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Hindu Organ.

IT PAYS TO ADVERTISE IN THE HINDU ORGAN AND INTHUSATHANAM.

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KATARAGAMA

A HINDU SHRINE BADLY ADMINISTERED

By Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam

(Special to the "Hindu Organ")

SINCE the occupation of the Island by the British, the pilgrimage to Kataragama became ever increasing and was augmented by the Indian coolies working on coffee estates. Soon, due to insanitary conditions, cholera spread. Large number of pilgrims together with the inhabitants of villages far and near became victims to the dread disease. In spite of precautions taken by Government, cholera appeared again and again, and steps were taken to restrict the number of pilgrims. In 1889, when Governor Sir Arthur Gordon honoured the festival by his presence, there was only a handful of pilgrims. Further and more successful measures adopted by Government to prevent such epidemics gradually restored and encouraged the pilgrimage, so much so, that there has been a prodigious increase lately and the number can be safely estimated at 12 to 20 thousand a year.

Endowed By Kings

The temple was from time to time, endowed by the kings of Ceylon, and on account of such endowments, about 60,000 acres of land were assigned to the temple by the Temple Lands Commissioner, but the temple authorities who divided among themselves the ever increasing revenues of the temple, could not find the necessary fund to pay the survey fees to Govt. The temple revenue is operated under the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance purely on account of the accident that the dewale was endowed and is situated in the Kandyan provinces. But was any endeavour ever made by the higher authorities to scrutinise the correctness of the revenue and expenditure accounted for?

A Hindu Shrine

Kataragama has been a Hindu Shrine for the last 5000 years or more. Those who worshipped there and managed it even after the advent of Buddhism to Ceylon were Hindus. King Dutugemunu and King Raja Sinha who were responsible for the building of the temple—like many other kings of Ceylon—were Hindus. The kapurales, who are now considered to be Sinhalese, belong to a Tamil tribe called Kurinchi, and are still of pure blood. The God worshipped is one most prominent of the Hindu Pantheon. He does not belong to the type of Pitiya devias or Dadimunda Devatavas—heroic god-lets, commonly revered in Sinhalese villages. The only Buddhist touch is the existence of the Basanayaka Nilame, whose appointment must have commenced during the time of the kings of Kandy. He is, who is a Buddhist and who attends the temple during the festivals only, a person interested in the development and advancement of the temple?

Where The Collections Go

The revenue derived from the pilgrims take the form of *archana* and *undiyal*. The *archanabhoga* is probably the private emolument of the *kapurala*, and the *undiyal* is appropriated by the Basanayaka Nilame, who is expected to furnish an account. The *kapurala* never performs any *archana*, nor does he know how to perform it, and the ignorant pilgrims permit themselves to be cheated of their

money. *Archanabhoga* should be certainly twice or more than the revenue derived from the *Undiyal* box. Whether the trustee furnished the necessary accounts annually and whether they were scrutinised by anybody are not known. The Hindus being responsible for the bulk of the revenue, are they not entitled to know how the revenues are disposed of? Is not the trustee, on honour bound, liable to disclose his audited accounts to the Hindu public? From the report of the Public Trustee for the year 1932, it can be traced that the audit fees paid by the Trustee for the years 1929 and 1930 were Rs 617.44 and Rs 500.03 respectively. Proportional to that work done, been the actual amount?

As we are at present unable to know the extent of the audit fees for 1933 this amount was Rs 1195.58. What the credit balances of the previous years were is not known. Another surprising information, we are able to gather, is that the offerings made at the ruined *Eriwehera* and collected by the Public Trustee in 1933 amounted to Rs. 906.32. Could it be believed that the revenue of the Hindu dewale was only 3 times of what this much neglected and scantily worshipped Buddhist ruins earned from the Hindu pilgrims?

Has any improvement permanent or otherwise been effected by the trustee or the other temple authorities on the temple premises for the last 500 years? All the minor temples, resting places, madams &c. have been built by the pilgrims and other devotees. The management has never attended to the accommodation and convenience of the pilgrims. They were allowed to shift for themselves as best they could. No attempt has ever been made to slake the thirst of tired pilgrims on the routes from Butala and Tissamaharama either way to Kataragama. Nothing has yet been done to supply good, filtered water for drinking purposes at Kataragama. The road from Tissa and the approaches to the river have not been improved. The path to the summit of the hill is never kept clean or in order. The jungle round the temple premises is never cleared for the convenience of pilgrims who now crowd and huddle together in the temple *veediya* and river banks. The management has not seen to the building of a well-ventilated and sanitary chattram for the accommodation of paying pilgrims, instead of allowing ill-ventilated and dismal looking madams to be erected in nooks and corners by religious devotees. The task of supplying water to pilgrims who through his madam, by the process of pumping water from the river, has been left to the enterprise of an individual who has dedicated his life for the service of the pilgrims. Another *Sadhu* has undertaken the task of supplying water to those who climb the hill. Societies of Hindu young men have been formed to ease the troubles of pilgrims at Colombo and Matara, and to supply water on the dreary route from Tissa to Kataragama. But the temple management has evinced no interest or activity of any kind all these centuries. How can a per-

(Continued on page 4)

"Ceylon Tamils Not Indians"

OBJECTION TO CLASSIFICATION

Selangor Indian Association's Protest

At the annual general meeting of the Selangor Indian Association, which was held in Malaya, on June 2nd, the following two resolutions were submitted:—

"Resolved that a memorial be sent to the authorities concerned that the representation of the Indian community in the Municipal and Legislative bodies, and other Government committees, be secured by nominating members of the Indian community and that such memorial be sent in conjunction with other bodies representing Indian interests in the State of Selangor."

"Resolved that the Indian community respectfully enters its protest against the classification of Ceylon Tamils under the category of Indians."

X'IAN CHURCHES AND INDIAN OUTCASTES

Bishop's Plea For Rescue Work

London, June 1st.

An appeal to the people of this country to help India's sixty million outcastes is contained in letters to the "Daily Telegraph" from the Rt. Rev. Henry Whitehead, former Bishop of Madras, states a letter.

"Their miserable state of degradation is often declared by Indian reformers to be the one chief obstacle to India's social and political progress.

"By far the most effective agencies for removing the obstacle to progress are the Christian churches in village areas. They are doing magnificent work.

"In the Telegu country there are now about a million Indian Christians almost entirely drawn from outcastes.

"The transformation of their lives and characters and their advance in matters of social welfare has been so striking that many thousands of caste people now unite with them in fellowship in the Christian church. One practical form our desire to help Indians might well take is the great effort to support the vast work the churches in India are doing for the emancipation of these sixty million outcastes who are still very poor and cannot bear the burden of this work without help. But they are constantly asking us to help them and to supply their villages with teachers. If this help is given it will be possible for the Church in India during the next half century to raise from their degradation a very large number of these poor outcastes, transforming them into a vigorous progressive community that have immense influence upon the whole social and political life of India.

THE FARMER REHABILITATED

A Warning Against Urbanising The Farmer

By V. N. Mehta I. C.

SINCE the time Arthur Young came back after his visit to France in the latter part of the eighteenth century and brought back the conviction of the misery of a peasantry ground down under taxation and deprived of the privilege of exercising right of proprietorship, the city dweller has taken friendly interest in the life history of the farmer and in his own condescending way suggested remedies for his improvement. The farmer enjoyed what position he did in the past merely because of the difficulty of getting sufficient number of cultivators to cultivate the soil available for producing food and commercial crops. Fixity of tenure was conceded more as a result of want of competition for the farm, rather than as the outcome of any abstract appreciation of the principle of fixity of tenure. The farmer was at best a usufructuary. He made use of the farm so as to get the best value from the land for the benefit of the proprietor and the State. Kautilya lays down in his chapter on the formation of villages:

"Lands may be confiscated from those who do not cultivate them satisfactorily and given to others; or they may be cultivated by village labourers or by traders lest those owners do not properly cultivate them and pay less to the State. The King shall bestow on cultivators such favour and remission as will tend to swell the Treasury and shall avoid loss as will deplete it."

The residuary legatee is the State. The peasant has to have enough to keep him going. Maximisation of State revenue is the objective. This policy continued long after the establishment of British rule in India. The proportion of the State share fixed at the time of Cornwall's permanent settlement is an index to the practice of the State appropriating the balance after providing for the bare needs of the actual proprietor. The theory of rent which dominated economic doctrine of those days contributed not a little to the screwing up of the State share out of the produce of the land. Messrs. Thompson and Garratt have brought out this point in their excellent book 'Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India.' The theory of rent which was not wholly correct in Great Britain was exported to India and kept in vogue to the detriment of the cultivator and proprietor for over half a century.

Cultivator's Personality

The consciousness that something should be done to develop the personality of the man behind the plough, as apart from making him more efficient for the production of wealth needed steadily for the working of the State administration, first dawned—be it said to his eternal credit—on the foreign administrator and brought to the administration a lively sense of human requirements of the actual producer of rural wealth. This was first adumbrated in the Act X of 1859 applicable to Bengal which secured some rights for the tenant as against the proprietor of the land who was fast becoming a middleman with little interest in the development of the land beyond what he could squeeze out of it. It is from that time to this that

steady efforts have been made to change the formula of the peasant to be the recipient of the minimum amount necessary to keep him going on this human farm, and to accept the present position that the State makes merely a rent charge and leaves the balance to fructify in the pocket of the cultivator. With this change has come a livelier interest in his physical and spiritual welfare. The villager is not merely to be made an efficient instrument of creation of rural wealth, but be equipped with the necessary technique to enable him to play his role in life with success, and to create such milieu in the countryside as to render it possible for his less fortunate confrere to become an efficient cultivator and a better citizen.

Political Voronoffs

Several physicians are at work to deal with the malaise that has seized the villager. They have found that he is in debt and to be in debt is to render oneself liable to be kept in a hospital. But any indefinite detention in an infirmary cannot be accepted as a remedy in practical politics and it is for this reason that all sorts of prescriptions are in the air to bring about speedy discharge of the patient from the hospital and to provide for his convalescent period after the discharge. The villager cannot, however, permanently be treated as in *status populari* incapable of entering into contracts and afforded the scope of residing from existing contracts. That is likely to make him lack the salt of full manhood. He stops short of the full stature of self reliance. It is at this stage that sane thinking is urgently called for. It should not be forgotten that there is something like the village geist—an impalpable and imponderable entity that eludes analysis but is there pointing to mutual affinity of the villager based on the principle of physical propinquity and buttressed up by the spiritual belief in common descent. Political Voronoffs are ever ready to prescribe as cure for his debility, that he should have monkey glands injected in him, in the shape of an outside agency imposed on the village to regulate his career. Others crust in Nature cure. Let him slone. He will cure himself out of the malaise. In this multiplicity of counsels lies the danger of clouded thinking.

The village geist—its peculiar ethos—has to be understood and measures should be framed to strengthen it and to afford it scope for full play instead of being crushed under the weight of an exotic agency imposed from outside. Now that the producer of rural wealth—the man behind the plough—is the object on the operation table, let us make no mistake about the organism. He is not the weakling he is made out to be. He is not the *Homo debiscence* as some socialists have tried to make him out to be, as against Aristotle's political *Homo* who is gregarious. He is a village growth, grown on the soil, out of it, and of it, and like any other product of bountiful Nature.

Village Solidarity

To the sympathetic questioner, he has vast hinterland of humanity behind him. Being in touch with earth has made him profound. He is willing to help. He is prepared to surrender his right. He is ready to share his possession provided he is approached in the right spirit. Create the necessary atmosphere, provide the necessary milieu and he will suffer a chrysalis change into something

(Continued on Page 4)

THE INDIAN BANK LTD.

(Incorporated in British India
In 1907)

The Public and Constituents of the Bank are hereby informed that a Branch of the Bank will be opened at Jaffna, at Grand Bazaar, on Thursday, the 13th of June, 1935.

(Mis. 78. 3-6 to 6-35)

Hindu Organ.

THURSDAY, JUNE 13, 1935.

THE TAMILS AND GENERAL ELECTION

THE GENERAL ELECTION IS COMING round in November. Momentous questions regarding the political and economic future of the Island will come up for discussion and solution by the newly elected Council. The present constitution has been given a fair trial, and no one has a good word to say in favour of it, barring, of course, the group which having tasted "blood" of wider powers during the last four years is thirsting for more. Even the spokesmen of this group have repeatedly thundered against the present constitution viewing it to be, much like the parson's egg—good in parts. The effort is made, therefore, to retain what appears sound and wholesome to this group and revise the constitution in those particulars which may seem irksome. This attitude of seeking to amend the constitution so as to 'do away with some of its objectionable features' and retain its frame-work is bound to arouse the suspicions of minority communities who have fared ill under the present dispensation. These, therefore, clamour for the scrapping of the present constitution and the introduction of a scheme acceptable to all communities who have found a home in Ceylon. The progressive sections of the minority communities did not grudge the transfer of power to one community, for they hoped that the major community would be progressive and liberal enough not to blink at the rights and privileges of the minorities. The experience of the past four years has, however, taught them that their hopes were misplaced.

No effort has been made by the major community which had innumerable opportunities to do so, to consolidate the progressive forces in the country and give them the lead to press forward. The cold response given to the surging tide of nationalism made it turn back and swell the currents of communalism. The major community must demonstrate its honesty of purpose in demanding reforms before it could expect the unstinted support of the nationalistic elements in the country.

Mere words will not do. An earnest effort must be made to unite the scattered forces and lift them above sectional pre-occupations. No minority can successfully take the lead in securing the freedom of the country when the major community is apathetic and easily placated.

We do not suggest communalism is cured by counter-communalism. That will only intensify communal discord and delay the prospect of real reforms. Nor will it do for any community to shut its eyes to "realities" and suffer in silence every act of injustice.

It will be unworthy of the Tamils, if they refuse to explore every avenue of reaching mutual understanding with a view to arriving at a reconciliation of all interests without detriment to the central purpose of freedom. The present conflict, if conflict it is, should hasten the recovery of the lost equilibrium. The spokesmen for the Tamils will have need to balance practical needs with principles and evolve a formula that will abolish the causes of communal friction and usher in the vision of the country's goal. Immediate spectacular triumphs can be easily achieved but the price we have to pay for them in terms of national degeneracy must be reckoned with. The Tamil representatives will have to exercise patience, tact and discrimination in the solution of the complex problems of the country. The most baffling problem becomes easy of solution in an atmosphere of social intercourse where the spirit of give and take comes into free play and cold reason is relegated to the background. The men we send into Council should have the backing of the entire Tamil community. They should be more than our "elected" representatives; they should be our ambassadors, able to negotiate with authority on behalf of the community. Such tried and tested men alone will be able to restore the harmony and cordiality that existed from time, beyond memory, between the Sinhalese and the Tamils.

Fortunately for the Tamils, we have distinguished leaders in our community who, by their integrity, experience and disinterested service in the past, have won the confidence of the public. It was at their bidding that all Jaffna boycotted the Council election in 1931. If the boycott of Council was a glorious triumph of unity among the Tamils, the return to the Council uncontested of these leaders would redound to the greater glory of the Tamils. Returned uncontested, our leaders will command the respect of their colleagues in Council in a measure which no elected member among the Tamils has enjoyed since the days of the late SIR P. RAMANATHAN.

APING THE BUREAUCRAT

Village Committees and Urban District Councils were introduced into the Island for the avowed purpose of providing the people a training ground in self-government. It is a matter for regret that some of these councils are developing a definite tendency to ape bureaucratic methods and defeat the very purpose for which they have been created. The State Council is the victim of a fatal fascination for British parliamentary ceremonials, forms and, not the least, privi-

leges. But no effort has been made so far to emulate the example of British M. P.s. who give of their best to their constituents and their country. Village Committees, some of them at least, do seem anxious to affect the solemnity and manner of superior Courts, the Chairmen assuming for the nonce the airs of a Judge. This approximation to external standards does not in the least expedite work or enhance the dignity of the Committeemen or the Chairmen. More often than not, these punctilios provoke ridicule where they do not cause merriment. We do not say the dignity of the Court is not a matter for consideration. But, we do say that the dignity accorded spontaneously by the people recognising equity of decisions and honest service is what in olden days exalted the members of the Panchayat in the eyes of the people. The insistence and over-emphasis on forms and ceremonials tend to the degeneracy of the councils by overshadowing the central purpose of these institutions.

There may be some excuse on the ground of inexperience and ignorance for Village Committee Chairmen to "boss" a little. But, there can be no such excuse in the case of U. D. C. Chairmen who invariably are men of education, character and patriotism. These are expected to set the pace for their humbler colleagues in Local Government institutions.

The refusal of the Chairman of the Dehiwela-Mt. Lavinia U. D. C. to include in the agenda paper some of the questions and resolutions submitted by a member was the subject over which war was waged in the Council. The Chairman at last sued for peace with the announcement that he would in future follow the State Council procedure and admit all questions. Let us hope the storm has blown over. The Mount Chairman's excuse for non-inclusion of the questions had no reference to his "discretion," or "privilege." He thought it would be cruel to burden his staff with the task of type-writing all the questions for circulation.

The Chairman of the Jaffna U. D. C., took on himself, some time back, to disallow certain questions sent in by a member, holding he had the right to do so. We refrained at the time from commenting on the action of the Chairman because we were assured by the member concerned that he was taking the matter before the Supreme Court. We do not know if the aggrieved member's resolve to seek a judicial pronouncement on the action of the Chairman has gone the way of most good resolutions of erring man. The rest of the members were not moved to action; apparently, they thought it was a matter between the Chairman and the member and not an invasion of their rights.

Whatever be the legal aspect of it, no reasonable mind can justify the action of the Chairman. Even if he had the right, which we doubt, he need not have shut out the questions and created the impression that he was acting in bureaucratic fashion. Here is a colleague, an elected representative of a section of the rate-payers, wanting to have some light thrown on some dark corner in the administration of the Town. Why was this refused? Mr. R. R. Nalliah cannot, certainly, complain if the rate-payers, in the absence of any explanation from him, draw their

own conclusions. Unless the questions were manifestly absurd or palpably irrelevant, one would have expected the Chairman to furnish answers. Even the Speaker of the State Council is not clothed with discretionary power with regard to the inclusion of questions in the agenda-paper. It cannot be that the Chairman of a Town council has larger powers vested in him in this respect. Be this as it may the action of the Chairman was not calculated in the least to win the confidence of his colleagues in the Council. The rate-payers have a right to expect every consideration being shown to their elected men in the discharge of their duties. The refusal of the Chairman to answer questions put by a member is virtually a negation of the right of the rate-payers to know what is being done for them and with their money. Such an attitude on the part of a Chairman of a self-governing institution cannot but give rise to bureaucratic tradition. Self-Government does not surely mean the substitution of King Log for King Stork.

The ravages wrought by the malaria epidemic in South Ceylon have

The Farmer awakened public conscience

Re-habilitated lic conscience

to the need

for organised work to alleviate the misery of the peasantry.

Every city dweller is ever reminded in the usual

conviction that the well-being is bound up with the prosperity of the

the real nation lives in the allocation of funds in the forth-coming budget for the special purpose of developing the personality of the man behind the plough should be welcome to everybody.

The central Government in India has set apart a tidy sum to augment the provincial votes for tackling the problem of Rural Re-construction.

The various provincial Governments are busy hammering out schemes to improve the lot of the villager.

Our Government too will have to formulate ere long its own proposals to rehabilitate the farmer.

In the article appearing on the front page, Mr. V. N. Mehta, I. C. S., who has had considerable experience in rural administration in India utters a timely warning against the tendency to urbanise the farmer and weaken his will to improve by too much spoon-feeding. Says he: "The village geist—its peculiar ethos—has to be understood and measures should be framed to strengthen it and to afford it scope for full play instead of being crushed under the weight of an exotic agency imposed from outside." The men who are charged with the duty of giving effect to the scheme should be such as are able to identify themselves with the villager and share in his joys and sorrows. Official meddlers will not succeed in securing the co-operation necessary for the effective prosecution of the campaign. They may succeed in writing out readable reports to satisfy the official conscience, but their precepts are bound to fall flat with the village folk. We trust the valuable suggestions of Mr. Mehta will not escape the attention of the authorities who may be called upon to handle the problem of Rural Reconstruction in the Island.

Governor Leaves for England.—His Excellency the Governor, Sir Edward S'ubbs, sailed for England by the P & O Ranpura yesterday morning.

Acting Governor.—At 2-30 p.m. yesterday Sir Graeme Tyrrell took his oath of office as officer Administering the Government in the presence of the Board of Ministers. Mr. M. M. Wedderburn acts as Chief Secretary.

A Push bike Tourist.—Mr. C. Sam. Selvaretnam of Manipay, son of Mr. Notary C. Sinnatampu, starts on the morning of the 25th inst. on a tour of the Island on a push cycle.

Murder at Tellippalai.—Casipillai Rasiah and Murugesu Kandaswamy were arrested and produced in Court last Monday and were charged with the murder of Vallipuram Nagalingam, a gold smith.

Valigamam North Youth League.—Under the auspices of the above League Rev. Dr. T. Isaac Thambyah will speak on "Newness" at the Mailani Saira Vidyasalai, Chunnakam, on June 14th, at 5-30 p. m.

Board of Indigenous Medicine.—V. S. Ramanathan, L. I. M., Superintendent, Ayurvedic Hospital, Nayan-Makaddu, has been appointed a member of the Board of Indigenous Medicine for the period, 1st June 1935 to 31st May 1937.

New Viceroy of India.—Newspapers understand, says a Reuter's message, that the Marquis of Linlithgow will succeed Lord Willingdon as the Viceroy of India. Lord Linlithgow was the Chairman of the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform.

Jaffness Doctor Honoured in Madras.—Dr. R. B. Williams, M. R. C. S. (London) who was working in the Medical Department at Madras has been conferred the title of Rao Bahadur in recognition of his meritorious services. He is the son of the late Rao Bahadur L. C. Williamspillai who was in the educational service in the Madras Presidency.

Chettiers want Seats in Councils.—The Ceylon Nattukottai Chettiers' Association has passed a resolution that steps should be taken to get the community represented in the State Council, Municipal Councils and on the Directorate of the proposed State-aided Bank and to support those of the community who come forward for such seats.

Mr. K. P. S. Menon's New Post.—The Associated Press understands that Mr. K. P. S. Menon, I. C. S. (formerly Agent of the Government of India in Ceylon) who is on leave in England, since he submitted his report on the Indian situation in Zanzibar, will shortly be appointed Additional Secretary, Educational, Health and Lands Department, in place of Mr. M. W. Leats, I. C. S. who becomes Deputy Secretary.

Teachers Protest Against Monthly Grants to Managers.—It was unanimously decided at a largely attended meeting of the Ceylon Teachers' Association held at the Y. M. B. A. Hall on Saturday to send a protest to the Minister of Education against the recent decision of the Board of Education by a very small majority to give monthly grants to the managers of schools under recognized societies instead of direct payment to teachers.

Shorter Term for Law Graduates.—The Council of Legal Education has decided to exempt graduates in Law of the Ceylon University College from passing its own examinations in Jurisprudence, Roman Law, Constitutional Law and International Law. They will be allowed to complete their course of studies at the Law College in two years instead of the three years. In effect this decision will exempt a graduate in law from the first of the three examinations held at the Law College and will enable him to complete his course of studies in two years.

NOTICE

N. Kandiah
LICENSED
AUCTIONEER
AND
Commissioner of
Sales

RODDADY, JAFFNA.
(M. 75. 1-6 to 31-12-35) (T)

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL POWER

Jaffna Association Memorandum On Reforms

THE following is the text of the Memorandum adopted at a meeting of the Jaffna Association last week for submission to Government:—

We, the President and Secretaries of the Jaffna Association, the oldest political Association of Ceylon Tamils, beg to submit the following, for and on behalf of the said Association under mandate granted to us by the said Association on June 8, 1935 in general session assembled.

Nationhood By Evolution

To say that Ceylon is not communally-minded is to state a political untruth. That it should not be so minded is quite a different proposition. The communal factor in Ceylon political life has been recognised by the Donoughmore Commissioners and has a place in the present constitution. This does not mean that the communal feeling and the inclination to set up communal claims are to be perpetuated. At the same time the best political forethought would leave it to a progressive future to evolve a coherent Ceylonese people with no communal aims but with a united corporate mind. Sound political wisdom recognises that this ideal of all communities being fused into the formation of one people, the Ceylonese, has to be the result of a process of development and not a situation into which they are to be precipitated. Recognising therefore the communal infirmity of the unregenerate political soul, we venture to suggest how best the present constitution can be modified by making the minimum of concessions to communal frailty and striving for the maximum of non-communal, corporate, Ceylonese, self-governing stability.

Present Distribution

This cannot be attained by the constitution as it stands. Indeed, the constitution in its working up to the present, has illustrated the dangerous possibility of one section of the Ceylonese people possessing all the political power exercisable to the disregard, if not to the utter detriment, of the interests of communities not numerically strong. It has been estimated that the Sinhalese who had 32 per cent of power under the old constitution have 69 per cent under the present. The 23 per cent of power possessed by the officials under the old system has passed in full to the Sinhalese, and 12 out of 43 per cent of power possessed by the minorities has gone to swell the Sinhalese possession of it.

Need for Reform

Everybody is agreed that the constitution needs reform, while only a few are for the complete supersession of it by a new one. In, however, suggesting reforms, the two noteworthy attempts of which we have knowledge have stressed the capacity of the Sinhalese people for a far greater, much wider, less endurable degree of dominance than what they already enjoy under the existing state of affairs. A perusal of what is known as Corea's Bill, and of the document known as the Ministers' Memorandum, will amply support this statement. It is significant that neither document pays any regard to the claims of the Tamils or of the minorities in its demand for a redistribution of power. Full advantage has been taken by the authors of both documents of the basic fallacy of the Donoughmore Commissioners, namely, that the Tamils of Ceylon are merged, submerged, in the general Ceylonese people, and the general Ceylonese people are made out to be mainly the Sinhalese. This is false to history.

Re-distribution Demanded

That a redistribution of political power is fair and equitable is beyond

dispute. The problem is how best this can be achieved without placing any one community in a position of paramountcy and overlordship. We desire to put on record at this stage, that between the Sinhalese masses and those of the Tamils of Ceylon an admirable degree of cordiality and confidence exists sufficient to disarm any sense of mutual distrust. But the fear remains of Pharaohs rising up who may not know Josephs. Our confidence in persons cannot take the place of a trust in principles. Personal friendships, personal regard and personal obligations are for the present and temporary, while for the benefit of those that come after us there must be precision in principles.

The Tamil claim

We are conscious, gratefully conscious, of the protective powers vested in the Governor and of the exploitable possibilities of fairness and justice in the position of the Officers of State. Nevertheless we must admit that these powers and possibilities are for emergencies, just for the prevention of political catastrophes. The Tamils cannot shed their history and be content merely to exist on sufferance. They claim to feel—and this claim is legitimate with the essentiality of their historic position—their own importance in the development of the island and the larger destinies that are unwritten in the future for the Ceylonese. It is not so much to avert civic extinction as to be living, active participants in the processes of the making of Ceylon's future that the Tamils are solicitous of securing a larger measure of association with their Sinhalese and other brethren in the things that appertain to the ushering in of united Ceylon.

The Tamils

The Tamils are not Sinhalese. They are as distinct a people, with as distinct, and as distinguished, a history as the Sinhalese. The Tamils have not lost their ethnic individuality, and neither before nor after the Donoughmore Scheme have the Tamils sunk their personality as a people in the commonness of a Ceylonese conception the main characteristic of which at present is Sinhalese. Of the total population of about 5,400,000

The Sinhalese number 3,016,154
The Ceylon Tamil number 600,000
The Indian Tamils number 700,000
The nearly 600,000 Ceylon Tamils, most of whom are found in the Northern and the Eastern Provinces, and in other parts of Ceylon, are one people, notwithstanding diversities of religious adherence or adoption of varieties of costume. That this 600,000 is not adequately represented in the State Council is the main theme of this memorandum.

As it Stands now

The following tabular arrangement will show the proportion of representation under the constitution as it now stands:—

Representation	No.	Percentage
Officials	3	...
Europeans	4	7 per cent
Sinhalese	41	69 "
Ceylon Tamils	6	10 "
Indians	3	5 "
Moors	1	2 "
Burgbers	2	3 "
Malays	1	3 "
	53	100

A striking feature of the composition of the present council is the fact that Europeans hold two Kandyan seats and a Ceylon Tamil one Colombo seat, a fact potent with possibilities which may be exploited in the progressive stage of the evolution of thoroughly

(Continued in column 4.)

AN IDEAL SITE BUT PROHIBITIVE

Kankasanturai Not To Have A Cement Factory

The Standing Committee of the State Council on Industrial development with Mr. K. D. Guba, the Industrial Adviser, considered Kankasanturai an ideal site for the establishment of a cement factory in Ceylon, but ruled it out owing to the prohibitive cost of transport that would be involved.

The committee will meet again to consider a site upon the recommendation of the Industrial Adviser who will have the co-operation of Mr. A. H. Nathanielsz.

The Industrial Adviser pointed out that the establishment of a factory capable of an annual output of 25,000 tons would cost about Rs. 1,400,000.

THE COMMUNAL SNAG

Mr. W. A. de Silva's Charge against M.S.C.'s of The North

There was a very dangerous move among the members of the North in the State Council to introduce the communal snag and win over the Kandyan representatives for the purpose of working against the Low-country Sinhalese, who constituted the majority in the Council, observed Mr. W. A. de Silva who presided at the 13th anniversary of the Kotte Maha Jana Sabha on the 9th instant.

While the other communities, Mr. Silva went on, like the Burgher, Mohammedan and even the European, were working in sympathy, that danger had to be forestalled for a combined effort on the part of the country. It was their duty to win over the Northern and Up-country elements as well in their forward march towards their common goal.

Notice to Correspondents

MR. M. SIVASUBRAMANIAM:—A literary journal would suit your purpose better than a newspaper like ours.

MR. S. VEDARANYAM:—Your query has been referred to a professor of Sanskrit.

MR. P. RAGUPATHY:—Why whip a dead horse?

Matrimonial

The engagement is announced and the Registration took place at "Chelvarayan Estate," Jaffna, on 8th June 1935, of Nesaratnam Kalpanachiyar Chelvarayan, grand-daughter of the late Mr. S. Ramanathan J. P. and daughter of Mr. S. R. Chelvarayan and sister of Mr. R. C. Mannavarayan of "Ramanathan House," Jaffna, to Mr. Muthiah Muthubalasuriyar B. Sc., G. I. E. E. (Graduate of the Institute of Electrical Superintendents, Kalutara, son of Mubandiram Muthiah, retired chief Postmaster, Jaffna, and Honorary Manager Jaffna Co-operative Bank. The marriage will be solemnised according to Hindu rites next August.

(Mis. 81 13-6-35)

Auction Sale

No. 6278.
Messrs Moses and Ponnappah, Commissioners, state that the plaintiff in the above case is Valliammai, widow of Karthigesar Kanagasabai of Copay South and not Vairavapillai Kandiah of Tellippalai.

REFORM OF THE CONSTITUTION

Royal Commission Advocated By Workmen's Union

At a meeting of the North Ceylon Workmen's Union held on Saturday the 4th inst. with Mr. A. P. Thambiah, president, in the chair, the following were resolutions passed:—

(1) "That the Union is of opinion that the present Constitution is not satisfactory and that a Royal Commission be appointed to revise the Constitution and make necessary recommendations for a Constitution providing adequate and effective representation for all minorities."

(2) "That this Union strongly favours separate electorate under territorial representation in place of joint electorate as the various communities differ from each in race, language, religion, laws, customs and culture."

(3) This Union urges on the Government to distribute the Seats in the State Council between the Sinhalese and the Tamils on the basis of two to one ratio as agreed upon between the leaders of the two communities and that the majority community shall not be entitled to anything more than 50% of the Seats and that the balance 50% of the seats shall be distributed among the Minorities and this ratio shall be maintained in the selection of Ministers also.

Obituary

MR. S. KAILASAPILLAI

Mr. S. Kailasapillai, retired Surveyor of Tirunelvely, expired on Saturday the 8th inst. He is a son of late Mr. Subramaniam and brother of Mr. S. Sabapathy, Chairman of the Tirunelvely Village Committee and Mr. S. Kanagasabai, advocate, Jaffna.

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL POWER

non-communal Ceylon. This is a distant vision.

To Avoid Tyranny of Numbers

From time to time various suggestions have been before the thinking public of Ceylon for the betterment of a state of things which cannot but portend the peril of tyranny of numbers. It is proposed that representation, leaving the officials in the present position of advisory non voters, might be in the following proportion: 50 percent Sinhalese, 25 percent Ceylon Tamils and 25 percent minorities. This has the advantage of minimising the danger of numerical oppression and dominance by one community, and may be effected (a) by reducing the quota of population for an electoral division in the Northern and the Eastern Provinces. (b) by reservation of seats and (c) by nomination by the Governor.

The Old Order

The fundamental basis on which the distribution of political power should be made is to recognise that Ceylon was, previous to its coming under European rule, composed of three independent kingdoms, viz: The Kandyan Kingdom, The Tamil Kingdom and the Low Country Kingdom. Europeans, Indians, Burghers, Moors and Malays have also come and their stake in the country should also be recognised. The Donoughmore Commissioners have been wrongly tutored in Ceylon History with the purpose of undermining the influence of the Ceylon Tamils. The Tamils had a kingdom of their own in Ceylon which was more ancient than that founded by Wijaya and his followers. The Tamils ruled in Ceylon for thousands of years side by side with the Sinhalese.

Until the Constitution is reformed on some such lines as indicated above, the Ceylon Tamils cannot be advised to agree to any piecemeal alternation of the Dono. Scheme, giving the majority community more power enabling them to do more harm to the other communities.

Wherefore we pray that.

1. The Constitution may be so amended as to prevent any one section of the Ceylonese from being in a position of dominance over others.

2. If the existing safeguards for the protection of minorities are to be interfered with, then, there should be substituted for them compensatory protective provisions.

3. The Public Services Commission be kept free from the chances of political influence.

REVIEW

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY
A Monthly Journal, edited by
Mr. K. Iswara Dutt. Published
by the Indian Periodicals
Ltd., Allahabad. Annual
Subscription Rs. 8/-

The current (June) issue of this popular magazine has secured the generous assistance of many eminent men and women, eminent in public life and in their respective spheres of activity. Prof. A. R. Wadia of the Mysore University has cast into the form of an article a lecture he delivered on "Ideals and Realities of the Twentieth Century." That Russian artist and poet who has pitched his pinnacles in the Kula district of the Himalayan valleys, Prof. Nicholas Roerich writes from China a striking article on "The New Life Movement." Mr. V. N. Mahta I. C. S. enters an emphatic protest against excessive feeding of the villager and pleads for the quickening of his will to improve. The Women's Movement in India attracts enthusiastic attention at the hands of Mr. Lakshmi Menon. Rao in a penetrating contribution discusses the financial position of the provinces under the proposed local. S. Mr. R. G. Rajwade discusses the love factor in D. H. Lawrence's literary scheme. "The Kanarese Origin of the Vijayanagar Empire" is the subject of a sketch by Mr. I. D. Kunduri. Dr. Lanka Sundaram continues his monthly record of world affairs. Other usual features are maintained.

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(Mis. 69, 23-5 to 22-6-35)

Order Nisi

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA.
Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 43.
In the Matter of the Estate of the late Ampalawanar Paul Kandiah of Kopay Kopay South

Decedent,
Sophia Gnanaparanam Kandiah of South

Petitioner.

1. Edwin Thurayasingham Kandiah
2. Norman Ratnasingham Kandiah
3. Metida Luzzie Arulammal daughter of Kandiah
4. Editha Mabel Savundram daughter of Kandiah
5. Alfred Rajendram Kandiah all of Kopay South
6. Ampalawanar Sinnab of Nallur

The 4th and 5th Respondents are minors appearing by their Guardian-ad-litem the 6th Respondent

Respondents.

This matter of the Petition of Sophia Gnanaparanam Kandiah, praying for Letters of Administration to the estate of the abovenamed decedent, Ampalawanar Paul Kandiah, coming on for disposal before C. Coomaraswamy Esquire, District Judge, on the 26th day of March 1935, in the presence of Mr. C. Subramaniam, Proctor on the part of the Petitioner and the affidavit of the Petitioner dated the 26th day of March 1935 having been read, it is declared that the Petitioner is the widow of the said intestate and is entitled to have Letters of Administration to the estate of the said intestate issued to her unless the respondents or any other person shall, on or before the 9th day of April 1935, show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

Signed this 26th day of March 1935.
Sgd. C. Coomaraswamy,
District Judge.

Extended for 19th June 1935.
O. 26, 13 & 17-6-36.

The Farmer Rehabilitated

(Continued From Page 1).

rich and strange. The reformer has to see that the villager is not taught to disbelieve in the solidarity of the village—*Wasudhava Kutumbakam*. There is no Hindu, Moslem, Sikh or untouchable there so far. All are *Dehatis*—brothers and sisters—with a rich personality believing in the dignity of labour, in fashioning something out of Mother earth and thus reach the perfection so often spoken of by Abhinava Gupta: "He who kneads something out of earth approaches nearest to the knowledge of God-head." Monetary nexus should not be allowed to replace the nexus of personal services offered for common weal or to help a villager. If there is a work of common utility to be undertaken let everyone give his mite and no cash should enter to prevent the manifestation of human inequality. The State agency should select the village to select its own village—the directing genius of the village society and let the State see to it that the beneficent activities of Government are brought to the door of the villager standing in need thereof. It will set as the conduit pipe. The *Panchayat* should set itself the problem: What is the cause of the malaise? Is the village groaning under heavy debt? Let a debt composition scheme act as *deus ex machina* for the manumission of the individual and his subjection to the indebtedness to the community. Has he a tendency to run into debt? Restrain him from indulging in extravagance—the richest and noblest setting the example of thrift by not displaying wealth in the celebration of sacraments which they are in a position to indulge in.

Is there general illiteracy? Educate the adult in an evening class and he will be keener than the school attendance officer to ensure that his children attended school, stayed there the full minimum period and utilised a library thereafter to keep alive literacy. Is the villager feeling dull? Let him revive community singing and dancing, of acting scenes of heroic past, and recitation from the classics. No need of modern and expensive movie or broadcasting apparatus for him.

Is the village dirty? Bring about by mutual agreement a scheme of re-orientation of village landmarks, removing hindrance to natural drainage. Celebrate national festivals and order a periodic cleanses up and the *Darid ranarayan* will be sent away with the best of the Winnowing Sup, more efficiently than by an army of inefficiently supervised *Mehtars*. Harness the water power of the villagers' impulse to mutual service, and your turbine would produce more electricity and at less cost than any costly scheme to satisfy the motive power for combined action. Be it, however, remembered that your villager is not the Arcadian angel. He is sometimes represented to be..... There is a proverb in the Punjab that if a Jat cannot in any way do harm to his neighbour he would go towards his neighbour's field and leave an unsavoury odour behind there. He is like Janus double faced. He has a Dr. Jekyll and Hyde personality. Lest we in the heat of reform forget this, let us not do anything to emphasise the Hyde element in him. It is centrifugal anti-social and bloody with its tooth and claw. The triumph of civicism is in conquering Hyde and giving Dr. Jekyll a chance to foster mutuality. The villager must be given scope to reach to manhood. This can be achieved by allowing free play for the development of his full personality as embedded in the matrix of the village economy. It is an incessant fight. What did the jaded Faust find to be the happiest moment of his life? It was in a scheme of *Grama Sangathan*.

There should be no spoon feeding of the villager. Let him be given the inward urge to improve himself. Don't urbanise him. His will then be the lot of what the French best describe as the *Deracine*—the eradicated—the uprooted—a sight for gods to pity and for the disillusioned reformer to sulk over. There are at present two streams rushing down from the same water-shed, from different directions which will ultimately meet at a happy *Sangam*. The streams are intended to fertilise the area they pass through in an effort to bring about village reconstruction. Let there be no mistake in the objective. The farmer has to be refashioned so that he can add a cubit to his economic height and his spiritual growth. (The Twentieth Century)

KATARAGAMA

(Continued from page 1)

son of one religion be expected to display any interest in the management of affairs of another religion? Unless some interest is shown no increase in revenue can ever be expected.

Scandalous Administration

In conclusion, the striking words of Sir P. Arunachalam who, as a constant pilgrim for several years, personally knew a great deal about Kataragama and its requirements, are worthy to be quoted. He said—

"King Dutugemunu invoked the aid of the God and received his help and built and endowed the temple at Kataragama in fulfilment of his vow. The royal endowment was continued and enlarged by his successors and by the

offerings of generations of the people and princes of Ceylon. This old and once wealthy foundation has for years been in a woeful plight, from loss of the State patronage and supervision which it enjoyed under native rule and owing to the corruption and dishonesty of the Sinhalese trustees and priests, in whom under the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance its administration is vested. Its extensive estates have mostly passed into other hands, the property that remains is neglected, the temple buildings are in disrepair and the daily services are precarious. The Hindu pilgrims, however, continue to flock in thousands, pouring their offerings without stint and wistfully looking forward for the day which will see the end of the scandalous administration."

(The first instalment of this article appeared in the "Hindu Organ" of June 10 1935)

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