Education Department, Singapore, stood charged with having caused abortion in the case of one K. A. Sornam, his cousin of Urumparai and thus causing her death in September last.

One Sinnatambi Nagamuttu, physician of Copsy and his son Muttan were charged with aiding and abetting.

Mr. G. G. Ponnampalam instructed by Mr. K. Ayadurai defended the first accused, while Mr. V. Joseph, with Barrister R. Jeyaratnam and instructed by Mr. T. O. R. Jaratnam defended the 2nd and 3rd accused.

The trial was concluded yesterday at 7.30 p.m. The Court had to hold late sittings for four days and one day it sat as late as 10 p.m. A Juror got indisposed on Tuesday and the hearing had to be adjourned for the next day.

Two anonymous letter addressed to two Jurors were handed over to the Judge who proposed to take no action as there was nothing serious in them to warrant any action.

The Jury returned a unanimous verdict of not guilty and added a rider to the effect that they were unanimously of strong suspicion that the first accused was concerned in the offence, but not in the manner as laid down in the indictment. They further regretted to note the unsatisfactory and almost perfunctory manner in which the investigations had been carried out, as a result of which the perpetrators of a crime of such a serious nature had been left to go unpunished.

The Judge agreed with the Jury's verdict and rider and thanked them for the great care they had shown throughout the proceedings of the case. He acquitted the accused.

His Lordship desired the sessions closed.

No Censorship of Indian News.

QUESTION IN COUNCIL

"No censorship of news from India is exercised in Ceylon" stated the Minister for Home Affairs on Tuesday in the State Council, in reply to the following question by Mr. A. Ratnayake:

"Will the Minister for Home Affairs inform the House whether it is true that news from India is being censored? If so, the reason for it."

Personal

Mr. S. Veluppillai of the Maddar Kachcheri has been appointed to succeed Mr. S. M. Vistvalingam of the Jaffna Kachcheri who has been appointed the premier Sheriff of the General Treasury, Colombo. (Cor.)

—Mr. P. Nagalingam, Permanent Way Inspector, F. M. S. Railways, Kuala Lumpur, has retired and is now residing at his residence at Vannarponnai. (Cor.)

Notice to Correspondent.

MR. C. K. SWAMINATHAN: Too late for this issue.
 —Ed. H. O.

Ceylon Government Railway.
NOTICE.

CREAP TICKETS FOR EASTER HOLIDAYS, 1932.
 Cheap tickets of all classes at one and a quarter single fares for the double journey will be issued from all stations to stations distant 50 miles and over from March 15 to 28, available for return up to and including March 31, 1932.
 Cheap return tickets will also be issued to stations on the South Indian Railway from March 18 to 28, available for return up to April 11, 1932.
 For full particulars see poster notices exhibited at stations.
 T. E. DUTTON,
 General Manager,
 Colombo, March 7, 1932.
 G. 189, 10.

"Mantra Diksha" to Depressed Classes.

PANDIT MALAVIA AS PRIEST
 SHIVARATHRI WEEK PROGRAM

Bombay, Mar. 5.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya revived this morning on the banks of the Ganges at Daccaawad Ghats his movement for giving common "Mantra Diksha" to all classes of Hindus, including the so-called untouchables. Shivarathri week, with daily "Yajnas", evening katha and exhortations, has been going on for three days and will terminate on Monday. Yesterday, Pandit Malaviya delivered the katha himself on the banks of the Ganges and this morning he gave "Mantra Diksha" to about 500 men, women and children of all castes, of whom about 150 belong to the Depressed Classes. (Hindu.)

Dr. R. Saravanamuttu
Unseated.

JUDGMENT IN ELECTION
 PETITION CASE.

Before a crowded Court on Tuesday, Mr. Justice Driberg delivered judgment in the Colombo North election petition case filed by Dr. H. M. Peris, a defeated candidate, fining the election of Dr. R. Saravanamuttu to the State Council null and void.

The Judge held that Dr. Saravanamuttu was guilty of the following corrupt practices:

- (1) Bribing H. W. S. Fernando.
- (2) Issuing a notice to the voters of the constituency to the effect that a voter who received a white ticket, meaning thereby the ballot paper, should put it into the white box—a fraudulent device constituting the offence of undue influence.

Candidates are already afield beginning to canvass for the forthcoming by election in Colombo North consequent on the unseating of Dr. R. Saravanamuttu says the "Daily News". Dr. H. M. Peris, the petitioner in the election case, it is stated will come forward again at the by election.

Among other likely candidates, it is stated are: Mrs. Benjamin de Mel, Messrs. C. H. Z. Fernando, A. Mahadeva, M. L. M. Royal and Count de Manay.

Kompayanmanal Crematorium.
COMMITTEE TO EFFECT IMPROVEMENTS

Mr. S. P. Rasiah, Secretary of the public meeting writes:—

Pursuant to a notice signed by a large number of leading citizens of Vannarponnai, a public meeting to effect improvements to the crematorium, known as Kompayanmanal, was held at the Jaffna Hindu College Vernacular School hall, on Saturday the 5th instanc.

Messrs. S. Sivaprakasapillai, Notary Public and S. P. Rasiah, Teacher J. H. O. were elected Chairman and Secretary pro tem, respectively. The Chairman briefly explained the object of the meeting, dwelling on the supreme necessity and importance of keeping the crematorium clean and protected and alluded to the high satisfactory condition in which certain crematoriums at Thavady and Madras were kept.

Mr. B. Sivagurunathan, Professor S. C. proposed the following resolution: "That the Kompayanmanal crematorium should be controlled and managed by a representative body, known as 'Vannal Kompaysantunanal Mayana Paripalana Maha Sabai.' He said that this crematorium had been encroached upon to an extent of about 40 Lms. V. O., and that it was very necessary to have it enclosed and controlled. It was seconded by Mr. T. Saravanamuttu and supported by Mr. M. Sinnatambi and was carried unanimously.

The area, occupied by the people using the crematorium, embraces about 18 Vidhana divisions of which a representative body, known as Maha Sabai was duly constituted.

The election of Office bearers and Committee was as follows:—

- President: Mr. S. Sivaprakasapillai; Vice-Presidents Messrs. A. Thulasipattam, A. Valramuttu and A. Chellappah; Joint Secretaries: S. P. Rasiah and C. Nadarajah; Joint Treasurers: Messrs. P. Thampuz and M. Sinnatambi.

In addition to the above Office-bearers, the following with power to increase the number were duly elected: Messrs. R. Sivagurunathan, S. Nagasundaram, elected: Messrs. R. Aiyadurai, V. Thampuzap, T. Saravanamuttu, K. Aiyadurai, P. Somasundaram, T. Raj, V. S. Vinsenthambay, P. Somasundaram, T. Mathaswamiyillai, S. Aadchalligam, K. Chelliah, K. Kandiah and S. T. M. P. Sithamparanatha Chettiyar.

Mr. B. Sivagurunathan suggested that donations and subscriptions should be asked to meet the cost of enclosing the said crematorium, of repairing the tank and of putting up a Madam and of making other necessary improvements.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

The Influence of Public Opinion

(Continued from page 1.)

autocracy under the guise of democracy Why? Because anti Fascist views are suppressed and everybody is compelled to subscribe to the Fascist creed. Under such conditions Parliamentary government is clearly a farce. In India today we have autocracy both in form and in spirit, because public opinion which hitherto controlled an irresponsible government in some measure is now completely suppressed by brute force. When we turn to Ceylon the difficulty—apart from a defective constitution—is the complete absence of public opinion or its expression, but its hostility and inefficiency during a crisis. I shall consider the limitations which fetter the growth of a powerful, intelligent and pervasive public opinion in Ceylon presently. But at this point I would like to tell you that even if we had a constitution which conferred full self government upon us instead of the present retrograde constitution, still in the absence of a better organized public opinion we would be merely substituting a Ceylonesse for a British autocracy. Even with their limited powers councillors and Ministers are as irresponsible and as unamenable to the wishes of the people as the old bureaucracy. Therefore if their powers are increased without a corresponding increase of popular control through the organisation of a vigilant and well-instructed public opinion they will prove a grave menace to our progress.

Before proceeding further let me ask you what is public opinion? It is the term used to denote the views and sentiments held by the majority of citizens regarding matters which affect or interest the community. It need not be a unanimous opinion because unanimity is usually impossible to attain and even if attainable it is not always desirable. But the opinion must be held by the majority and although the minority may disagree with it they must abide by it and realise the necessity for abiding by it once legal effect is given to it. But a majority view is not always public opinion. For instance when a country is divided by race or religion questions affecting a particular racial or religious group are not capable of being determined by the majority view in the country. No true public opinion can be expressed on such questions. For instance if it is proposed that Sinhalese should be the state language of Ceylon and if the Sinhalese section of the population are in favour of the proposal whilst the non-Sinhalese section are opposed to it, public opinion in Ceylon cannot be said to be in favour of the proposal merely because the former constitute a numerical majority of the entire population. Similarly if it is proposed that Buddhism should be the state religion of Ceylon and if the proposal had the approval of the Buddhists and the disapproval of the non-Buddhists, it cannot be said to be supported by public opinion merely because the Buddhists constitute a numerical majority. No real public opinion is possible on either proposal owing to the cleavage of race and religion.

Limitation to Majority View.

The sanctity attached to a majority view is subject to a further limitation. Even if the population is homogeneous questions of a technical nature cannot be decided by public opinion. For instance the public cannot determine how our hydro electric scheme which has been so badly bungled by the government should be worked. They must rely on the advice of an engineering expert. Nor could they form a definite judgment on the value of protective or preferential tariffs. Here they must rely on the advice of a financial expert. Nor could they say now an epidemic of cholera should be checked. Here they will rely on a medical expert. All that the public can do in deciding questions of a technical nature is to choose the best expert and submit the questions to them for a solution. This idea of bringing the mind of the layman into contact with that of the expert before a decision is made is not confined only to politics, but it has been extended to the judiciary and to business. Just as in politics Ministers represent the view-point of the public and lay down the general policy of the departments under their control whilst the Heads of Departments supply the technical knowledge and experience, even so the jurors represent the views of the average man on a case submitted to them for decision whilst the judge guides them with his special knowledge of law and procedure. Similarly the Board of Directors of a Bank or Company represent the view-point of the average shareholder, whilst the officers of the Company supply the expert knowledge. In fact the jury-system is the best illustration of the manner in which public opinion operates on a small scale. The jurors are a sample of the great general public and their verdict may be taken to express what the opinion of the whole people would be if everyone heard the evidence; the only difference being that in a political issue the voters are not furnished with accurate and reliable evidence or with the impartial guidance which jurors obtain in a court of law.

Again, more important than mere numbers is the intensity of the conviction or belief and the earnestness with which it is presented. In the sphere of religion you know that a dozen sincere, God-fearing men can by the propagation of their ideals and the example of their own lives convert a vast multitude of unbelievers into righteousness and piety. Even in politics it is the rational basis upon which an opinion is founded and the intensity of conviction with which it is held by its

Continued up

The "Living Taj of Vedanta"

BY A DEVOTEES.

The article on "Glimps of Vedanta Philosophy" from the able pen of Mr. M. Somasundaram which appeared in your valuable paper of the 22nd ultimo has supplied me with enough food for reflection. His sublime thoughts on Vedanta have culminated in his discovery of a living Vedantist at Jaffna who is the centre of all eyes and he has aptly describe him as the "Living Taj of Vedanta." It touched me so deeply that a few thoughts on the great man from so humble an aspirant as myself will not be out of place. For many years past the said Vedantist is an attraction and inspiration to all of us. The abstract principle of Vedanta philosophy is found personified in him. The intellectual barrenness and moral turpitude which have been the appalling feature of Jaffna have disappeared ever since he came into the arena of spiritual life. The moral and spiritual maxims which have flowed from his divine lips abundantly have illumined many a soul steeped in the darkness of ignorance. Moreover the Hindus who have come in contact with him in the different parts of Ceylon have received a new light. He is our guiding star. If the intellectual Jaffna should take his inspiring lessons to heart and put them to action, there is much in it to lift us from the mire of spiritual and political servitude. It is not the intellect, however lofty it may be, that wins and scores for us the freedom and happiness we hanker after, but it is the divine light that is the back ground of every thing that takes us to the desired goal.

Following the great example and imbibing the grand ideas of Mahatma Gandhi India is emerging from the spiritual servitude which kept her in chains for centuries, and if at this juncture we assimilate the great life of the Vedantist, which is one of renunciation, we will once more assert ourselves as the inheritors of the great spiritual ideals which have attracted the attention of the whole world. Mere lip service will not serve our purpose nor mere adoration of the Sage will awake us from the age long slumber in which we are placed by an irony of fate. He invites us to gird up our loins and be ready for the battle of life which is facing us in all its grim shapes and forms.

Swami Vivekananda of eternal fame thundered not long ago that we are in the over-powering grip of Western materialism and the only panacea he laid down for it is religion the highest aim of man. How fortunate we are to be blessed in our midst with the presence of a great perceptor as a beacon light to lead us to the goal of spiritual freedom. We should not miss this golden opportunity which God in His infinite mercy has vouchsafed unto us. The degradation and humiliation into which we are thrown has drawn the sympathy and affection of this dynamic personality.

Mr. M. Somasundaram in his vision of the Vedantist has given vent to his feelings in this strain that "his moral affections are in a state of beatific serenity and above all is the majestic light of his divine intellect."

OBITUARY.

MISS S. MANKAYATKARASI

The death occurred at Vaddukoidal of Miss S. Mankayatkarasi, daughter of the late Mr. S. K. Sabapathipillai of the F. M. S. Railways, Kuala Lumpur, and sister of Messrs S. Thurai Rajasingham of the Government English School, Pekan, S. K. N. Rajasingham of Tanquerah, Malacca and S. Nararatnasingham of the Infant Welfare Centre, Kuala Lumpur. —Cor.

Continued

adherents which matter. A rooted conviction of an earnest minority is more vital than the lukewarm and half-formed views of an indifferent majority because the minority of today under such conditions will become the majority of tomorrow. Twenty years ago the majority of the politically minded classes in England were opposed to Home Rule for Ireland, and to female suffrage, whilst an earnest minority supported both these measures. The minority won in the end, as you are aware. Take one more example. Just imagine what a tremendous force Mahatma Gandhi is in politics today, and how he has transformed world opinion regarding India. Two decades ago Indians themselves regarded him as a visionary. Today his views are accepted and acted upon by millions of his countrymen. The minority view of one man has become the majority view in India simply because he has by his sincerity and saintliness convinced the majority that he is right.

Ineffective in Ceylon.

Having considered the nature of public opinion and its importance as the foundation of democratic government, let us consider very briefly why it is ineffective in Ceylon. "Vox populi, vox dei" is a true maxim provided that the people are

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The Influence of Public Opinion

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educated and are capable of expressing an opinion. Ever since the dark days of 1915 when there was a complete eclipse of public liberties of this Island there has been an awakening of the political consciousness of the people. In fact all our political and national movements owe their origin to that tragic chapter of our history. But the awakening is confined to the intelligentsia and not to the masses. Although we have adult suffrage today, the voters have not yet undergone the training and experience which are necessary to enable them to exercise the vote intelligently. Much less are they in a position clearly to comprehend the political issues which are raised from time to time. The consequence is that demagogues and unscrupulous politicians are in a position to exploit them. And the chief reason why the voice of the people is inarticulate when grave political issues are in dispute is because we have no party system in Ceylon. The Donoughmore Commissioner's deplored the absence of a party system in Ceylon and thought that owing to this deficiency responsible government was unworkable here. And yet they gave us a Constitution which according to them is specially designed to prevent the growth of parties. Now, why is it that in spite of all its well-known defects that the party system is considered absolutely essential to Government founded on public opinion? Because it is the party system that makes politics intelligible to the electorate. Parties are the agencies whereby public attention is focussed on important questions of the day. When each party presents its own side of the case for or against a proposal the public is bound to appreciate the issues involved. The recent activities of the Anti-Income Tax party in Ceylon illustrates how public opinion may be roused and the political education of the masses may be effected. If a Pro-Income Tax party existed themselves to the same extent, then the masses would have heard both sides of the controversy and would have been in a better position to deliver a correct verdict. Not only during an election campaign are parties useful, but also during the interval between elections when they may educate the public on the issues in conflict and exercise a restraining influence upon the actions of legislators. Unfortunately we have no effective party system in Ceylon as yet and the function which is discharged in democratic countries by parties is now the monopoly of the Press. Even in Europe and America the Press is an important factor in the formation of public opinion. The Press in England has been aptly described as the 4th Estate and Bernard Shaw thinks that it has swallowed up the other three estates. However that may be, in Ceylon the Press enjoys a monopoly of creating public opinion and on the whole it exercises that monopoly with restraint and a sense of responsibility. I may also add that since the enormous size of our electorates militates against a personal contact between voters and members and limits the scope of usefulness of public meetings, it is the vernacular Press alone which can rouse the masses and make them politically minded.

To make Public Opinion Effective

Before concluding I would like to revert to the point I raised at the beginning of the lecture and consider what should be done to make members of Council and Ministers responsive to public opinion. If opinion is better organised and forceful, I don't think Councillors will disregard it to the extent to which they have hitherto done. They cannot then pretend to be ignorant of the wishes of their electors. But it is possible that even if the voice of the people were more articulate, members may choose to ignore it, and in that event we shall be as helpless as we are today. After all, there is a very strong opinion in the country today that members should resign their seats and not co-operate rather than submit to "government by certification" which is the order of the day. A Constitution under which it is possible for the Governor to set aside the considered decisions of the Council so frequently and to unobtrusively does not deserve to be tolerated any longer. That is the view of all thoughtful persons and is probably the view of the average voter today. And yet our members are so lost to all sense of decency and self respect, so unconcerned about the best interests of the Island, so determined to cling to their seats and the salaries attached thereto at any cost that they choose to disregard the wishes of the people. The day of reckoning will soon come, but I fear it will be after this country has suffered irreparable damage. Now, what is the remedy? If "government by certification" is to continue and Councillors are impervious to public opinion, then the most urgent need is not the conferment of greater powers on a Council which is likely to betray our interests, but some method by which Ministers and members may be compelled to resign every time they defy public opinion. For one thing a provision should be added to the Order-in-Council making it obligatory for the Board of Ministers to resign every time the Governor certifies a Bill or a part of a Bill. If such a provision were in force either the Governor would not have resorted to certification so readily as he has done; or if he resorted to it, the Board of Ministers would have been dissolved so frequently as to reduce the Council to an absurdity. Again, we might with advantage adopt

Continued up

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the system known as "Recall" which is in vogue in some countries. If a certain percentage—say 10% of the voters of an electorate demand the resignation of its member he is legally bound to vacate his seat under this law of "Recall". The idea is to invest the electors with the power to discontinue the services of a member in whom they have lost confidence. Some nations with long experience of democratic government like England have not adopted this device of "Recall" because their conception of a member of Parliament is that he is more a representative than a delegate. Over 150 years ago Edmund Burke expounded this doctrine of the representative character of a M. P. in memorable language. His words are the locus classicus on the subject. He said to the electors of Bristol:—"Certainly gentlemen, it ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinions high respect, their business unremitting attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasure, his satisfaction, to theirs; and above all, ever, and in all cases, to prefer their interests to his own. But his unbiassed opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion." Divested of this representative character a member becomes a mere automaton, registering the decrees of his electors. Besides, in a conflict between the general interests of the nation and those of his constituency, a member who considers himself a mere delegate will be obliged to give precedence to the interests of his constituency. But in spite of these drawbacks it is the mandatory character of a M. P. which safeguards the public, while the representative character furnishes members with the excuse to go counter to the wishes of their electors and to ride rough shod over public opinion. In view of the irresponsibility of our members and our peculiar constitution it will be more expedient for us to adopt the conception that a member of the State Council is a delegate rather than a representative, and it should be made legally compulsory for a member who has forfeited the confidence of more than 50% of his constituents to vacate his seat. If such a law were in force to day, hardly a single member of the present Council will be able to retain his seat. The remedy is a drastic one no doubt, but our desperate position demands a safeguard like the law of "Recall" until a party-system effectively controls the policy of members and until the man "vox populi, vox dei" is really king of Ceylon.

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Order Nisi.

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA. Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 6030. In the matter of the estate of the late Sethippillai wife of Subramaniam Aiyastural of Sandillipay, late of Seremban, F. M. S. Deceased. Murgesar Sethokavalur of Sandillipay presently of Colombo [Petitioner.

- Vs.
1. Kartikesu Nannithamby and
 2. wife Annappillai both of Chandillipay and
 3. Subramaniam Aiyastural of do, presently of S. M. O.'s Office, Seremban.

Respondents. This matter coming on for disposal before D. H. Balfour Esquire, District Judge, on the 22nd day of December 1931, in the presence of Mr. T. C. Rajaratnam, Proctor on the part of the Petitioner, and an affidavit of the Petitioner dated the 13th day of November 1931 having been read:

It is ordered that Letters of Administration to the estate of the abovenamed deceased, be granted to the Petitioner accordingly, unless the Respondents shall on or before the 14th day of March 1932 show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of the Court to the contrary.

Sgd. D. H. Balfour, District Judge. February 29, 1932 O 840 7 & 10

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