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This study attempted to analyze the educational problems of Tamil women, one of the communal groups in Ceylon, to trace in broad outline the development of their education from the earliest times to the present day, and to ascertain particularly the quality and importance of Home Economics Education in the pattern of their lives.

The education of Tamil girls in ancient times was closely linked with home and family. Mothers and daughters worked together in the home, and traditional techniques of homemaking were handed down from generation to generation. This ancient Home Economics Education was informal and narrowly vocational, for a woman was trained to find her greatest satisfaction and reward in the making of a happy home for her husband and her children.

The European conquests of Ceylon brought a new orientation

into educational programs for Tamil women. Tamil girls now began to go to school and to learn to read and write. The early emphasis on education for marriage and family life began to be replaced by emphasis on education for a career. Academic subjects and extra-curricular activities filled the school curriculum, and the new generation of Tamil girls grew up either totally ignorant of Home Economics or with a superficial knowledge gleaned in a haphazard manner. Traditional methods of homemaking were generally despised and forgotten, while the new methods were still unrelated to the lives of the people.

The granting of independence to Ceylon in 1948 brought reactionary developments into educational programs. The education of Tamil girls and women merged into the general pattern of national education in Ceylon. Government-sponsored examinations emphasized Eastern patterns of homemaking while private agencies attempted through lecture-demonstrations to remedy the obvious deficiencies in available Home Economics programs.

Tamil women began to be conscious of new needs and responsibilities. A survey of conditions in some Tamil homes showed a trend towards progressive electrification and a blurring of differences between Eastern and Western methods of home management. The education of Tamil girls did not accord with the cultural and economic demands of the new age. It was found that there was definite

need for organized programs of Home Economics that were broader in scope and more closely adapted to individual requirements; for research, which would include surveys of living conditions, investigations of traditional and new methods of home management, and analyses of foods on the market; and finally, a need for programs of experimental self-learning through the medium of books, pamphlets, correspondence courses, and programmed instruction.

Tamil women were no longer isolated units contented solely with marriage and family life, but were now conscious of themselves as living in an international world and working with women of many races towards international peace and understanding. It was necessary that the new programs of education for Tamil women should consider their roles as housewives, career women, and citizens of the world.

DEVELOPMENT OF HOME ECONOMICS EDUCATION
AMONG THE TAMILS OF CEYLON

by

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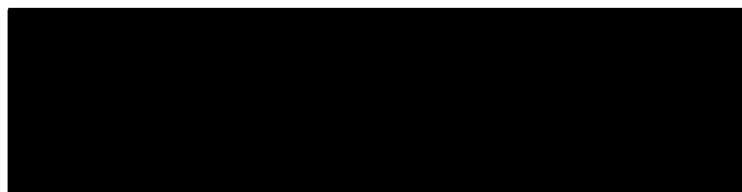
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DEVELOPMENT OF HOME ECONOMICS EDUCATION AMONG THE TAMILS OF CEYLON

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The nature, status, and education of women have been subjects of controversy through the ages. In the tradition-bound cultures of the East, the problem was simplified by relegating women's duties to the care of the home and the family, but the struggle for the emancipation of women has world-wide implications today. The forces of change that are shaping Western society have attacked the foundations of social order in the East. The old traditional securities have been shaken, and Eastern women no longer think of a vocation in terms of marriage alone but realize that they must now prepare for the dual roles of homemakers and career women.

The women of Ceylon, too, have been responsive to these new forces. In ancient times they learned the traditional techniques of homemaking in their own homes, but today the whole pattern of their lives has been changed. This study attempted to analyze the educational problems of one of these communal groups, the Tamil women of Ceylon, to trace in broad outline the development of their education from the earliest times to the present day, and to ascertain

particularly the quality and importance of Home Economics Education in the pattern of their lives. The Tamil women of Ceylon are trying to harmonize old and new values in their programs of Home Economics, and the problem is to assess how far they have succeeded in doing so, and in what manner Home Economics Education in Ceylon today accords with the needs of Tamil women in a changing world.

Significance of the Problem

The analysis of the educational problems of this particular communal group of Tamil women is significant as being part of a general world-wide concern for the emancipation of women. It should be of interest to educationists everywhere and particularly to those connected with education in the East. It is essential also that women themselves should realize the full implications of their educational programs, for it is only through a complete awareness of past traditions and modern trends that women everywhere can consciously shape their destinies and attain to a full realization of their potentialities.

Purposes of the Study

The Tamil women of Ceylon are a minority group, and no special effort has been made to fit the curriculum in schools and

colleges to their particular needs. Homemaking has always been an important vocation for these women, but changes in technology, economic pressures, and new ideals have made the old ways obsolete. The main purpose of this study is to compare the old and new forms of Home Economics Education among the Tamils of Ceylon, to assess the adequacy of present programs in relation to modern needs, and to suggest improvements where possible by comparison with similar systems in other countries. It is hoped, further, that the present study will serve as a pilot scheme for future observations and surveys and that the suggestions provided will initiate new educational programs among the Tamils of Ceylon.

Assumptions and Limitations

The complexity of the subject and the lack of accurate historical records concerning the education of women in Ceylon leave a great deal to conjecture. Evidence of early times can only be deduced from literary allusions in old texts and histories, from ancient codes of law, and from primitive customs of aboriginal groups that still survive in Ceylon.

Educational records are incomplete or impossible to locate. The humid climate of Ceylon and the frequent changes in office personnel and accommodation make it difficult to keep old documents in good repair and to file them for easy reference by the public.

Statistical evidence, too, is generally inadequate and almost non-existent with reference to the Tamil women of Ceylon. No previous studies have been made of these women, their occupations and attitudes, nor have there been any follow-up surveys to establish what use they have made of the education they received. The writer was able to collect some statistical information by means of personal visits to schools and colleges in Ceylon, questionnaires to senior students, and interviews with principals, teachers, housewives, and working women. Investigations were confined mainly to the Jaffna Peninsula, which is the ancestral home of the Tamil people, and to Colombo, the capital of Ceylon, where there are representative settlements of Tamils outside Jaffna. These initial studies, however, need to be supplemented with wider and more comprehensive surveys of school-leavers and adult women at all stages of life.

CHAPTER 2

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

This study arose out of the hypothesis that the education of Tamil girls in Ceylon today does not accord with the cultural and economic demands of the age. The subject of Home Economics Education was selected as a criterion through which the education of Tamil girls could be measured in terms of relative values through the ages. It was assumed that the content of the curriculum and the methods of instructing girls in Home Economics would indicate clearly the importance attached to woman's role as a homemaker in every stage of society and reflect in some measure the scope and development of her potentialities.

The first step in the collection of data was a review of related literature. This was a difficult task as there was no complete bibliography anywhere of materials related to Ceylon. Personal visits to various public and private libraries in Ceylon secured access to many books including old volumes that were no longer in print. Visits to several College libraries in the United States and the services of the Inter-Library Loan system were also utilized to gain reference to other books on Ceylon. Primary sources were used as far as possible in assessing the background events of ancient and

medieval Ceylon, and these were checked by reference to commentaries by modern historians.

There was very little information about the education of Tamil girls in secondary sources, and the author had to rely almost exclusively on primary sources for this material. Information was gathered with difficulty from ancient historical documents, from accounts by actual participants in recorded events, and from old literary texts and administration reports of Government departments such as the Department of Education, Department of Examinations, and the Department of Census and Statistics, Ceylon.

An important part of the research procedure was a series of personal visits to girls' schools and colleges in Colombo and Jaffna, Ceylon. The schools in Colombo were selected with regard to the proportion of Tamil girls on the register. Muslim students were often included in Tamil classes, but they were not considered in the study as they had a different cultural background. The Jaffna schools were specially important for this survey as 56 percent of Ceylon Tamils live in Jaffna and send their daughters to school there.

The principals of the various schools or their representatives and the teachers of Home Science were interviewed in each of the schools visited. A careful inspection was also made of the Home Science rooms. Home Science equipment and the general methods of teaching the subject. It was found that Vembadi Girls High

School prepared students in Home Science for the Higher School Certificate, Ceylon; that Holy Family Convent, St. Bridget's Convent, and C. M. S. Ladies College coached students for the external examinations of Lady Irwin College of Home Science, New Delhi, India; and that all the other schools taught Home Science and Needlework in preparation for the General School Certificate Examination of Ceylon.

Three hundred and twenty-two questionnaires were distributed among those students who were studying Home Science and who were scheduled to leave school that year. Thirty-five questionnaires were also given to the teachers in the same schools. The distribution was as follows:

<u>Jaffna Schools</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>
Vembadi Girls High School	9	3
Uduvil Girls School	13	1
Chundikuli Girls School	26	4
Holy Family Convent, Jaffna	25	2
Ramanathan Girls College	69	1
Hindu Girls College	90	4
Vaidyaswara Vidyalayam (Muslim girls omitted)	2	3
Government Training College, Palaly	29	1

<u>Colombo Schools</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>
Holy Family Convent, Bambalapitiya	10	3
C. M. S. Ladies College Cinnamon Gardens	5	1
Good Shepherd Convent, Kotahena	22	3
Methodist College, Kollupitiya	5	-
St. Bridget's Convent	8	3
Saiva Mangaiyar Vidyalayam	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	322	34

As these questionnaires were distributed personally and collected soon after, there was 100 percent return.

The student's questionnaire was designed to ascertain the social position of the student by reference to her father's occupation, the type of fuel that was used in her home for cooking, lighting and ironing, the extent of the use of electrical equipment, and the kind of food that was eaten by the family. Another section checked the scope of her studies in Home Science, her preferences and dislikes for various branches of the subject, and her vocational plans for the future.

The teacher's questionnaire was concerned with the teacher's qualifications and experience in the teaching of Home Science, her method of preparation for that work, and her experience in related fields. It also asked for details of her employment at that time, an

assessment of the adequacy of her studies in school and college, and suggestions for the improvement of the teaching of Home Science in Ceylon. These suggestions were the most valuable findings of the questionnaire, for they arose out of personal experience of difficulties and inadequacies in the Home Science programs of Ceylon.

Interviews were also obtained with representative women of the Tamil community in Ceylon, such as married women of different generations, Inspectresses of Home Science, working girls and married women in foreign countries. Photographs and diagrams were used to illustrate items that would not have been clear otherwise.

The last stage of the study was the selection of Home Economics programs and methods of teaching that were especially adapted to the needs of the modern Tamil women of Ceylon. This was achieved by a comparative study of Home Economics textbooks, programs, and literature in Ceylon, India, England and the United States. The author's personal experience as a student in these countries together with her official employment as Lecturer and Examiner in Home Science from 1948 to 1960 in the Department of Education and the Department of Examinations, Ceylon, helped to make the conclusions more valid.

Only tentative suggestions for the improvement of the curriculum and methods of teaching Home Economics in Ceylon can be

made at this pioneer stage, but there is ample scope for further experimentation in the future on lines of research suggested by this study.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND
OF THE TAMILS OF CEYLON

In order to understand the educational problems of the Tamil women of Ceylon, it is necessary to know the historical and geographical background of the country in which they live. The Tamils are one of the communal groups in the island of Ceylon, constituting 11 percent of the population. They live for the most part in the Jaffna Peninsula, a district in the north of Ceylon, and their economy is largely dependent on the palmyra palm, which grows well on the sandy coastal areas there.

Descriptions of the history and geography of Ceylon, the economy of the Jaffna Peninsula, and the uses of the palmyra palm are essential for an understanding of the influence of cultural and environmental factors on the Tamil women of Ceylon.

Moreover, domestic subjects have been taught under various names in Ceylon. It is important therefore, to define clearly the implications of terms such as "Home Economics" and "Home Science" with reference to their significance in America and Ceylon.

History of Ceylon

Ceylon is an island in the Indian Ocean, 35, 481

square miles in area, lying between the parallels of $5^{\circ} 55'$ and $9^{\circ} 51'$ north latitude and the meridians of $79^{\circ} 43'$ and $81^{\circ} 53'$ east longitude. The Island is pear-shaped, 270 miles from north to south and 140 miles from east to west, and is separated from the southern extremity of the Indian Peninsula by the gulf of Manaar and the Palk Strait, the width of the intervening sea at the narrowest point being about twenty miles (145, p. 1).

Geologically, Ceylon is part of the Deccan of South India.

Earth movements centuries ago caused the sea to inundate the land, leaving the Island of Manaar and the shoals known as Adam's Bridge as surviving links in the old land chain.

Legends and travellers' tales record the history of Ceylon from very early times. The island has been identified with the Lanka of the Ramayana, an epic of India, set in the fifteenth or twentieth century B. C. (95, p. 44). At that time Ceylon was inhabited by aboriginal tribes and ruled by King Ravana. Greek and Roman writers refer to it as Taprobane. Ptolemy drew a rough map of Ceylon marking its principal towns and rivers, and Pliny the Elder commented on its great wealth, its democratic elections, and the hundred-year span of life enjoyed by its inhabitants (159, vol. 2, p. 405-407).

The wealth of Ceylon is referred to again and again in medieval travellers' tales. To Sindbad, the Sailor of the Arabian Nights, the island was Serendib, where cave walls were

"thick with diamonds, rubies, and masses of crystal, and the floor was strewn with ambergris . . . On the seashore and at the mouths of the rivers the divers

seek for pearls, and in some valleys diamonds are plentiful . . . A thousand men in cloth of gold, mounted upon richly caparisoned elephants, go before him (the King) and as the procession moves onward the officer who guides his elephant cries aloud, 'Behold the mighty monarch, the powerful and valiant Sultan of the Indies, whose palace is covered with a hundred thousand rubies, who possesses twenty thousand diamond crowns' (59, p. 126-130).

Marco Polo visited "the island of Zeilan" in the thirteenth century and described what he saw there.

Both men and women go nearly in a state of nudity, only wrapping a cloth round the middle part of their bodies. They have no grain besides rice and sesame, of which latter they make oil. Their food is milk, rice, and flesh, and they drink the wine drawn from trees . . . The island produces more beautiful and valuable rubies than are found in any other part of the world, and likewise sapphires, topazes, amethysts, garnets, and many other precious and costly stones. The King is reported to possess the grandest ruby that ever was seen, being a span in length, and the thickness of a man's arm, brilliant beyond description and without a single flaw. It has the appearance of a glowing fire (219, p. 152).

The reputed wealth and fertility of Ceylon attracted invaders from India and other countries on various occasions. According to the Mahavansa, a legendary history of Ceylonese kings, Vijaya, a prince of North India, invaded Ceylon in 543 B. C. , married Kuveni, a native princess, and ruled the aboriginal tribes of the Yakkas (devil-worshippers) and the Nagas (serpent-worshippers). Kuveni herself was banished sometime after, and Vijaya married a princess from Madura in South India, while his 700 followers found brides among the retinue of the Indian princess (123, p. 51-61). Vijaya and

his followers were the founders of the Sinhalese race, which now constitutes two-thirds of the population of Ceylon. The original inhabitants of Ceylon, a composite of Mediterranean, Australoid and Negrito races fused together into a homogeneous group called Veddahs, who numbered 2361 in 1946 and 803 in 1953 according to the census of those dates.

Later invasions of Ceylon were organized by the Dravidian Tamil kingdoms of South India. The Dravidians were an ancient Indian race whose origins are lost in antiquity. They have been identified with the Sumerians whom they closely resembled and who perhaps invaded India in prehistoric times and established cities on the Indus plain (193, p. 1). The excavations at Harappa and Mohenjodara -- two cities that have been identified with the Dravidians -- give evidence of a civilization going back to 2600 B. C. , with well-planned towns, bonded brick buildings, and elaborate drainage systems. Terracotta figurines, engraved seals, and metal objects found on the sites indicate a high degree of craftsmanship (89, p. 57-76).

The ancient Dravidians were driven out of their cities in the North by wandering tribes of Aryans from the West. The Aryans were a war-like people who settled in the Indus valley and gradually consolidated their power in the northern plains, while the Dravidians were forced to establish their kingdoms in the South. There was a

certain intermingling of Aryan and Dravidian cultures throughout India, but the Tamil kingdoms of Chera, Chola and Pandya, the most dominant group among the Dravidians, preserved their traditional culture unchanged in many ways.

It was these Tamil kingdoms of the South that initiated the early invasions of Ceylon. One of these invasions took place in the fifth century B. C. ; three Tamils, Sena, Guttika and Elara are said to have ruled Ceylon in the second century B. C. , and a Chola prince established an Empire over Southeast Asia and Ceylon in the tenth century A. D. These South Indian conquests, however, were transitory ones, and eventually the Tamil settlers were confined to the northern part of the island where they established the kingdom of Jaffna.

The Ceylon Tamils of today are the descendants of these early settlers. They constitute about one-tenth of the population and are the largest minority group in the island. For the most part they occupy the Northern, North-Central and Eastern provinces, but groups of them are found in all the large cities. These Tamils are considered Ceylon citizens and have the right to vote at Parliamentary elections, while the Indian Tamils are a stateless group of immigrant laborers who settled in Ceylon within the last century.

It is clear, then, that India and Ceylon had close cultural and

economic contacts from very early times.

The economic, social and political background of Ceylon was essentially Indian, and the modifications which it went through up to the end of the fifteenth century and to a limited extent after that time, were mainly due to Indian developments. In other words, up to the end of the fifteenth century Ceylon was a unit of the civilization of India (128, p. 27-28).

After the fifteenth century, however, Ceylon became a prey to Western invaders. The Portuguese were attracted by the lucrative cinnamon trade of the island, and they ruled the maritime provinces from 1505 to 1658. They brought in the Roman Catholic missionaries and laid the foundations of the Western system of education, but their period of power was too short to make any radical alterations in the economic and social organization of the country.

At that time there were three independent kingdoms in Ceylon -- Jaffna in the north, Kotte in the Southwest, and Kandy in the central hills. The Dutch conspired with the Sinhalese king of Kandy and drove the Portuguese from their Ceylonese possessions in 1658. They extended their rule over adjacent lands and continued the economic policy of controlling and monopolizing the trade of Ceylon.

On the whole the Dutch left alone the Sinhalese and Tamil systems. They encouraged the cultivation of commercial crops. They developed communications by the construction of canals. They improved the standard of building construction and gave an impetus to the development of crafts. They spread elementary education and accustomed people to the rule of law. But the changes were limited to the area over which they directly

ruled and made little difference to the life of the people as a whole (128, p. 63).

The Dutch administration lasted until 1796 when the island was annexed by the British. In 1815 the British completed their conquest of Ceylon by overthrowing the kingdom of Kandy which had maintained its independence until that date. Ceylon now became unified under a common system of law and government. Trade monopolies approved by the Dutch were abolished, and plantation agriculture developed under a system of free trade, private enterprise, and capitalism. English became the language of Government and the law courts, and English schools were established to strengthen the British administration. Viscount Goderich stresses the importance of English instruction in his letter to Sir R. W. Horton:

Since the dissemination of the English language is an object, which I cannot but esteem of the greatest importance, as a medium of Instruction, and as a bond of union with the Country, no Schoolmaster should be, in future, employed, who does not possess a knowledge of English (129, vol. 1, p. 277).

The development of the English language in Ceylon created a liberal group among the educated upper class who began to think and act in ways that were no longer bound by tradition. This new spirit among the Ceylonese led to demands for constitutional reform and ultimately forced the British in 1948 to give them their independence.

Ceylon today is an independent Dominion within the British

Commonwealth of Nations. It has a cosmopolitan group of citizens with distinctive forms of language, costume, tradition, and manners. Besides the Sinhalese and Tamils are the Burghers, the Eurasians, and the Moors. The European invaders had intermarried with the natives of Ceylon and left a minority group of descendants called Burghers, who were mainly legitimate descendants of the Dutch, and Eurasians who were generally of English parentage and illegitimate. The ancient Arab traders, too, had married native women, and their descendants were classed as Ceylon Moors. The last census of Ceylon taken in 1953 shows the following distribution of population groups:(31, vol. 1, p. 178):

Low-country Sinhalese	3,469,512
Kandyan Sinhalese	2,147,193
Ceylon Tamils	884,703
Indian Tamils	974,098
Ceylon Moors	463,963
Indian Moors	47,462
Burghers and Eurasians	25,464
Veddahs	803
Europeans	6,508
Others	32,239

Jaffna and the Ceylon Tamils

Jaffna is the ancestral home of the Ceylon Tamils. There is a legend that it was founded by Yalpana Nayanar, a blind minstrel who lived in the Chola kingdom of South India. One day he quarrelled with his wife, crossed over into Ceylon and sang so well before the king of Ceylon that the latter gave him a tusked elephant and all the land in the extreme north of the island. This land was uninhabited, then, and overgrown with scrub jungle, but the minstrel cleared it, induced people from South India to settle on it, and gave it his own name of Yalpana Nadu, the country of the minstrel. Jaffna is called Yalpanam by the Tamils today (28, p. 133-134).

The Jaffna Peninsula with its group of off-shore islands is a distinctive natural region of Ceylon. The underlying structure is of limestone rock, and the land is cultivable only where this has been weathered into red-brick or grey loam soil. There is little surface water because of the porous limestone formation, but wells are used to tap the perennial supplies of water underground.

The Jaffna Peninsula and the Islands are flat. There are no rivers. In many places the sea runs in and forms large lagoons which cut right through the centre and eastern portions of the Peninsula. The southern portion of the Peninsula is sandy and covered by shrub jungle with coconut plantations on the west coast and palmyrah along the east coast. The northern portion, except for scattered patches of rocky land, is almost entirely garden cultivation (200, p. 267).

Rice, millet, tobacco, onions, chili (pungent peppers), bananas, and local vegetables are grown here. Coconuts, arecanuts, and fruit trees such as mango, citrus, jak, and pomegranate are also cultivated in these garden farms.

Life in the Jaffna Peninsula is hard for its people. The soil must be heavily fertilized with leaf and farmyard manure if it is to be productive. Every scrap of waste is buried, and cattle are penned in rough sheds which can be moved from place to place on the fields. The rainfall is concentrated into a few months of the year, from October to January, when the North-East Monsoon winds blow. Irrigation from wells is essential at other times. A well in the Jaffna Peninsula irrigates $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres, but the water must be lifted by means of well-sweeps, bullock-operated water lifts, or pumps. Fortunately, the land is flat, and the water can be made to flow easily through channels and bays into the fields. Very often, however, garden crops are watered painstakingly by hand in order to conserve every drop of the precious water.

Although the Jaffna Peninsula and the Island divisions are not naturally fertile and only 28 percent of the land is cultivated, yet the peninsula shows a very high density of population. The density per square mile is 331 but the number of persons to the square mile of cultivated land is 1,616, the highest for the Island (73, p. 220).

The oldest types of settlement are the fishing villages along

the north coast and the sandy east coast of the peninsula. Houses in the rural area are scattered along the road on the edges of fields and gardens. Jaffna Town, the capital of the northern province, is the administrative center of the peninsula. It has excellent schools which were founded and developed mainly by Christian missionaries.

The people of Jaffna are thrifty and hardworking, and they depend on agriculture for their economic welfare. The palmyra tree, particularly, is invaluable to the inhabitants of the Jaffna Peninsula. It is a heavy fan palm which is found growing extensively in the low sandy plains of this region. Its trunk is 60-90 feet high and six feet thick at its base tapering to a crown of palmate leaves at the top. The leaves are about ten feet across with a strong, central rib and spiny stalks; the flowers are small, and the fruit large, globular, and brown.

The palmyra is said to have 801 uses. Its fruits supply food and oil and its juices wine and sugar. Its stem when mature provides hard black wood for building material, and its leaves are used to make fences, roofs, mats, baskets, headdresses, and fans. Documents and sacred writings are also inscribed on dried palmyra leaves -- the ola leaves of tradition.

Ancient forms of homemaking in Jaffna were closely connected with the products of the palmyra palm. The stems of the young plants

were eaten fresh or dried in the sun to make "odial." These stems could also be ground fine to make a nutritious flour which was the base of many culinary preparations. Juice was extracted from bruised flower spathes, boiled into a thick syrup, and poured into small baskets of palmyra leaf to form "jaggery." Fruit pulp was eaten raw or roasted, but was also preserved by a slow sun-drying process into "pinatoo." All these tasks together with the making of mats, baskets, fans, and fences from palmyra leaves were traditional occupations of the women of Jaffna from ancient times.

Definition of Home Economics

Home Economics in America today has been defined by the American Home Economics Association as

... the field of knowledge and service primarily concerned with strengthening family life ... Home Economics synthesizes knowledge drawn from its own research, from the physical, biological, and social sciences and the arts and applies this knowledge to improving the lives of families and individuals. Its concern is with these aspects of family living: family relationships and child development; consumption and other economic aspects of personal and family living; nutritional needs and the selection, preservation, preparation, and use of food; design, selection, construction, and care of clothing, and its psychological and social significance; textiles for clothing and for the home; housing for the family and equipment and furnishings for the household art as an integral part of everyday life; management in the use of resources so that values and goals of the individual, the family, or of society may be attained (7, p. 4-5).

This principle of strengthening family living was not always a key emphasis in past definitions of Home Economics. In its earliest stages when the subject was known as "Domestic Economy", "Household Arts", "Domestic Science", and "Housecraft", its main concern was with the physical resources of life and the practical skills required to manipulate them. The emphasis then was on cooking, sewing, and housekeeping for the thrifty conservation of existing resources. In Europe and Asia generally these housekeeping skills are still considered important, and their relation to the psychological aspects of strengthening home and family life is generally ignored. In Ceylon today, as in India, the general name for the subject is Home Science. It includes the main branches of Home Economics as they are listed in America, with emphasis, however, on practical routines rather than theoretical and psychological developments. Interdisciplinary approaches that are becoming standard practice in America are unknown in Ceylon.

CHAPTER 4

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Unfortunately, there are no earlier accounts of the Tamil women of Ceylon which can be used as a foundation for this study, for these women are a minority group who have awakened very little interest in the past. There is a mass of general background information, however, on the history, geography, and economy of Ceylon and India, which has some relevance in that it indicates trends of educational development in these countries. Some of these items have the value of authentic primary resources; others are less reliable. The author has had to depend on this information to glean scattered references to Ceylonese women's work and education through the centuries. Definite information is scarce, and inferences had to be drawn from allusions in ancient poetry, from accounts of biased eyewitnesses, from administrative and statistical reports, and from comparisons with patterns of development in women's education in other countries. The principal value of this general background information has been the insuring of the accuracy of the inferences drawn by the author regarding the development of Home Economics Education among the Tamils of Ceylon.

Inferences regarding the education of Tamil women in

ancient Ceylon had to be drawn from comparisons with women of ancient India, who were their ancestors. The position of women in Hindu civilization is discussed by A. S. Altekar and Clarisse Bader, while Myths and Legends: Hindu and Buddhist by Sister Nivedita tells the story of the heroines of ancient India -- Savitri, Draupadi, Sakuntala, and Sita.

One of the most important books for the definition of women's duties in ancient times is The Laws of Manu. The Code of Manu is a metrical Sanskrit work of 2685 verses dealing with religion, law, custom, and politics as defined by Manu, a mythical descendant of the Hindu god, Brahma. The collection as it exists today dates back to the second century A. D. and is undoubtedly a version of an earlier code inculcated by the Vedic schools of ancient India. It is possible that the code originated in manuals of guidance written by teachers for their pupils, that at first it was considered authoritative in restricted circles, and that later it was acknowledged as the sacred law applicable to all Aryans. The Laws of Manu state clearly that a woman's duties are those of her household, and that she must always be subject to the rule of her father, her husband, or her son.

Another notable work of great antiquity is the Ramayana, an ancient Indian epic of which there are many versions. The original Sanskrit of Valmiki is the best known, but some portions of Kamban's

Tamil version have also been translated into English. (English translations have been used as far as possible in this study to facilitate easy reference.) The Ramayana depicts the ideal of Hindu womanhood in its heroine Sita and describes the women of ancient Ceylon in the court of their king, Ravana.

Two other celebrated epics of Tamil literature are Silappadikaram and Manimekhalai, both written about the second century A. D. The first tells the story of Kannagi, a faithful wife, and of Madhavi, a courtesan. Details of Kannagi's wedding festivities, of the training of Madhavi for her career, and the general accounts of the life and culture of the ancient Tamil cities illustrate in some fashion the position of women in the Tamil society of that time. The story of Manimekhalai, daughter of Madhavi, is a sequel, which describes the training of a Tamil girl for the work of a Buddhist nun. It shows that Tamil women in ancient times were capable of following advanced studies in philosophy and theology.

The Tirukural, a book of maxims also dated about the second century A. D., has references to the qualities of wifely virtue and the blessings of a good helpmate. Artless simplicity and unquestioning obedience are shown to be prized in a woman.

Some details of Tamil women's life and work can also be gleaned from allusions in ancient literature. Anthologies such as

Balakrishna's The Golden Anthology of Ancient Tamil Literature, Somasundaram Pillai's Two Thousand Years of Tamil Literature, Gower's The Folk Songs of Southern India, Robinson's Tamil Wisdom, and Krishnaswami's Ten Tamil Ethics illustrate the culture of the Tamils through the poetry they wrote through the centuries. An interesting book on ancient medical lore is the Pathinenjithar, the distilled wisdom of eight sages. It was written originally in Tamil and was published from an ancient manuscript in 1926. Characteristic passages have been selected for this study to illustrate the type of traditional learning that was the heritage of the Tamil race.

The story of the Dravidians and of the Tamils, who were the quintessence of that race, is told by many Indian and Ceylonese writers. Of these the most notable are R. R. Crosette-Thambiah, V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, and E. L. Tambimuttu, who describe the origin and spread of the Tamils. V. Kanakasabhai, S. K. Pillai, Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam, and P. T. Srinivas Aiyengar draw their conclusions about the life and customs of the ancient Tamils from allusions in classical literature. There are also studies of Tamil literature and history by Simon Casiechitty, V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Kalaipulavar K. Navaratnam, M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, S. Vaipuri Pillai and Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, and a commentary on the Tesawalamai, the Laws and Customs of the Inhabitants of the Province of Jaffna by T. Sri Ramanathan. These works are personal

interpretations of ancient literary documents and together with the literary documents themselves, give a fairly clear picture of manners and customs among the ancient Tamils. Unfortunately, however, specific references to women's education are rare, for the emphasis is on general matters concerning the history and culture of the race.

The period of European conquests in Ceylon brought in a spate of missionary activities. Fernao de Queyroz, a Catholic priest who lived in the Portuguese period of conquest, gives a very detailed account of the conversion of Ceylon to Catholicism. He also has some reference to the life of the women of Jaffna, who used to weave cloth in their homes and process the products of the palmyra palm for food. Phillipus Baldaeus was a Dutch missionary, who came to Ceylon when it was conquered by the Dutch in 1658. He learned the Tamil language and travelled widely in the northern districts of Ceylon. His account of the Tamils of Jaffna includes a description of the dress and work of the women and deplors the custom of early marriages, which allowed little time for education. Robert Knox gives an account of the dress of seventeenth century women in the neighboring kingdom of Kandy and shows how Portuguese fashions were copied by the Ceylonese.

The British conquest of Ceylon was marked by increased

missionary activity of all kinds. J. W. Balding's One Hundred Years in Ceylon and James Selkirk's Recollections of Ceylon record the work of the Church Missionary Society in the education of the Ceylonese. They have only general comments on the education of women. Seven Years in Ceylon by Mary and Margaret Leith deals more directly with the beginnings of formal education for Tamil girls. Mary and Margaret Leith spent 11 years in Jaffna as missionaries of the American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions and were instrumental in developing schools for the education of girls by winning the trust and cooperation of their parents. The souvenir publications of many denominational girls' schools trace the early history of the education of girls in Ceylon, even though there are very few specific references to Home Economics Education. Accounts published by Colombo schools such as Holy Family Convent, St. Bridget's Convent, and C. M. S. Ladies' College do not refer specifically to Tamil girls, but the journals of girls' schools in Jaffna such as Uduvil, Chundikuli Vembadi, Hindu Ladies' College, and Ramanathan College are concerned almost exclusively with the education of Tamil girls and as such as particularly valuable for this study. They illustrate the remarkable development in academic studies and extra-curricular activities that was characteristic of the education of girls in Ceylon in the late nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries.

The Administration reports of the Director of Education, Ceylon, and the regulations and reports of the Department of Examinations, Ceylon, furnish slight but definite references to the teaching of Home Economics in schools. There are no specific references to the education of Tamil girls, but some idea of their education can be gathered from the general pattern of education in the country.

The story of women's activities in Independent Ceylon is unfolded by the accounts of various women's organizations as set forth in publications such as the Report of the Conference on "Education for Citizenship" sponsored by the All-Ceylon Women's Conference. Tamil women in the twentieth century played an active part in women's social organizations, and the work they did merged into national developments in education.

Books that do not specifically mention the women of Ceylon but which are useful in filling in the background of their lives are the various histories and geographies that deal with Ceylon. Among these are A Concise History of Ceylon by C. W. and S. Paranavitana, A History of Ceylon by S. G. Perera, The New Geography of Ceylon by S. F. de Silva and Medieval Sinhalese Art by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

The development of Home Economics Education in other countries is important for this study as furnishing a comparison with developments in Ceylon. The American concept is explained in Home Economics: New Directions: A Statement of Philosophy and Objectives by the American Home Economics Association. Various articles in the Journal of Home Economics and books on the teaching of Home Economics by Olive Hall, Arlene Otto, Maude Williamson and Mary Stewart Lyle indicate modern trends and suggest new routines for the improvement of Home Economics Education in America. The British point of view is expressed by Kathleen Ollerenshaw in her book Education for Girls.

The development of Home Economics Education, the position and status of women, and their multiple roles in the modern world have been discussed with great detail and controversial comments in Western countries. Ruth Woodsmall has attempted to show that the same spirit of self-realization and new awakening inspires Eastern women in the world of today. She makes no special mention of Ceylon, however.

Although there is ample background information about Ceylon and its inhabitants, there are only incidental references to the general education of Tamil girls and even less in the development of Home Economics Education among Tamil women, a lack of

information that is characteristic of most Eastern countries today. The report of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations stresses the importance of this type of research for South and East Asia.

Studies of patterns of living, the cultural background and social attitudes, and the problems of rural areas generally, are needed to form the basis of extension programs and to make existing programs more effective. Since living conditions vary greatly from country to country and even in different regions in the same country, studies must be local in nature. The results of studies in one country may provide useful suggestions for another but cannot be applied in toto to local situations . . . The highest possible standard of research needs to be encouraged in the region. Attention should be given both to basic investigations of patterns of living and the social background, and to the study of practical problems which face extension workers (16, p. 15-17).

The author's preliminary investigation of the cultural background, social attitudes, and needs of the Tamil women of Ceylon is a pioneer study in this field, based on inferences drawn from a vast mass of general information, which has very little specific relevance to the lives and education of the Tamil women of Ceylon.

CHAPTER 5

HOME ECONOMICS EDUCATION AMONG THE TAMILS OF
ANCIENT CEYLON: FROM THE BEGINNINGS TO 1500

There is no clear evidence as to the exact nature of Home Economics Education among the women of ancient India and Ceylon. This can only be inferred from the character of their general education, for the emphasis on women's work in the home usually varies with the changes in the pattern of their general education.

The women of ancient India who were the ancestors of the women of Ceylon had a measure of freedom that paralleled that of their brothers. They were instructed in the Vedic Scriptures, they participated in the holy sacrifices, and even engaged in martial pursuits. Down to about the third century B. C., girls could remain unmarried until the age of 16 (6, p. 9). They were initiated ceremonially into Vedic studies and the initiation ceremony was followed by a period of discipline and education which was considered essential for a happy marriage. Women even composed some of the hymns of the Rigveda, for many of them spent their lives in the study of theology and philosophy.

The character of the women of ancient Hindu literature illustrates this quality of intelligent understanding. Sakuntala* is

*See Appendix A.

studying in a forest hermitage when she meets her royal lover; Draupadi* shows her knowledge of the law when she proves that her gambling husband cannot first lose himself and then use her as a stake, for a slave cannot legally have possessions: Savitri* wins an argument with the god of death himself when she brings her husband back to life by asking for the boon of a hundred sons.

These women, perhaps, were merely mouthpieces for the story-teller's own opinions, but they, nevertheless, reflect the honor in which women were held and the character of the education that was considered normal for those times.

The Laws of Manu also assign a high position to women.

Women must be honoured and adorned by their fathers, brothers, husbands and brothers-in-law . . . Where women are honoured, there the gods are pleased (161, p. 189).

But Manu also insists on the dependence of women:

By a girl, by a young woman, or even by an aged one, nothing must be done independently, even in her own house. In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, when her lord is dead to her sons; a woman must never be independent (161, p. 190).

A woman's duties are shown to be those of the household.

She must always be cheerful, clever in (the management of her) household affairs, careful in cleaning her utensils, and economical in expenditure (161, p. 191).

And again, "To be mothers were women created" (174, p. 344).

*See Appendix A.

For if a wife is not radiant with beauty, she will not attract her husband; but if she has no attractions for him, no children will be born. If the wife is radiant with beauty, the whole house is bright; but if she is destitute of beauty, all will appear dismal (174, p. 86).

Manu, then, defines the duties of women as essentially being submissive and pleasing to their husbands while being skilled also in the economy of the household.

This ideal of wifely submission is also stressed in the Ramayana. Sita, the heroine follows her husband Rama into exile when he is banished by the evil machinations of his step-mother. Rama tries to dissuade Sita from following him into the wild forest, but Sita claims the right of a wife to share the fortunes of her husband. "The happiness of a woman", she says,

depends on her husband, neither father, mother, son, relative or companion avail her death; in this world and in the other world, the husband alone is her all-in-all. If thou today depart for the forest, I will precede thee on foot, clearing the thorns and kusha grass from thy path (218, vol. 1, p. 221).

Sita and the other female characters in the Ramayana are educated women, for they can discourse intelligently of many things, but they are good wives and homemakers first of all. There is a casual reference to women's work in the household when the news of Rama's banishment saddens the women of the land.

The city was full of women weeping
 Stretched on the ground disconsolate,
 Their black and lovely tresses
 Rolling in the dust,
 Their golden jewels strewn about;
 They lay like fawns by huntsmen's arrows hit.

The cooking fires were left unlit,
 No perfume rose from the censers,
 The parrots went without their milk,
 The cradles were not swung though the babies cried.
 No music was heard from harp or drum,
 Or the sound of temple bells;
 Nothing was heard but lamentation
 In the long street that led from the palace (113, p. 66).

Music and dancing were always an essential part of the education of women in ancient India and Ceylon. Perhaps the earliest description of the women of Ceylon is given in the Ramayana. When Sita, the wife of Rama, was abducted by Ravana, the demon king of Ceylon, she was sought for by Hanuman, the king of the monkeys. Hanuman visited the court of Ravana in Ceylon and saw his queens scattered like jewels amidst scenes of dazzling splendor. There was the sound of music and dancing. Hanuman

...listened to the melodious chanting in triple modulation, of women sick with love, who resembled celestial nymphs. He heard the tinkling of their girdles and the clashing of their anklets, as they ascended the stairways of those dwellings belonging to the great Ones, and here and there the sound of clapping of hands and the clicking of castanets (218, vol. 2, p. 345).

He saw women lying asleep with their musical instruments clasped in their arms.

Overcome with drinking and amorous dalliance, these slender-waisted wives of the King of the Demons lay fast asleep where they had been seated; and one, possessed of lovely limbs, skilled in the dance, slept there, wearied by her graceful motions, whilst another, embracing her Vina, looked like a lotus fallen into the water clinging to a passing raft (218, vol. 2, p. 360).

These women of ancient Ceylon had been skillfully trained in the arts of music and dancing and taught to be attractive to their husbands. There is a passing reference again to a feast in the deserted banqueting hall, which if not prepared by the women was probably under their supervision.

He beheld the flesh of buffalo, deer and bear in separate dishes together with peacock and fowl on golden platters, that had not been broached, and porcupine, deer and peacocks, seasoned with curds and sochal salt and goats, leverets half consumed, with portions of dressed venison and sauces (218, vol. 2, p. 362).

There were wines of various kinds and rare dishes seasoned skillfully with strange flavors. There was also some attempt at decoration for

... fruit was arranged in small dishes, whilst flowers were spread about, lending the whole floor an air of splendour, and elegant couches and seats set round that place of eating caused it to shine like fire (218, vol. 2, p. 362).

The women of old Ceylon were undoubtedly trained in the household arts of cooking and home management. Kannaki, the heroine of the Tamil epic Silappadikaram, written about the second

century A. D. , knew how to prepare a meal for her husband when she travelled with him from home to another city. Her friends, the cowherdresses, with whom she spent the night, offered her

... unused cooking vessels as befitting wealthy people and some almost ripe, round jak-fruits that never flower, white-striped cucumber, green pomegranate, mangoes, sweet plantains, rice of the finest quality and milk from their own cows, saying 'Lady of the round bracelets, please receive these' (77, p. 220).

Kannaki cut up the different vegetable with a curved knife, lit the oven with the help of her friend and cooked the rice and vegetables as well as she could. "Her tender fingers became reddened, her face perspired, her superb eyes became bloodshot; and she turned aside from the smoking oven," but Kannaki finished cooking the meal. She then sprinkled the floor with water, spread a white palmyra leaf mat for her husband to sit on and served the cooked food on a tender plantain leaf. She invited her husband to eat, saying "Here is food, O Lord. Please eat" and he was quite satisfied with the meal. Finally, Kannaki offered him tender betel leaves and arecanuts to chew (77, p. 221). The whole meal was prepared and served in the correct cultural and wifely tradition, for Kannaki could not eat till her husband had finished his meal.

The ideal of fidelity and conjugal affection is also exemplified in Kannaki. Her husband had wasted all his substance on a dancing

girl, but Kannaki forgave him and even permitted him to sell her jewelled anklet, the only ornament she had left, so that he could repair their shattered fortunes.

There were two distinct classes of Tamil women at that time -- housewives such as Kannaki who attended to household duties and led chaste lives, and attractive courtesans who lived in special quarters where the young men of the city thronged. Kannaki had been married with all the traditional pomp and splendor of a Tamil wedding. The pavilion was decorated with a canopy of blue silk and dazzling pillars decked with diamonds and hanging garlands. The bride and bridegroom walked three times round the sacred fire while attendant bridesmaids carrying spices, sandal paste, frankincense and perfumes chanted songs and showered the bridal pair with blossoms. After the wedding Kannaki was established in a house of her own and provided

...with faithful servants and wealth of all kinds, so as to serve her near and dear ones, ascetics and guests, in a manner appropriate to the householder's life ... and Kannaki in the discharge of her household duties earned a name worthy to be praised (77, p. 95).

This is one pattern of traditional Tamil womanhood. Kannaki probably had her training in home management at home under the guidance of her mother, and her servants were probably chosen because they were loyal and experienced enough to help her through her

first independent efforts at housekeeping. Tamil mothers in Ceylon today still try to provide faithful servants for their young married daughters.

The education of the other class of women, the courtesans, was entirely different. Madhavi, the dancing girl, had a rigorous training under accomplished teachers.

In dance and song, and in grace of form, she underwent training for seven years succeeding in all three; and at the age of twelve she was in a position to display her talents before the reigning king (77, p. 96).

She knew the 11 modes of body-movement and limb-movement, the music of resounding instruments, and the varieties of gesture and time-beats. She studied the modulations of the yal (a primitive harp) and the kulal (a flute), the manipulation of the vocal chords, and the production of the soft low note of the mrdangam (a musical instrument). Madhavi could compose songs in three different forms and blend various styles of dancing into harmony. As she danced at her debut

... it appeared as if the five-beat-mode of each of the two styles of dancing, desi and vadaku, was concentrated in one style --- so captivating was her dance. In her quick movement she looked like a golden creeper animated with life (77, p. 104).

Madhavi had no need of training in the household arts, for her sole function was to give pleasure through her art. The poet describes

the many ways the courtesans amused themselves and their lovers.

In the streets he saw courtesans, lost to all shame and chastity accompanying their rich lovers to the pleasure garden with its tall maruda trees on the banks of the swelling Vaigai, and on the white sand dunes. He also saw them engaged in water-sports, in boats with high cabins and in canoes, swimming and holding on to rafts. He saw, besides, in a grove of the ancient city, which appeared like a golden creeper, courtesans gracefully placing cool fragrant mullais, water-lilies, and neydals with open petals (varieties of flowers) in their hair which was already dressed with long wreaths of white flowers, jasmine, viriyal and the pollen of the cool red lily, and fastened with pearls from the great harbour of Korkai (77, p. 201-202).

A third type of women's education is also evident in ancient Tamil literature. Manimekhalai was the daughter of Madhavi, the dancing girl, but she studied the Scriptures and became a Buddhist nun. On one occasion she heard a sage explain the twelve nidanas, the causes and conditions of existence, and accepted his invitation to further study. "You, Manimekhalai, that know your previous birth already, if you will go to me after learning the teachings of other religions, I shall be glad to explain to you more of this" (3, p. 179). Manimekhalai became a saint through her theological studies and her good deeds, and she performed various miracles. She too had no reason to learn the household arts, for Buddhist devotees were fed by the faithful.

There were poetesses, too, among the Tamil women of olden times. Auvai belonged to the minstrel class of singers and musicians

and was even sent as an ambassadress to a neighbouring state. Her poems are full of sound sense and good advice and they are still learned by Tamil children (183, p. 260).

Love righteousness,
Subdue wrath,
Do not withhold what you can afford to give,
Hinder not another's gift.

There were 20 women listed among the 450 poets of the classical Tamil Sangam literature.

The courtesan, the saint, and the poetess, however, are not characteristic of Tamil women as a whole, but rather illustrate specialized functions of women's education about the second century A. D.

Tiruvalluvar, a poet of the second century A. D. , expresses in his regret for his dead wife the general conception of a suitable education for Tamil women.

O loving one! O thou, who used to cook delicious dishes for me and who hast never disobeyed me, who would chafe my feet at night, and sleep after I had slept, and wake before I had waked. Art thou gone away from me now, O artless one (201, p. xxiii).

He praises the economic woman:

She is the good helpmate who possesseth every wifely virtue and spendeth not above her husband's means. All other blessings turn to nought if the wife faileth in wifely virtues (201, p. 15).

Tamil society at that time was dominated by the caste system

even as it is to some extent today. There had been four distinct castes among the Aryans -- the Brahmans who were priests, the Kshatriyas who were warriors, the Vaisyas who were landowners, and the Sudras who were the working classes. The traditional castes of the Tamils, however, had developed independently from the normal occupations of the natural regions in which they lived. These five regions were called Kurinji the hill-country, Palai the desert, Mullai the wooded land, Marudam the lower courses of rivers, and Neydal the coastal tract, each with its characteristic fauna and flora and its peculiar occupations. The Tamils, therefore, modified the Aryan system to suit their traditional way of life.

The caste most honored among them were the Arivar or sages, who claimed to know the three stages of time, past, present and future.

The cultivators who lived in the river valleys had houses thatched with the strong withered leaves of the coconut palm. Their front yards were planted with turmeric and fragrant flowers. The guest was served with

... the big pulpy jak fruit hanging in clusters, the ripe whitish banana, the bunches of which hang down through their weight, the tender fruit of the round-stemmed palmyra palm and many other sweet things,

besides ripe yam and the leaves of the chembu (166, p. 155) There was also white rice and roasted fowl. The daughters of the house

prepared the meals and cut the plantain leaves on which the food was served. A lover on a visit to his sweetheart's home describes these preparations.

In that fair house, delightful to see, my fair sweetheart, bright and buxom of languid looks, who wears round ear-rings and has slipped a small ring on her slender fingers, has cut plantain leaves till her hands have become red; and as their stalks are thick, she split them in pieces, so as to serve as eating trays. Her eyes are filled with the smoke of cooking (187, p. 179).

The ploughmen rose in the cool of the dawn, ate "balls of rice mixed with soup in which bits of the black-eyed varal-fish float", then went with their wives to plant seedlings in the wet clay (187, p. 179).

The herdsmen lived in the woodland region of the Mullai. Their huts had "thicket-fringed entrances, rope-made doors and cord-worked bedsteads, covered with varagu straw." Under the fences fastened with thorny twigs were herded sheep and white goats. The herdsmen ate maize, millet boiled in milk, and butter which was made by churning the sweet cream with a primitive stringed-churner (166, p. 156). A woman's duties seem to have included washing her husband's clothes and preparing appetizing dishes for him to enjoy.

Her husband's cloth is well-washed, but, after he put it on, he (dirtied it by wiping on it) the thin fingers which are like November flowers, with which he has stirred the thick curds and which he has not

washed. He is eating tamarind soup, which she cooked for him and on which she has thrown aromatics, after frying them so that the sweet-smelling smoke entered her lily-like eyes (187, p. 175).

She also prepared red rice, curries of spiced fat meat, fried tubers and sour porridge cooked by boiling the white flowers of the Vellai shrub in white curds (187, p. 269).

The hunters had their homes in the hill-country of the Kurinji, but occasionally had to camp in the desert region of the Pallai. Their houses were thatched with grass and fenced around with sharp thorn sticks. Within were stored bows, arrows and other weapons while fierce dogs were chained outside. There was a variety of food available to them -- coarse red rice and millet grown on ploughed hill terraces, small rice from bamboo stems, jak fruit, sweet potatoes and ripe blue honeycombs. There was also the flesh of wild animals -- buffalo, boar, and the monitor lizard eaten off teak leaves which served as plates. "The black-haired lady of the house decorates the white tusked boar, cuts it up and distributes pieces of its meat to every house in the village" (187, p. 255). She also fried groundnuts in sweet-smelling oil and served the hunters with toddy, the fermented juice of the coconut flower.

The young girls of the hill-country guarded the fields of corn in the growing season and met their lovers there in happy play. They would

... wander along with the hill-chief on the black millet-field which lies on the side of the hill which smells sweet with gold coloured flowers of the tall Vengai tree, snare away the red-mouthed green parrot, bathe in his company in the mountain stream close by and daub (on themselves) the paste of the sandal which grows in the forest near (187, p. 173).

In the harvesting season, however, the girls were confined to their houses and the spritetime loves tended to fade away.

The fishermen lived in the coastal tracts of the Neydal. Their low huts were made of jungle sticks thatched with grass, over which pumpkin and gourd creepers were trained. Their yards were strewn with nets and fish baskets. They ate rice gruel, fried fish and shrimps and drank the toddy of the palmyra palm (166, p. 159). Their wives took part in the festive dances.

They drink the hot (strong) liquor and dance the Kuravi measure; they take hold of the bright-bangled hands of the women who are wearing the garlands made of the soft clusters of the flowers of the Alexandrian laurel (punnai) which has leaves wetted by the droplets of sea-water and drips with honey; in the cool groves in which bees swarm round the flowers, women wearing bright bracelets and garlands of Pandanus flowers drink the juice of the pulp of the palmyra fruit, mixed with that of the shining sugar-cane and the sweet water of the round coconut which grows on sand, and leap into the sea (166, p. 159).

Young girls in these coastal regions had their own special amusements.

To the white sandy plain round the groves of these palm trees, you go along with your playmates in the morning, pluck the leaves of the wet water-lily which has flowers smelling sweetly of honey and clothe yourself

in garments of the leaves curved in different directions. You run about and play in front of the hut which is adorned with designs drawn from flour; you delight in looking at red crabs (187, p. 175).

Women enjoyed great freedom and liberty in these olden days.

Women of the lower classes were employed as hawkers, vendors, shopkeepers, and servants in the towns, while they worked in fields and gardens of the villages beside their menfolk. Women of the upper classes were more secluded, but they too gossiped in the cool of the evening on the open balconies of their houses, visited temples, took part in festive processions, and entertained relatives and friends

The social system provided for the meeting and courting of young people before marriage. Much of the poetry of the ancient period treats of love which seems to have played an important part in the lives of these ancient people. There were two kinds of recognized marriage -- Kalavu, marriage by capture and Karpu, marriage with consent of parents, together with innumerable variations of these. In many poems the girl and her maid-servant discuss secret meetings with the lover and devise various means of getting him to make a formal proposal of marriage.

The life of these Tamil women was simple and unsophisticated. They were engaged mainly in household duties interspersed with rural pleasures. "They amused themselves at home with teaching parrots, singing the Vallai and Ammanai, rocking on swings and

playing the games of Thayam, Kalanku or Panthu" (115, p. 125).

Thayam was played with circular dice, Kalanku with seven tiny balls that were tossed up and caught in the palm or on the back of the hands, and Panthu was played with large balls which the players struck with their hands while they ran backwards and forwards or wheeled around according to the motion of the ball.

There are poems which describe the work of village maidens such as the following:

When the young maids of the village with lovely silver-ringed, slender sugar-cane pestles, their creeper-like waists swaying this side and that, heaping up the fish-egg -- resembling white sands, beneath the shade of the kanchi trees, singing the glories of their kith and kin, pound the sands, the little kingfisher, having eaten the full-grown shrimps, dozes on the bough, hanging low over the cool ghaut of the pool (13, vol. 2, p. 158).

And again,

Girls with bright bangles throw the pestle, made of black heart-wood with which they have bruised rice flat on the paddy (unhusked rice) separated from stalks (187, p. 272).

The girls often sang duets as they worked together.

Let us pull the mature spikes of the millet whose heads are bent like (those of) shy girls with fair eyes and glad speech, raise alternately the pestle made of the ivory full of pearls, (pound the grains in) a mortar made of the wood of the sandal tree on which buds grow, and sing as we like (187, p. 576).

Pounding with mortar and pestle, whether fish roe, rice, or coffee has always been women's work in the villages of Ceylon.

Women also dried grains in the sun and looked after poultry.

In the spacious yards of palatial mansions pretty looking young girls with lovely foreheads and attractive locks throw their heavy circular golden ear-rings at the cocks and hens coming in to eat the grains drying in the sun. Such jewels hamper the children with golden ornaments on their legs, while they roll the small three-wheeled chariots without horse (13, vol. 1, p. 76).

There is a pleasant scene of seed-planting which has romantic implications.

In company with my girl-companion, I went one day to the (sea) blanched sands and sowed a Punnai seed (in the sand) and quite forgot about it. But the seed took root and sprouted. We looked at it again with joy and we poured, like water, ghee-mixed sweet milk and so reared it tenderly (13, vol. 1, p. 76).

Women's household duties also included weaving and dyeing of cloth with the saya root, that grew abundantly in Jaffna. In answer to the chiding demand of a folk-song "Friend, who gave you that dyed dress of yours that is circling fan-wise while you are polishing the millet rice in the shallow mortar," the girl answers proudly "No one gave it to me. Nor did I wallow in a wanton life. With smarting hands worked I hard and donned that dyed dress" (163, p. 24).

Household duties could grow wearisome at times, and a girl left alone at home to cook for her relatives bemoans her lot :

With parboiled paddy undried and grain in coarse grits
 I am wearing myself to death.
 O sun who has risen for my sake
 Won't a man come for me.

With uncurdled milk and churning stick
 I am wearing myself to death.
 O sun who has risen for my sake
 Won't a man come for me (163, p. 23).

But there were festive occasions as well. In the pastoral lands girls would attend bull-fights. They

... mounted the high platforms to witness the capture of the bull by the owner of many cows ... he is dancing on the back of the speckled bull looking like a man punting a canoe ... he has caught hold of the ears of the red bull that rushed on him with limitless speed and quelled its strength (187, p. 576).

Women also took part in ritual dances.

The God Murungan shines in the little village on the side of the high hill where the white rivulet sounds. The men wear clusters of Vengai flowers dripping with honey and along with their women dance in the streets keeping time with the Tondaga drum ... The Kuravar with their matrons dance the Kuravai dance and very noisily celebrate the festival (187, p. 277).

At home in the evenings women lit the lamps and worshipped their household deities.

Stately young ladies with broad high shoulders, strong and sleek with the mark of white chank bracelets sunk in the flesh, soft and beautiful in appearance, with teeth white as pearl, of broad and benignant eyes, beauteous with shining bent Makara (shark-mouthed) ear-rings, learn of the approach of coming night from the fragrance of the blossoming buds of Pichchi (a variety of jasmine) left by them in their flower trays.

Lighting up the wicks of their iron lamps, softly wet with soaking ghee, they offer worship to their household deities by scattering paddy and flowers on all sides, and standing with uplifted hands held in worshipful posture (183, p. 105).

And finally, there is a charming scene of contented family life.

The minstrel was playing on the sylvan flute; the fair-browed young lady adorned with shining jewels, was decking her locks with jasmine; her very worthy husband was sitting happily in the golden company of his care-dispelling child (13, vol. 1, p. 28).

The education of Tamil girls, then, in ancient times was closely linked with home and family. Mistresses and servants probably worked together, even as they do today, to prepare and serve appetizing meals, to beautify themselves and their homes, and to rear the children with loving care. This ancient Home Economics Education was essentially informal, a tradition handed down from mother to daughter, and the woman's greatest satisfaction and reward was the making of a happy home for her husband and children.

A Jain poet of the thirteenth century A. D. sums up the admirable qualities of a woman of that time:

She alone is a good wife who understands her husband, has modesty, does not desire whatever she sees, does not do what is repugnant to his feelings but is beautiful and intelligent (183, p. 270).

CHAPTER 6

HOME ECONOMICS EDUCATION AMONG THE TAMILS OF
CEYLON UNDER EUROPEAN DOMINATION:
FROM 1500 TO 1948

The European conquests of Ceylon and the missionaries who followed in their wake were responsible for the first beginnings of formal Home Economics Education among the Tamils. The Tamil kingdom of Jaffna in North Ceylon emerged as an independent power early in the thirteenth century, but it was conquered by the Portuguese in 1560. The king of Jaffna was compelled to pay tribute to the king of Portugal, and he had to allow Roman Catholic missionaries to preach in his territory.

The Portuguese divided the Peninsula into parishes, with schools and mansions for the priests in each, and within the town they maintained a college for Jesuits, a convent for Franciscans and a monastery of Dominican friars (194, vol. 2, p. 540).

The Tamil girls were probably taught their catechism by the Franciscan nuns, and it is possible that they learned some simple needlework as well, but there is no definite evidence regarding this.

The proselytizing activities of the Portuguese, however, seem to have been successful, for there were 50,000 converts within the first two years of the occupation, and these included members of the royal family.

Father Friar Antonio de Santa Maria took in hand the conversion of the young Queens that were of King Pera Rajera Pandera, who were in the house of a devout Sister of the order, who for her part helped as much as she could. He bombarded them with arguments; and though they listened with attention so long as he spoke of the mysteries and precepts of our Holy Faith, and gave proof of discernment and high esteem, they would not make up their minds to give full consent (160, p. 686).

Finally, the priest managed to convince them, and they were baptized and even helped in the ministry.

Then arrived the Brother of those Queens, with his wife and children, and the younger Queen with the princess came to assist and help in this ministry; and as they were very dexterous, they not only helped with the catechism, but even to anoint with the Holy oils, uncovering the places which had to be anointed (160, p. 687).

The people followed the example of the royal family, so that in 1643 a Jesuit priest was able to report that in the kingdom of Jaffna there were no new conversions, since all the inhabitants had already been converted.

They are all so well instructed by Ours that there is scarcely a boy or a girl who does not know the catechism thoroughly, besides the whole cartilha of Marco Jorge, which has been translated into their language (154, p. 154).

In spite of knowing the catechism, however, Tamil girls generally seem to have been illiterate at this time. The old traditions of homemaking probably still prevailed. Fernão de Queyroz describes the palmyra fruit as the chief food of the people at that

time.

This kingdom has very few rice fields, but large forests of wild palm trees (palmeyras) much rougher in bark and more straight and not less high than our cultivated pine. In place of the coconut (which is the fruit of the cultivated palm trees), they produce trafuliz, which is a sort of fruit like big citrons, and when the rind is removed, there appears a red mass, which they call panato, the chief food of these people. When they are green, they have inside them three or four kernels not a little tasty, and at the foot of the same trees they sow the stones, which they call panagayos, and when they strike root, which they call by the word Calango, they either eat them raw, or when dry make flour of them, on which they live (160, p. 52).

The preparation of food from the palmyra is part of a Tamil woman's traditional household work.

Women also wove cloth in their homes, but they seem to have forgotten the art of dyeing. Queyroz complains "The women of this race of Asia ever smell of Nard. Many are weavers, and though they have the zaya (a root that produced a natural dye) at home, they make only rough cloth" (160, p. 651). It is possible that contact with the Portuguese women and admiration of the fine garments they wore made the Tamil women discontented with their own homespun efforts. There was an instance when a storm swept over Jaffna and the people were helped by the Portuguese Captain-Major and his wife. "Those men who came ill-clad at the time were clothed by him, and the women by his wife, with the clothing and dresses which she had in two chests" (160, p. 651).

Sinhalese women in the neighboring kingdom of Kandy were undoubtedly influenced by Portuguese fashions of dress. "In their house," says Knox,

... the women regard not much what dress they go in, but so put on their clothes as is most convenient to do their work. But when they go abroad, and make themselves fine, they wear a short Frock with sleeves to cover their bodies of fine white Calico wrought with blue and red Thread in flowers and branches ... Their hands are bare, but they carry a scarf of striped or branched Silk or such as they can get, casting it carelessly on their head and shoulders (118, p. 143-144).

It seems likely, therefore, that the Tamil women, too, adopted Portuguese fashions of dress and learned to sew jackets of embroidered silk and fine calico.

Home Economics Education, then, was of an incidental nature in Portuguese times. The old traditional ways could not be entirely forgotten, but Tamil women were becoming aware of new horizons and new ways of life and thought.

The Portuguese domination over Jaffna came to an end in 1658, when the Dutch took control of the kingdom. A letter of instruction sent by the Dutch Governor-General of India to the Governor of Ceylon stressed the importance of converting the Ceylonese to Protestant Christianity and pointed out the difficulty of reaching the native girls.

Boys and girls should be made to attend schools, and be there received into Christianity. The observance

of this point will cause some difficulty because the natives think a great deal of their daughters, and the parents will not consent to their going to school after the eighth year. They may, perhaps, receive a little more instruction on the visits of a clergyman (15, p. 49).

Phillipus Baldaeus, a Dutch predikant, was sent to Jaffna in 1658, entrusted with the task of converting the people to the religion of the Dutch Reformed Church. His record of the mission there refers to schoolmasters, schoolboys, and schoolchildren studying in the various church schools of the kingdom, but there are no references at all to schoolmistresses and schoolgirls. Parents were reluctant to send their daughters to school, for it was the custom to arrange early marriages for them.

Baldaeus comments on this custom of which he heartily disapproved.

These people are very careful, as already said, to see their daughters married out early in life as well as their sons, for they seem to believe that a man is no man unless he is wedded to a wife, and that those who disregard the means of propagating their species are no better than murderers . . . It has been frequently the case that young maidens of between eight and nine years of age were brought before me that they might in my presence, and in that of their parents, pledge their troth to their intended future husbands (14, p. 368).

And again, "Their females marry whilst very young, in their 10th or 11th year of age, and frequently become a mother in their 13th or 14th year" (14, p. 366).

Under a social system where early marriage was the rule, it is not surprising that there was very little formal education for girls. The Dutch were not specially concerned with the general education of the people. The Dutch General, Joan Maatzuyker, wrote a letter to Baldaeus pointing out that

... reading and writing are not so essentially required for these poor people, but that they be instructed in the fundamentals of the Christian religion (which embraces a few points). For were Christianity to be propagated by reading and writing it must needs prove a lengthened and tedious proceeding and expensive to the Company (14, p. 347).

The traditional methods of housekeeping were, therefore, still taught in the old way to the little girls who were so soon to become wives and mothers. Baldaeus describes some of these household activities in his account of the Bellales, the ancient caste of Vellalas or cultivators. Husbandry was their chief occupation in life, and they possessed cows, plough oxen, sheep, goats, and buffaloes. Their houses were well-built and neat with gardens attached where they grew betel creepers. They watered their plants twice a day in the season of drought, drawing their water from their good wells. Even today, the women of Jaffna keep kitchen gardens and water their plants, milk their cows, and make butter as the women did in the seventeenth century. Baldaeus continues

These people the Bellales make their own butter, but not after the Nederlandt manner with a churn. They

employ a stick, at one end of which small bits of sticks are fastened in the shape of a star, having many points, with this stick they keep stirring and whirling the milk in such a way as to produce the best butter. Cheese might also be made here as our *Nederlandsche* women do but it is not esteemed among the natives. But they are very fond of butter, as also the *Mooren* and the *Commety* caste who use butter in liquid form. The curdled milk *tayr* or what is called by us *zaan* (thick sour milk) is also an agreeable diet with them for its cooling nature, they also use it for medicinal purposes, more particularly in strong and burning fevers, as well as in cases of small pox which is much prevalent there (14, p. 35).

Music and dancing were still part of the education of Tamil girls. At *Poelepalle*, *Baldaeus* was entertained by certain women who knew

... the art of playing upon earthen vessels (called *callangs*) by blowing into them. This produces a wonderful sound, which serves them in their dances and they feel that by these exhibitions they pay a high compliment to strangers (14, p. 336).

Baldaeus refers to music and dancing again in his description of Tamil wedding feasts, which lasted for four or five days. There was a

... *pandaal* or canopy erected in front of the entrance of the house, with four *pyzang* or plantain trees in imitation of pillars, the arch above being decorated with various kind of flowers, young coconuts, and pomegranates. Those who are rich give magnificent feasts (I have often been present), the food consisting of deer's flesh, hares, partridges, fish and every description of confectionery and fruits, and there is no lack of jesting, singing, dancing and acting (14, p. 368).

Tamil weddings even today are occasions when the talents of young girls are displayed in an unobtrusive manner, and future brides are located by prospective mothers-in-law.

Another aspect of a Tamil girl's informal Home Economics Education is hinted at indirectly by Baldaeus in his account of native doctors.

All their cures consist of pure empirics and experience. They possess great written folios, which had passed to them from their forefathers, to which they have added the results of their own researches. All their purgatives are administered either in pills or mixtures, which are composed of various medicinal herbs; in cases of too profuse a discharge of the bowels, they advise the patient to apply a little black pepper ground with water on or about their navel (14, p. 376).

Knowledge of the healing properties of medicinal herbs and spices such as black pepper was part of the traditional lore that was handed down from mother to daughter through the centuries. The Pathinenjithar, a modern reprint of an old folio, lists simple rules of tropical hygiene and nutrition that are still considered essential for good health among the Tamil people. For example, sweet courses were to be eaten first, next sour, then salt, and finally astringent pickles. The value of pickles in the diet is explained. "If you eat nelli (Indian gooseberry) with your food, it will give you appetite and remove bad taste. It is also good for bilious and phlegmatic people" (150, p. 393).

The Dutch period of conquest made schooling compulsory for Ceylonese boys but did very little for the education of girls. A smattering of religious knowledge with a parrot-like repetition of the

catechism was expected of all girls who wanted to be married in the Dutch Reformed church, but Home Economics Education was still a function of the home.

The British occupation of Ceylon in 1796 made a definite change in the pattern of education among the Ceylonese. Englishmen at that time believed that Oriental learning was of little value and that a knowledge of English would lead to the moral and intellectual development of Eastern people while strengthening the bonds of Empire. With this end in view they subsidized the missionary schools so that there was a considerable expansion of missionary activities in the island during the British period. A chronological list compiled in 1892 shows that the London Mission arrived in Ceylon in 1804, the Baptists in 1812, the Wesleyans in 1814, the American Mission in 1816, the Church Missionary Society in 1818, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1840 and the Tamil Coolie Mission in 1854 (68, p. 354).

Of these the most dramatic in its impact on the culture and education of Tamil girls was the American Mission of Jaffna. This mission was sent out by a voluntary congregational agency called the American Board of Commission for Foreign Missions which had its headquarters in Boston, Massachusetts. The first American missionary, Rev. Samuel Newell, arrived accidentally in Ceylon in

1814, but on his recommendation a mission was sent out soon after consisting of the following seven members: Rev. and Mrs. James Richards, Rev. and Mrs. Benjamin Meigs, Rev. and Mrs. Daniel Poor, and Rev. Edward Warren. This group decided to make Jaffna the scene of their missionary efforts; they studied Tamil and established their first centers at Tellipallai and Vaddukodai, two little villages in north Ceylon (82, p. 110).

At that time not a single girl or woman in the whole Jaffna Peninsula could read or write. People did not think it worthwhile to educate girls. They said "What are girls good for, excepting to cook food? Besides, girls could not learn to read any more than sheep. It is not our custom to educate girls." The wives of the missionaries tried to make friends with the parents and so get them to send their daughters to school, but their first successful effort was quite accidental. Two Tamil children were caught in the rain while they were playing near a missionary's bungalow. They ran in to take shelter, and one little girl lost caste by eating bread and bananas in the missionary's house. The parents complained bitterly that the girl was no longer marriageable, so the lady missionary took her into her own home

... fed and clothed her and began teaching her the 247 letters of the Tamil alphabet. She sprinkled a little sand on the floor of the veranda, and taught the child to write the letters in the sand. By-and-by, some

of the playmates of the little girl came to see her, and when they saw her writing the letters in the sand, they thought that this was some kind of new play, and they also asked to learn (121, p. 118).

The parents of the first little girl saw that she was well and happy and soon other parents began to send their daughters to the missionary ladies.

A new difficulty now arose in that the parents would not let their daughters remain long enough in school to get an education, for it was still the custom to get them married at the age of ten or twelve. To counteract this tendency the missionary ladies opened a boarding school for girls at Uduvil in 1824. This first boarding school was followed by many others, and in 1826 there were five boarding schools with 144 boys and 30 girls, all of whom were fed, clothed and maintained by the mission with the help of funds subscribed by benefactors in America.

The curriculum of the Uduvil Girl's School was typical of the general pattern of female education at that time (100, p. 21). The girls rose at five o'clock in the morning, rolled up their pillows in their mats and put them away in the places assigned to them. At 5:30 they sang hymns and listened to the reading of the Bible. The girls then separated to sweep, dust and cook for the day. The senior girls worked in the mission house; the others swept the schoolroom, spread mats in the dining room, swept and dusted dormitories and

prayer-room, ground currystuffs and coconuts and swept the garden. Brass plates and utensils were also polished at this time. Breakfast at eight o'clock consisted of cold boiled rice, curds and plantains. School started at 8:45 and the children were taught reading and writing in Tamil, Religion, Arithmetic, Geography and Sewing. The Sewing class lasted from 2:30 in the afternoon till four o'clock and was followed by a prayer meeting at five o'clock (100, p. 21).

These early sewing classes were essentially practical in purpose. At the beginning of each term, the matron and the

... teachers seated on the sewing verandah tore off from bolts of calico a school uniform for each girl -- for skirts a number of yards, suitable to the size of the girl, for jackets, two straight pieces and several small pieces out of which a Dutch jacket was to be made. When the girls walked to church on Sunday morning they were a pretty sight. The little Dutch jacket met, or almost met, the fan shape at the back where the cloth was pleated, and the air space between seemed very appropriate in this hot climate (24, p. 11).

Ornamental needlework was introduced later under the tuition of various foreign women. In 1897, Miss Annie Hopfengartner, a German lady on a casual visit to Ceylon, taught Music, French and Fancy Needlework in Chundikuli Girls' School, which had just been founded by the Church Missionary Society. In 1912 Miss Ann Hofman, an American lady, arrived in Jaffna to take charge of the boarding establishment at Uduvil Girls' School. She improved the work of the girls, taught the teachers needlework, and introduced embroidery in

the upper classes. In 1918, when needlework guilds were formed by the Red Cross Association to provide clothing for war victims, the Methodist Girls' School at Vembadi sent articles of clothing to the schools branch of Queen Mary's Needlework Guild in London. The list was as follows: 11 day shirts from Standard 7; 17 dresses from Standard 6; 26 petticoats from Standard 5; 27 chemises from Standard 4; 11 pillowcases from Standard 3; 15 bags from Standard 2; and 11 handkerchiefs from Standard 1 (176, p. 78).

Training was also given in other branches of Home Economics. It was generally felt that a girl's education was merely a preliminary to her real vocation of marriage, and that she had to be taught to cope with any situation and be a true helpmate to her husband. Accordingly, Miss Annie Stephenson in charge of the boarding school at Vembadi in 1890 gave the girls an all-round education in home-making.

They were taught how to serve meals, and every month they had to prepare a good Tamil meal to serve to the missionaries, as well as to serve tea on numerous occasions. Thus they learned how to be hostesses and how to act in front of people without being awkward and self-conscious. They were taught everything about a house, even how to keep accounts, by being given charge of the sale of needlework materials that were kept in an almirah in the Mission House. To add interest to life they were taught to keep diaries. Class meetings were held every Thursday and Busy Bee meetings every Saturday. There was a famous day when a patchwork quilt was sent to an exhibition (176, p. 56).

Even when the curriculum of girls' schools was expanded to include science and the academic subjects required for the external examinations of foreign universities, the importance of Home Economics in the life of a girl was never forgotten by the missionary ladies. At Vembadi, Miss Pickard, the headmistress, herself

...taught all the Domestic Science, for she was keenly interested in Home Craft. Girls were prepared for the Junior and Senior Domestic Science Examinations, and any prejudice that remained against doing housework was swept away. From the start all girls took the course; there was no question of the brighter ones taking Cambridge (the external examinations of Cambridge University, England) and the slower ones taking Domestic Science. Reporting on this at the Prize Distribution in March 1925, Miss Pickard says 'This course includes Home Management, Cooking, Sick Nursing, Hygiene and Needlework, and by these studies we hope to prepare our girls here to be real home-makers. It is in accordance with this aim that we have provided in our kitchen only such apparatus as our girls may expect to have in a good Tamil home. The work to be done here is designed to make girls able to make the best of their homes. We seek to make them dissatisfied with themselves until they can manage a house and keep it well-ordered, clean and neat. They must learn to provide wholesome, nourishing and tempting food. Above all, we want to train them so that they will be able to change a house into a home.'

At the Torchbearers' Fair which was held on July 16, 1927, the Domestic Science girls put into practice what they had learned in the classroom and made delicious jams, tasty pickles, good preserves and attractive cakes and sweets. Everyone who entered the Cafe came out quite refreshed and strengthened. Besides these, children's garments, household linen, nursery mats, Vembadi curtains, pictures, stencilled covers and dresses, leather bags and belts, hair slides and paper flowers were sold. The nett proceeds of the

Fair amounted to Rs 1164/ and were donated to the Renovation and Extension Fund (176, p. 118-119).

This description of the development of Home Economics Education in one school is typical of the program of work in every mission school in the island. The mission schools for girls in Colombo were established towards the end of the nineteenth century, but they too followed the familiar pattern of instruction in Home Economics. Classes began with elementary needlework taught on the school verandahs, developed through a "finishing school" where young ladies learned embroidery, painting, music and good manners in preparation for marriage, and flourished with Domestic Science students preparing attractive items of food and clothing for various school fairs.

The Western influence in Home Economics Education began to change the pattern of home life among the Tamils of Ceylon. In Colombo, Miss Whitney of Ladies College held classes on Saturdays for embroidery and taught the girls to make nightdresses "trimmed with whipped cambric frills and edged with drawn work" (102, p. 20). There were also classes for cutting and making blouses and other Western garments together with scientific mending of stockings and torn clothes of various kinds. All this had an effect on the dress of Tamil women.

Women who were content with a portion of their cloth over their breast and shoulders now put on coloured

silk and velvet jacket . . . Embroidered muslin, lace and trimming were in great demand, so were highly perfumed soaps, particularly Cherry Blossom and White Rose toilet powder. While the quantity of jewellery worn was less than formerly, its quality had improved, and a Tamil lady would wear only a pair of bangles, a pair of ear ornaments, a single head ornament and another necklace besides her thali (wedding necklace). For children the prevailing fashion was Western dress and it was a common sight . . . to see them decked out in tam-o-shanter, Norfolk jackets and knickerbockers, boots and shoes. The girls of Ladies' College followed the fashion, copying the English teachers' high-necked long-sleeved blouses, long skirts tightly confining the waist, stockings and shoes (102, p. 42).

Household amenities, too, were remodelled on the pattern of the missionary dwellings.

Sanitary arrangements showed improvement, while kerosene lamps replaced the old brass coconut oil lamp; pictures, almanacs and calenders appeared on the walls; china plates, cups, saucers and sauce-pans took the place of leaf plates, coconut shells, brass cups and bowls. Though rice remained the staple food, there was a widening demand for a meat diet, for tinned soups and fish. Tea, coffee and milk and aerated waters were substituted for rice conjee, cold rice water and buttermilk, and patent medicines were superseding vederalas (native doctors) (102, p. 42).

In Jaffna the forces of change worked more slowly than in Colombo but the old days were gone for ever.

An important development in the early twentieth century was the recognition given to Home Economics as a subject by the Department of Education, Ceylon. The first Inspectress for

Needlework, Miss Evans, was appointed in 1904. She visited girls' schools and conducted annual examinations in Domestic Science. There was great excitement when one of these examinations was due.

Oh these Domestic Science exams -- what preparation they meant, what hard work, what commissions to Miss Alphonse and with what fear and trembling did we present our curries and invalid dishes, our poultices and bandaging, our mending and year's needlework to the Inspectress (176, p. 131).

The Inspectress of Needlework also examined equipment so that there was a movement for building Domestic Science kitchens and classrooms whenever the schools could afford them.

In 1920 a Domestic Science class was formed by the Director of Education in the Government Training College for teachers in Colombo, and Flora Clarence, a Tamil girl from Uduvil Girls' School, Jaffna had her teacher-training there. On her return to Uduvil

... work was organized and a class formed. A model cottage in which girls could live and care for in turn and a Domestic Science kitchen were built. Housewifery, Needlework and Cookery were carried on in a practical way (24, p. 34).

Soon after this the Ceylon Department of Education instituted local examinations for Junior and Senior Domestic Science. The subjects for the Junior Domestic Science Examination were: Needlework (theoretical and practical); Household Management (theoretical

and practical); Physiology and Hygiene (theoretical only); Care of the Sick (theoretical and practical) and General Knowledge (written examination) together with English Language and English Literature. The subjects for the Senior Domestic Science Examination were: English Language and Literature (two papers); Needlework (theoretical and practical); Physiology and Hygiene (theoretical only); Care of the Sick (theoretical and practical); Child Welfare (theoretical and practical) and Household Management (theoretical and practical).

These examinations strongly emphasized the practical aspects of Home Economics and as such were very popular with those students who could not learn mathematics and languages. The insistence on English Language and Literature and the corresponding neglect of the vernaculars was characteristic of the English pattern of education in the colonies. Housecraft was also introduced as a subject for the external examinations held in Ceylon by the University of Cambridge, England, and it was included in the local examinations for the Junior and Senior School Certificate Examinations of Ceylon.

In 1945 the Junior and Senior Domestic Science Examinations were discontinued by the Department of Education, Ceylon, in spite of vigorous protests from principals of leading girls' schools and the Headmistresses' Association.

They felt that girls, the majority of whom marry a few years after leaving school, should have a scientific training in Domestic Science and in recommending that these examinations be retained stated that the decision to discontinue them was a retrograde step and it would relegate Domestic Science to a relatively insignificant position in the school curriculum (74, p. 1).

The Department of Education, however, was adamant in its policy to avoid over-specialization at too early an age, and the Domestic Science examinations were cancelled, while the syllabus of the local Senior School Certificate was expanded to include the following subjects: Housecraft (Needlework, Housewifery, Care of the Sick, Child Welfare, Hygiene and Physiology); Homecraft (Housewifery, Care of the Sick and Child Welfare) and Needlework.

The government interest in Domestic Science examinations had two unforeseen results. First, Inspectresses of Needlework were generally English women with no knowledge of conditions in Ceylon homes, so that the standard equipment in Domestic Science rooms was generally modelled after the English pattern. This tendency was strengthened by the appointment of teachers from abroad to take charge of Domestic Science classes in Ceylon. For instance in 1921 at Ladies' College, Colombo, a new Domestic Science classroom was opened.

Domestic Science teaching was to begin in January the following year under a mistress trained at King's College, London, who would divide her

time between Ladies' and Bishop's College. Water sanitation had already been installed and the Old Girls' Association had helped with other modern improvements such as installation of electricity (102, p. 69).

Second, in addition to this modernization of equipment, there was a drift towards English patterns of housekeeping. The syllabus prescribed for the various Domestic Science examinations did not specify the exact nature of the cookery and housewifery expected of the students, and the English teachers naturally followed English recipes. It was generally felt that Ceylonese methods of housekeeping were unhygienic and wasteful. The new Home Economics Education, therefore, stressed cleanliness and economy in the home with special emphasis on hygiene, first aid and care of the sick. Two other British organizations -- the Associations of the Red Cross and the Girl Guides -- also intensified this effort for better hygienic living in the homes of Ceylon.

The British period of empire undoubtedly introduced and developed Home Economics Education in the schools of Ceylon. Unfortunately, the original missionary ideal of teaching Tamil girls to become good housewives and good mothers gradually gave way to the pursuit of academic qualifications in a competitive examination system. Tamil girls were no longer content to get married and stay at home; instead they became nurses, doctors, teachers, principals of schools, and even politicians. (Mrs. Nesam Saravanamuttu, a

Tamil girl educated at Vembadi Girls' High School, Jaffna, was elected to the Ceylon State Council in 1932).

In the crowded program of the new school curriculum there was very little time or place for Home Economics. Science laboratories were built and filled with eager pupils, physical training and athletic competitions became part of the normal school life, and extra-curricular activities of various kinds filled up the school time-table. It is not surprising, therefore, that the new generation of Tamil girls grew up either totally ignorant of Home Economics or with a superficial knowledge gleaned from haphazard routines at home and from foreign teachers who knew very little of the home conditions, economic problems and actual needs of the pupils they taught. Traditional methods of homemaking were generally despised and forgotten, while the new methods were still unrelated to the lives of the people.

CHAPTER 7

HOME ECONOMICS EDUCATION AMONG THE TAMILS
IN INDEPENDENT CEYLON:
FROM 1948 TO THE PRESENT DAY

Ceylon became an independent Dominion within the British Commonwealth in February, 1948, but the preliminary stirrings of independence had already produced considerable dissatisfaction with the academic and unrealistic character of education in Ceylonese schools. A committee of educationists who met in 1940 reviewed the whole position and decided that there was a need for courses of training that gave "a thorough grounding in the principles underlying particular skills in conjunction with, or followed by, a course of practical training" (134, p. 81).

In pursuance of this policy, the Department of Education sent out Ceylonese women to qualify in Home Economics in the schools and colleges of India, England, and America, and, on their return, appointed them to various staff and administrative positions in the educational system of Ceylon. The influx of new ideas brought in by these women gradually altered the administration and scope of Home Economics Education at all levels.

The administrative report of the Director of Education for 1947 with regard to Housecraft and Needlework still stressed the

old requirements for methodical schedules of work, cleanliness of school buildings and careful techniques of sewing.

An attempt has been made to improve the preparation of the mid-day meal by insisting on methodical work under proper supervision . . . The importance of keeping the school buildings and compound clean and tidy was pointed out to pupils and teachers . . . There was generally too much striving after effect at the expense of technique (in needlework). The technique of specimen work requires much improvement (35, p. 19).

There were also the usual complaints about the failure of schools to provide essential equipment, the need of good textbooks and lecture-demonstrations, and the difficulty of obtaining materials for needlework from poverty-stricken students.

The report of the Director of Education for 1949, however, shows administrative changes already in effect. The term "Home Science" was used to designate that group of subjects that had been previously called "Homecraft" and "Housecraft"; the number of Home Science Inspectresses of schools was increased from five to nine so that there was one attached to every province and the work of all was coordinated by a Chief Inspectress of Home Science; Home Science was included as a subject for the Higher School Certificate Examination, which also functioned as an entrance examination to the University of Ceylon. In addition, the syllabus for schools and colleges and the regulations for the local examinations were revised to make them more applicable to local conditions. Home Science including

Needlework was made compulsory for all school-girls in Standards 6, 7 and 8 and for all women trainees in private and government teacher-training colleges.

An attempt was even made to set up a specialist course of training in Home Economics for a small group of women in Government Training College, Maharagama.

A new feature has been the setting up of the Department of Home Science for women students. Thirty-six women students, designated 'Home Makers' have pursued a highly practical course based on scientific principles. Emphasis is placed on everyday problems such as preparing simple and economic meals, giving tea and dinner parties, remodelling old clothes, washing, cleaning and sweeping, a great deal of this with equipment that can be made available in any home (37, p. 22).

This surge of interest and enthusiasm for Home Economics also produced a spate of exhibitions and refresher courses all over the island. For instance, in Jaffna in 1955, according to the report of the Director of Education a

... notable creative effort was the Home Science and Needlework Exhibition organized by schools in the Northern Province under the title 'World Industrial Fair', which enabled pupils through various forms of expression to give life and reality to the subjects learned in the classroom (43, p. 6).

This emphasis on reality and the application of theoretical concepts to practical living was indicative of a new pride in traditional forms of homemaking. Examination questions now stressed

Ceylonese patterns of cookery, housewifery and needlework. For example "Name two methods of cookery commonly used in a Ceylon home" (52, p. 21). "If you were given Re. 1/-(20 cents) for the preparation of a lunch for a visitor who does not eat meat, name the dishes you would include in the menu" (52, p. 28). "What are the food values in the following: parboiled country rice, liver, Indian goose-berry (nelli), milk, green gram which has been allowed to germinate, sweet pumpkin (wattakka), shark liver oil, katurumurunga (agathi) leaves, cheese?" (52, p. 30).

And in Housewifery, "If you were earning Rs 100/- a month and had to pay for your board and lodging, how would you plan your expenditure?" (52, p. 23). "Give three uses for margosa (kohomba, vembu) leaves in connection with housewifery" (52, p. 33). Describe easy, labour-saving ways of performing the following operations: scraping a coconut, grinding curry-stuffs, sweeping the house, drawing water from a well, washing greasy plates" (52, p. 38).

There were interesting variants to make allowances for differences of equipment in town and rural areas. "Describe in detail the daily and weekly care you would give the following: either a refrigerator or a meat-safe or a food box; either a vacuum-cleaner or a coir broom; either an electric-cooker or an oil stove" (52, p. 43). "Explain how you would furnish a kitchen either in a rural home or in a town house" (52, p. 49).

In Needlework there were references to decorative designs for saris, mending and laundering of torn blouses, and the care of sewing machines.

The centralization of education and business interests in Colombo led to an influx of Jaffna Tamils into the city. In 1921 Ceylon Tamils had constituted six percent of the population of Colombo; this number increased to 6.7 percent in 1931, 9.8 percent in 1946, and 12.6 percent in 1953, so that the proportion of Ceylon Tamils in Colombo in 1953 paralleled that of Ceylon Tamils in the whole population of Ceylon (32, p. 33).

New movements for the development of Home Economics now began to originate among the educated classes of women living with their families in the capital city of Colombo. The All-Ceylon Women's Conference was formed in 1944, an association with international affiliations and with a local committee representing 21 women's organizations in Ceylon. These organizations included among others the Association of Headmistresses, the Association of Teachers of Domestic Science, The Housewives' Association, the Women's Social Service League and the Y. W. C. A., Colombo. Women of many races and nationalities including Tamils played an active part in the programs of these associations which were concerned with the welfare of women generally and therefore with the development of

Home Economics Education.

For example, the Association of Headmistresses reported in 1960

Although the Society for the Advancement of Specialized Education for girls which it was partly instrumental in inaugurating, is now lying dormant, our Association has explored many avenues which we hope will lead to the establishment of a College of Home Economics. With this end in view, Miss Simon has been in contact with the Ford Foundation, to enlist its interest and financial aid. The Association has informed the Joint Committee of the Health and Education Departments that it welcomes the suggestion made by them with regard to the organization of a Training Course for Teachers and other Counsellors in Family Life Education, and will give its fullest support to the project (5, p. 53).

The Association of Teachers of Domestic Science was inaugurated in 1949 as an outcome of deliberations by the Education Committee of the All-Ceylon Women's Conference. Its immediate objective was to improve the teaching of Domestic Science in Ceylon.

Accordingly, during every school term, lecture demonstration courses were organized by this Association in cookery, nutrition, scientific dressmaking, needlework, laundry, home management, child care, electrical housecraft and first aid. At the end of these courses examinations were held and certificates were awarded to successful candidates. Further, to create enthusiasm, sustain interest and cultivate a competitive spirit, school competitions in cookery and needlework and school girls' dress parades and needlework displays were annually held. In these, both urban and rural schools participated and they were able to judge the standards of attainments of teacher and pupil. Conferences on the teaching of Domestic Science subjects were arranged. As a further step in assisting teachers,

the first Ideal Home exhibition was held by this Association at Bishop's College, Colombo. A lending Library of Domestic Science books, periodicals, charts, and specimens supplies further educational needs of members. Now, the aim is to bring together all who are interested in the teaching of Domestic Science and work for the establishment of a College of Domestic Science to impart instructions up to the Degree level (5, p. 54).

The Housewives' Association was formed in 1958 and was concerned mainly with the practical everyday problems of housewives in Ceylon. Its advisory panels on food and dietetics, health, cost of living, clothing education, marketing, home management and housing had an immediate appeal and its monthly demonstrations were popular among Ceylon housewives. Items of the work of this Association have been summarized as follows:

Cost of Living:--Members of this Panel were instrumental in cut frozen fish in polythene bags being available for sale.

Clothing:--This Panel has launched a scheme to provide basic patterns in sarees, blouses, children's clothes and brassieres, similar to those of McCall...

Home Management:--The chief aim of this group has been to arrange demonstrations in the correct use of modern equipment and facilities in the home (5, p. 56).

The Women's Social Service League was founded in 1957 to enable working class women to find a market for their cottage industries. Several sales of work were organized and centers of training were provided.

We have established a model weaving centre in Karai Nagar where about 25 pupils receive training in weaving and home economics. In Colombo we have established a centre for teaching art, pottery and sari painting (5, p. 65).

The Y. W. C. A. of Colombo established in the nineteenth century

...has given about 78 years of service to women and girls, irrespective of race, class or creed. It has a total membership of 1,000 both Seniors and Juniors and serves well over 1,500 others through Hostels, Guest House, Rest Rooms and Community Centres (5, p. 68).

It has a well-established program of home economics demonstrations that have proved very popular and very instructive through the years.

The development of lecture-demonstrations in Home Economics for adult women has been a significant feature of the new era. The educated women of Ceylon who had been weaned away from their homes by their academic studies now found themselves ignorant of the simple routines of cooking and housekeeping. Servants were scarce in the new independent world where education was free from the Kindergarten to the University. The old traditions of domestic service handed down from generation to generation of the working classes were now replaced by a universal thirst for education and the prestige of a white-collar job. Ceylon women of the upper classes patronized private schools of dressmaking and cookery,

and paid exorbitant fees to learn the simple routines which their mothers had learned at home. Private schools of Home Economics began to flourish with mass demonstrations to which wealthy women flocked and with classes of varying size for practical work in all branches of the subject.

In the rural areas, conditions were better. Women were still involved in the work of the home, and they could still cook a simple meal of rice and curry and use a sewing machine, but the methods of work employed were haphazard. The raw materials provided commercially lacked the nutritive values of the old foods and the durability of the old textiles; the progressive electrification of homes through the development of the Government Hydro-electric scheme made women aware of new needs and new deficiencies in their knowledge of housekeeping.

The Rural Development Societies tried to remedy these deficiencies by teaching village women the simple rules of hygiene and domestic economy. Cookery demonstrations and practical lessons in needlework were provided in rural areas all over Ceylon. The Government of Ceylon also established schools

...for training village girls in agricultural pursuits which would be of use to them later in life. The subjects of study included, besides gardening, dairying and poultry, such others as cookery, home management, sewing and first aid in order to enable them to become more useful women in their homes and villages (2, p. 158).

These efforts, however, have had a limited application, and there is a growing feeling in Ceylon that a College of Home Economics modelled after the Indian College of Home Economics in Delhi is an essential requirement for the development of the education of Ceylonese girls. With this end in view the All-Ceylon Women's Conference submitted a memorandum to the Government of Ceylon in 1948, advocating the establishment of such a college and suggesting that a Faculty of Home Economics should be established immediately in the University of Ceylon. Unfortunately, these recommendations were not accepted. The offer made by the Government of New Zealand to provide a College of Home Economics in Ceylon was also refused by the Director of Education, Ceylon, as it was generally felt that there was urgent need of development in directions other than that of specialized programs for the education of girls.

The Interim Report of the Education Commission of 1961 recommended that the study of Home Science as a subject in school and for the Higher School Certificate examination should lead ultimately to courses in a School of Home Economics, a Training College for Teachers, or for a degree in the University of Ceylon (138, p. 53). In spite of these recommendations, however, no provision has been yet made for the pursuit of higher studies in Home

Economics, and the women of Ceylon have to go abroad to India, England, and America for further qualifications in the subject.

The pattern of formal Home Economics Education in Ceylon today, then, falls into three main divisions:-

- (a) elementary studies in school which are compulsory for all girls and which provide Needlework from Kindergarten to Standard 8 and elementary Home Science from Standard 6 to Standard 8,
- (b) studies for local examinations such as the General Certificate of Education and the Higher School Certificate which are optional,
- (c) out-of-school studies which are highly selective and vary in scope and content with individual agencies.

The Revised Needlework Syllabus for Primary Schools published in 1957 suggests that

Needlework should aim at good workmanship and beauty of design, with simple processes of clothing construction, which are well within the powers of the particular age group. It may include lace work, weaving, knitting and the making of soft toys. Considerable latitude should be allowed for free expression and creative work both individually and in groups (56, p. 39).

The Post Primary School Syllabus, also published in 1957, offers hints to teachers:

1. Students should be familiar with the following stitches by the time they come to Standard 6. Tacking, Running, Topsewing, Back stitch, Blanket stitch, Cross Stitch, Chain stitch, Lazy-daisy stitch, Feather stitch and Stem stitch.

2. Every student must learn to take her own measurements and cut out the garments that she makes.
3. Students should learn to use the machine wherever possible.
4. Teachers should select specimens which are needed to work the garments e. g. If there are tucks on the garments, the students must practise doing tucks on a specimen before doing the garment.
5. Students should be guided in the wise selection of clothes and accessories and colour harmony.
6. All meals planned must be balanced and nutritious to suit local conditions (54, p. 137).

It is evident from these directions that the emphasis in the lower grades is on practical work rather than theory, while the syllabus for the local examinations attempts to provide a more comprehensive study of the subject including theoretical and practical aspects of Needlework, Laundry, Cookery, Home management, Child Welfare, First Aid, and Home Nursing.

Out-of-school activities in Home Economics have varying emphases. The Training Colleges (Normal schools) teach Home Economics in relation to the school curriculum, the Farm schools stress rural home management in relation to agriculture, and the private agencies cater to the practical needs of wives and mothers in Ceylon.

And yet these programs are not adequate. The very prevalence of private schools of cookery and dressmaking, the clamor for

a College of Home Economics in Ceylon, and the lack of government provision for the technical education of women offer evidence of a need that is not being met.

The education of Tamil girls and Tamil women has merged into the general pattern of national education in Ceylon. Home Economics Education is no longer the function of the home, and the schools lack the time and initiative to make their programs effective. Women in the new world of today are conscious of deficiencies in the educational programs which have equipped them so poorly for their dual roles of potential wage-earners and homemakers.

CHAPTER 8

TAMIL GIRLS OF TODAY

An attempt was made to analyze through questionnaires the home conditions and the future plans of Tamil girls who were studying Home Economics in school. Questionnaires were also distributed among the teachers of these girls in order to ascertain what qualifications they had for teaching Home Economics and what suggestions they could offer for the improvement of Home Economics programs in schools and colleges.

Finally, interviews were obtained with various representative members of the Tamil community so as to canvass their opinions regarding recent trends in the development of Home Economics Education among the Tamils of Ceylon.

Students' Questionnaire

Three hundred and twenty-two questionnaires were distributed among Tamil students who were studying Home Economics and who were scheduled to leave school at the end of 1963. In Jaffna, where the population was mainly Tamil, the schools were selected on a representative basis of communal and religious groups as follows:

Uduvil Girls High School founded by the American Mission Society

Chundikuli Girls School founded by the Church Missionary Society

Vembadi Girls High School founded by the Methodist Mission

Holy Family Convent founded by the Roman Catholic nuns

Ramanathan Girls College -- a traditional Hindu institution

Vaidyaswara Vidyalayam -- a co-educational school with a large

Muslim registration

Government Training College, Palaly -- a training college for Tamil teachers.

In Colombo, on the other hand, where the population was mainly Sinhalese, the schools were selected with regard to the proportion of Tamil girls on the register. Four schools with an approximate total registration of 1000 pupils had the following percentages of Tamil girls:

Holy Family Convent, Bambalapitiya	50%
C. M. S. Ladies College, Cinnamon Gardens	40%
Good Shepherd Convent, Kotahena	40%
Methodist College, Kollupitiya	33%

St. Bridget's Convent with 800 pupils had 15 percent Tamils, while Saiva Mangaiyar Vidyalayam had an almost exclusive Tamil registration of 600 students.

Statistical information relating to Tamil girls studying Home

Economics was not readily available. The totals for the General Certificate Examination, a school-leaving examination held in Ceylon, gave the following approximate figures:

	<u>Total Number Boys and Girls</u>	<u>Tamil Girls Offering</u>	
		<u>Home Science</u>	<u>Needlework</u>
Dec. 1960	123,300	1599	1458
Dec. 1961	154,500	1900	2126

About one percent of the students studying for the General Certificate Examination were Tamil girls offering Home Science and Needlework.

The Census Report of 1953 showed that out of a total of 884,703 Tamils, the total student population between the ages of 5 and 24 consisted of 367,573 persons of whom 179,907 were females. Approximately, 20 percent of the Ceylon Tamils, therefore, were girl students. The Census Report also indicated that the number of female literates in Jaffna in 1953 was 150,903, representing 70.1 percent of the female population five years of age and over (31, vol. 1, p. 32).

These figures, however, did not permit any significant statistical conclusions to be drawn from the results of the questionnaire, which rather served to indicate trends in the attitudes and home conditions of Tamil girls studying Home Economics in different schools.

One of the aims of the questionnaire was to discover to what

extent the homes of Tamil girls were affected by modern developments in lighting, cooking, and washing. The following percentages, though not representative of the entire Tamil community, indicated prevalent trends in the homes of the 322 students questioned.

Lighting

	<u>Oil</u>	<u>Electricity</u>	<u>Oil</u>	<u>Electricity</u>	<u>Wood</u>	<u>Gas</u>
Jaffna	53%	47%	19%	2%	79%	---
Colombo	9%	91%	63%	9%	21%	7%

	<u>Ironing</u>			<u>Washing Machine</u>	<u>Sewing Machine</u>
	<u>Charcoal</u>	<u>Electric</u>	<u>Steam</u>		
Jaffna	42%	35%	1%	less than 1%	88%
Colombo	7%	79%	17%	5%	95%

Other Electrical Equipment

	<u>Fans</u>	<u>Refrigerator</u>	<u>Pressure Cooker</u>	<u>Toaster</u>	<u>Mixer</u>	<u>Vacuum Cleaner</u>
Jaffna	10%	3%	2%	less than 1%		---
Colombo	43%	31%	19%	5%	10%	10%

These results suggested that homes in the city of Colombo used more electricity than homes in Jaffna. Ninety-one percent of the students questioned in Colombo used electricity for lighting, while 79 percent had electric irons, 43 percent electric fans, 31 percent electric refrigerators, and 5 to 10 percent used electric

toasters, mixers, and vacuum cleaners. Nineteen percent of the homes studied had pressure cookers, which, though not in themselves electrical, showed a response to modern developments in economic cookery.

An interesting variant was the prevalence of kerosene oil for cooking in Colombo homes. Sixty-three percent of the students questioned used oil, 21 percent used wood, 9 percent used electricity, and 7 percent used gas. (Many homes in Colombo use more than one type of fuel for cooking purposes.) Electric cookers are expensive to install, and electric current in Colombo is subject to power failures, while oil and wood are comparatively cheap and reliable. Gas has a limited distribution and is confined chiefly to homes where ladies do the cooking themselves. Many homes in Colombo have a system of double kitchens, so that the lady of the house can prepare fancy dishes in a kitchen equipped with electricity or gas, while the servants cook rice and curry and other local confections on oil stoves and open wood-burning fireplaces.

Homes in Jaffna have shown progressive development within recent years. The Census Report of 1953, analyzing family dwellings in rural areas, found that 48 percent of them were one-roomed, 33 percent were two-roomed, 11 percent were three-roomed, and the rest had four or more rooms. Both rural and urban areas showed

an increase in the number of houses with walls of brick, concrete, and cadjan (woven coconut leaves), while the proportion of stone-walled and mud houses had decreased. Materials used for roofing had also shown progressive improvement, for tiles were being used more frequently than before (31, vol. 1, p. 34).

The results of the questionnaire indicated that modern developments in the electrification of Ceylon homes were still in their initial stages in Jaffna. Forty-seven percent of the students questioned used electricity for lighting, but 53 percent still preferred oil lamps. Oil was also used for cooking in 19 percent of the homes studied, but 79 percent of these homes used wood, which was more economical. The distribution of electric irons was 35 percent, while that of charcoal-burning irons, which were cheaper, was 42 percent. Electrical equipment was used freely in less than one percent of Jaffna homes, and these were generally the homes of wealthier groups.

The questionnaire also showed that 88 percent of the students questioned in Jaffna and 95 percent of the students questioned in Colombo had sewing machines in their homes. (Tamil mothers usually make clothes for themselves and their children, for cheap ready-made garments are not sold in Ceylon. Economic necessity makes most Tamil girls learn sewing either from their mothers or

from specialist teachers of dressmaking.)

One section of the questionnaire attempted to discover the kinds of food eaten in the homes of Tamils. Rice and curry, varied with flour preparations such as pittu and stringhoppers, were the staple food of the people. Approximately 97 percent of the students questioned ate rice and curry at the noon meal, while three percent ate flour preparations. Fifty-nine percent ate flour preparations at night, while 41 percent ate rice and curry. Approximately 38 percent of the students ate rice and curry twice a day, both at the noon and night meals.

Morning meals always consisted of some flour preparation such as bread, pittu, hoppers, stringhoppers, thosai, itly, and uppuma. Evening meals varied with economic status, ranging from cakes and sandwiches in some Colombo homes to a plain cup of tea in some Jaffna homes. There was no indication as to the nutritional quality of these meals or their adequacy in meat and vegetable proteins.

The last section of the questionnaire tried to assess the attitudes and ambitions of the girl students questioned. Likes and dislikes with regard to various branches of Home Economics did not offer any conclusive evidence, for these preferences seemed to depend on the types of program administered by various schools.

Plans for the future, however, showed some very definite trends in the ambitions of Tamil girls of today. Only 276 students out of 322 were decided as to their preferences. Forty-seven percent of these expressed a desire to become teachers, 18 percent wanted to do advanced work in Home Economics, and 17 percent wished to continue with academic studies. Only nine percent were content to be married and make an ideal home for their husbands and children. Nursing claimed four percent and Social Service three percent. A minority of one percent had varied interests, two students being interested in music, one wanting to be a typist and another with ambitions to become an air hostess.

These results seemed to indicate an awakening among Tamil girls, who were no longer content with the old goals of homemaking and marriage as the complete fulfillment of a woman's life. Modern Tamil girls were aware of other avenues of self-fulfillment and were struggling to relate their home lives affectively to the demands of these new opportunities.

Teacher's Questionnaire

Thirty-four questionnaires were also distributed among Tamil teachers of Home Economics in the schools selected. Of these approximately 21 percent were graduates, 18 percent had a Diploma

in Home Science, 23 percent were trained teachers who had studied Home Science in college, and 38 percent had certificates of some kind -- Senior School Certificate, General Certificate, or Post-Senior Certificate in Home Science. Sixty-one percent of the group had also attended various demonstrations in an effort to improve their skill.

Twenty-four teachers expressed an opinion regarding the adequacy of their training in school and college. Fifty percent of these found the work in school satisfactory, while the other 50 percent found it inadequate. Approximately 67 percent were satisfied with their programs in college, but 33 percent felt that they should have had more work.

Suggestions for the improvement of the programs of Home Economics in Ceylon fell into three main categories -- revision of the syllabus, more facilities for practical work, and provision for higher studies. Some teachers felt that the syllabus in Home Science at various levels needed revision. They suggested that Home Economics should be made compulsory for girls in school, that the Junior and Senior Domestic Science Examination should be revived, and that there should be more intensive work in one or two branches of the subject rather than a superficial training in all.

There was an urgent need for more practical work in smaller classes with better equipment and adequate library facilities.

Teachers felt that the emphasis should be on practical methods of home management that would use local products more freely. One constructive suggestion envisaged a closer cooperation between home and school by teachers visiting the homes of their students and trying to make their programs in Home Economics solve actual home problems.

The demand for a College of Home Economics and for advanced courses in Home Economics both in the Universities and the Training Colleges for teachers was evidence of the inadequacy of existing programs in Ceylon. Students who wished to graduate in Home Economics had to go abroad to India, England, and America. The Government of Ceylon was slow to accede to the demand for the provision of higher education in Home Economics, and Ceylonese women looked enviously at other countries and dreamed of a time when a College of Home Economics would be established in Ceylon.

Interviews

Interviews with various representative women of the Tamil community resulted in conflicting opinions. The older generation regretted the passing of the old traditional ways, while the new generation demanded more scientific techniques in home management. Mrs. Richard, Mrs. Aiyadurai, and Mrs. Ponnambalam represented

three generations of Tamil women.

Mrs. Richard, 81 years old, was one of the first Tamil girls to be educated in Chundikuli Girls' School, Jaffna. She deplored the passing of the old days when the life of a Tamil girl revolved round the home. In those days girls knew how to milk their cows and churn the cream into butter with a primitive churning stick. They made ghee (clarified butter) by frying murunga leaves in the butter. Girls were also trained to use the resources of their gardens -- the herbs, the vegetables and the fruits. Palmyra fruits were roasted to dry the pulp, then strained to remove the fibre, mixed with jaggery (molasses), rice, gingelly (sesame), and coconut, and spread out in layers on mats to dry in the hot sun. This was a very nutritious preparation, and every Tamil women knew how to prepare this delicious sweetmeat which was called pinatoo.

"Tamil women are naturally thrifty," said Mrs. Richard,

...and it is the Tamil custom for the man to give his entire salary to his wife, who doles out pocket-money to him. The husband knows that his wife will manage their income more efficiently than he can.

Mrs. Richard complained that Tamil girls had forgotten the old traditional ways and had begun to depend too much on foreign imports. "Every Tamil woman," she concluded, "should keep a cow, some poultry, and a vegetable garden in order to have fresh, nutritious food in her own home."

Mrs. Aiyadurai, daughter of Mrs. Richard, agreed with her mother on many points. She thought that some modern inventions like the sewing machine were useful, but that most of the new gadgets were expensive and unnecessary. Academic qualifications were undoubtedly important, she said, but the basic homemaking disciplines were more essential.

Mrs. Ponnambalam, niece of Mrs. Aiyadurai, had a more realistic attitude to the whole problem of modern Home Economics. She felt that in the new world where servants were scarce, every woman should be trained in scientific methods of home management that would reduce the labor and the drudgery of the daily routines of housekeeping.

Inspectresses and teachers of Home Economics generally agreed with Mrs. Ponnambalam on the necessity for more efficient training in modern methods of home management on a foundation of sound scientific techniques. Principals of Tamil schools expressed divergent opinions regarding the teaching of Home Economics.

Miss N. Casipillai, Principal of Saiva Mangaiyar Vidyalayam, Colombo, thought that Tamil girls lacked poise and assurance. She felt they should have more training in practical situations that would develop initiative and poise.

Miss K. Mathiaparanam, Principal of Panditherippu Girls'

School, Jaffna, insisted on the importance of research with regard to traditional foods and remedies. She found that school equipment for the teaching of Home Economics was not planned realistically to duplicate home conditions. She considered training in the effective use of equipment and in economic methods of home management most essential for Tamil girls.

The principal of Ramanathan College, Jaffna, was satisfied with the blend of old ways and new conditions that prevailed in her school. The girls still wore the old traditional costumes their grandmothers had worn -- ankle-length skirts, half-saris, and long braided plaits of hair. They were orthodox Hindus, whose diet was strictly vegetarian. They considered marriage the natural fulfillment of a woman's life and were much sought after as brides. The school was planned on modern lines with athletics and various other activities in which the girls excelled. Many students followed academic courses in the University after they graduated from school, but they were ultimately contented to marry and settle down to a happy home life.

Miss Muttiah, Manager of Chundikuli Girls' School, Jaffna, commented on the changed conditions in the life of Tamil girls.

"The girls of today," she said,

...must realize that conditions are changing.
This is a new world in which we live, and the girls

must change to keep up with new conditions. There is no longer any East and West in home management, for the imports of new raw materials and new machines make new techniques necessary. It is essential that the girls of today be progressive, enterprising, and informed in their approach to the problems of modern homemaking.

The results of the questionnaires and the interviews confirmed the necessity for a new approach to Home Economics Education in Ceylon -- a blend of old traditions and modern techniques that would enable Tamil women to realize their potentialities to the fullest.

CHAPTER 9

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

Tamil women of today are conscious of the inadequacies in the programs of Home Economics offered to them. The need for improvement seems to center round three main areas -- organized programs that are broader in scope and more closely adapted to individual requirements; research, which includes surveys of actual living conditions, investigations of traditional and new methods of home management, and analyses of products on the market; and finally, more opportunities for experimental self-learning through the medium of books, pamphlets, correspondence courses, and programmed instruction.

In Eastern countries today,

Home Science is being reinterpreted as creative homemaking and not merely the teaching of traditional home skills by routine methods. This reinterpretation has required a greatly enriched program with specialized teaching methods, and particularly the readjustment of home science curriculum content planned along modern lines to Eastern customs and needs -- in food, clothing, social manners, mores, etc (229, p. 356).

Revised schemes of instruction in Ceylon have attempted to give this creative emphasis to the teaching of Home Economics, but shortages of time and equipment and the demands of the annual academic

examinations have made this ideal a dream rather than a reality.

In India the All-India Women's Conference established in 1932 a College of Home Science affiliated to the University. It is uncertain when a University Faculty of Home Science will be established in Ceylon. Meanwhile, however, there is opportunity for the development of part-time technical courses of all kinds, sponsored by government and private agencies, which will train a woman not only to be a more efficient homemaker, but will also develop creative abilities and mastery of crafts that bring her an income.

Home Economics Education in the school must show closer cooperation with the home. An American home economist says,

It is obvious that the school situation cannot provide all the elements found in a home, even if the school room and equipment are as nearly like that in the home as they can be made for a large group . . . It is evident that the school cannot provide the human element of family life. Opportunity is also limited in the classroom by expense and by the necessity for having many pupils work together, so that no one girl or boy has opportunity to carry as much responsibility as would be possible at home . . . Many abilities, either manipulative, managerial, or creative, can be brought to the desired level only when further practice at home enlarges on the class level (227, p. 213-214).

In Ceylon there has been very little attempt at cooperation between school and home. Home Economics teachers rarely know the actual living conditions of their pupils. It often happens that the work in school merely duplicates the domestic chores which are a

part of the daily life of the student, or are so remote from actual conditions that they cannot be applied in the home. Teachers must be trained to analyze the needs of their pupils through questionnaires and home visits, so that programs in the schools can be more closely adapted to local requirements.

An English educationist has said,

Parents have the major responsibility in imparting the arts and graces, and most girls do learn a great deal about homemaking from their mothers. Indeed, many able girls with good home backgrounds can manage with very little practical instruction in housecraft subjects in school. Teachers need to appreciate this, to accelerate the pace and augment the academic content of the housecraft syllabus to match ability and economize in time. Some able girls will be slow and clumsy; others will be quick, but none need to be compelled to spend too much time practising skills in school that they can teach themselves at home. The variation is likely to be so great, both in starting point and in speed of learning, that all housecraft teaching for able girls should be, indeed must be, arranged as far as possible on an individual basis (147, p. 96-97).

The planning of individualized programs of instruction will need close cooperation between parents and teachers. The work of the school must supplement that of the home, for new scientific techniques can only be learned in the school, while the home will always remain the most efficient laboratory for the practice of home-making routines.

The emphasis on research which is so characteristic of American Home Economics needs to be applied intensively to Ceylon.

Sound programs can only be built on a sure foundation of known factors. Research must be focused on old traditional methods of cookery, needlework, and home management, so that their values can be assessed in terms of modern needs. Investigations must also be made into the qualities of new products on the market, so that more certain techniques can be devised for their use. Such investigations would give the housewife clear directions as to the care and laundering of modern fabrics, the comparative values and nutritive elements in old and new foods, and the economical, technical, and psychological aspects of home management processes and decisions.

Scientifically controlled experiments would have to be made in various branches of home economics as applicable to specialized local conditions. Surveys of various kinds should furnish statistical evidence of the interests and attitudes of Tamil women and girls in school and out-of-school, of trends in homemaking practices and selection of equipment, and the general problems of homemaking in the technological world of today.

The demands of modern life need to be considered in planning programs of self-instruction for the women of Ceylon. Women at home will turn eagerly to books and pamphlets that offer useful hints on practical home management. Some attempts have been made to produce such books and pamphlets, but the material furnished

is inadequate and available only to small groups. There are very few textbooks of Home Economics in the vernacular, and there is urgent need for more authoritative information on all aspects of Home Economics as related to local conditions. The possibilities of programmed textbooks and machine learning have not been investigated in Ceylon. Courses of instruction that teach a housewife the basic scientific facts about the equipment she uses, the processes of food preparation, and the fibres of modern textiles would furnish a sound theoretical foundation on which to build her homemaking techniques.

An American educationist declares,

There is a body of knowledge on which homemakers can draw in making home management decisions, but it is not readily available to them. The basic principles involved are drawn from many fields -- from economics, psychology, physics, sociology, biology. To learn to make decisions that bring satisfaction to herself and to her family, a woman needs experience in defining a problem, getting the necessary facts about it, turning to research for knowledge of significant data and for basic principles, and applying these to the solution of her problem (136, p. 50).

Tamil women in Ceylon are groping for a solution to their problems of homemaking and using methods of trial and error to arrive at a solution. They need more definite information on all matters connected with Home Economics, so that they can cope effectively with their dual roles of career women and homemakers in the modern

world.

The world of the future will, of necessity, be an increasingly technological one. Every woman dreams of an automatically conditioned home like that described by Ray Bradbury, where house-keeping routines are carried out by robots.

In the living room the voice-clock sang, Tick-tock, seven o'clock, time to get up, time to get up, seven o'clock . . .

In the kitchen the breakfast stove gave a hissing sigh and ejected from its warm interior eight pieces of perfectly browned toast, eight eggs sunnyside up, sixteen slices of bacon, two coffees, and two cool glasses of milk.

'Today is August 4, 2026,' said a second voice from the kitchen ceiling . . .

'Nine-fifteen,' sang the clock, 'time to clean.'

Out of warrens in the wall, tiny robot mice darted. The rooms were acrawl with the small cleaning animals, all rubber and metal. They thudded against chairs, whirling their mustached runners, kneading the rug nap, sucking gently at hidden dust. Then, like mysterious invaders, they popped into their burrows. Their pink electric eyes faded. The house was clean (25, p. 266-267).

This dream of an ideal home may never be realized, but until it becomes a reality, women must learn to use the equipment they have in routines that will minimize labor and drudgery. Tamil women today are aware of themselves as living in an international world with developments in technology that are far-reaching. These

women are conscious of new needs and new responsibilities, and the Home Economics programs planned for them must take account of the historical past, the living present, and the developing future in a world where women of many races meet and work together for international peace and understanding. The new educational programs for Tamil women must consider their roles as housewives, career women, and citizens of the world.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

This study attempted to analyze the educational problems of Tamil women, one of the communal groups in Ceylon, to trace in broad outline the development of their education from the earliest times to the present day, and to ascertain particularly the quality and importance of Home Economics Education in the pattern of their lives.

The education of Tamil girls in ancient times was closely linked with home and family. Mothers and daughters worked together in the home, and traditional techniques of homemaking were handed down from generation to generation. This ancient Home Economics Education was informal and narrowly vocational, for a woman was trained to find her greatest satisfaction and reward in the making of a happy home for her husband and her children.

The European conquests of Ceylon brought a new orientation into educational programs for Tamil women. Tamil girls now began to go to school and to learn to read and write. The early emphasis on education for marriage and family life began to be replaced by emphasis on education for a career. Academic subjects and extra-curricular activities filled the school curriculum, and the new

generation of Tamil girls grew up either totally ignorant of Home Economics or with a superficial knowledge gleaned in a haphazard manner. Traditional methods of homemaking were generally despised and forgotten, while the new methods were still unrelated to the lives of the people.

The granting of Independence to Ceylon in 1948 brought reactionary developments into educational programs. The education of Tamil girls and women merged into the general pattern of national education in Ceylon. Government-sponsored examinations emphasized Eastern patterns of homemaking while private agencies attempted through lecture-demonstrations to remedy the obvious deficiencies in available Home Economics programs.

Tamil women began to be conscious of new needs and responsibilities. A survey of conditions in some Tamil home showed a trend towards progressive electrification and a blurring of differences between Eastern and Western methods of home management. The education of Tamil girls did not accord with the cultural and economic demands of the new age. It was found that there was definite need for organized programs of Home Economics that were broader in scope and more closely adapted to individual requirements; for research, which would include surveys of living conditions, investigations of traditional and new methods of home management,

and analyses of foods on the market; and finally, a need for programs of experimental self-learning through the medium of books, pamphlets, correspondence courses, and programmed instruction.

Tamil women were no longer isolated units contented solely with marriage and family life, but were now conscious of themselves as living in an international world and working with women of many races towards international peace and understanding. It was necessary that the new programs of education for Tamil women should consider their roles as housewives, career women, and citizens of the world.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Heroines of Ancient India

Heroines of Ancient India

Sakuntala, the daughter of a great sage, dwelt in a forest hermitage with her father. She was married in secret there by King Dushyanta, but when she followed him to his kingdom with her child, he repudiated them both. Sakuntala argued with him and was ultimately recognized by the testimony of a voice from heaven.

Draupadi was the wife of the Pandava princes, five warlike brothers whose battle with their cousins, the Kauravas, is the theme of the great Indian epic, the Mahabharatha. Draupadi was a princess, yet she cooked the meals and kept house for the brothers. On one occasion when Yudhishtira, the eldest brother had staked and lost her at dice, she proved that she was still free because Yudhishtira had already lost himself to his opponent before he staked her. Draupadi then demanded the return of the brothers and all their possessions. She was instrumental in saving the Pandavas again and again until they conquered their rivals and ruled India.

Savitri was the wife of Satyavan, who was fated to die within a year of his marriage. Savitri followed Yama, the god of death, who was taking away her husband's soul and argued with him so intelligently that he granted her boon after boon. She ultimately won back her husband's life with the promise of peace and prosperity and the gift of a hundred sons.

Appendix B
Illustrations

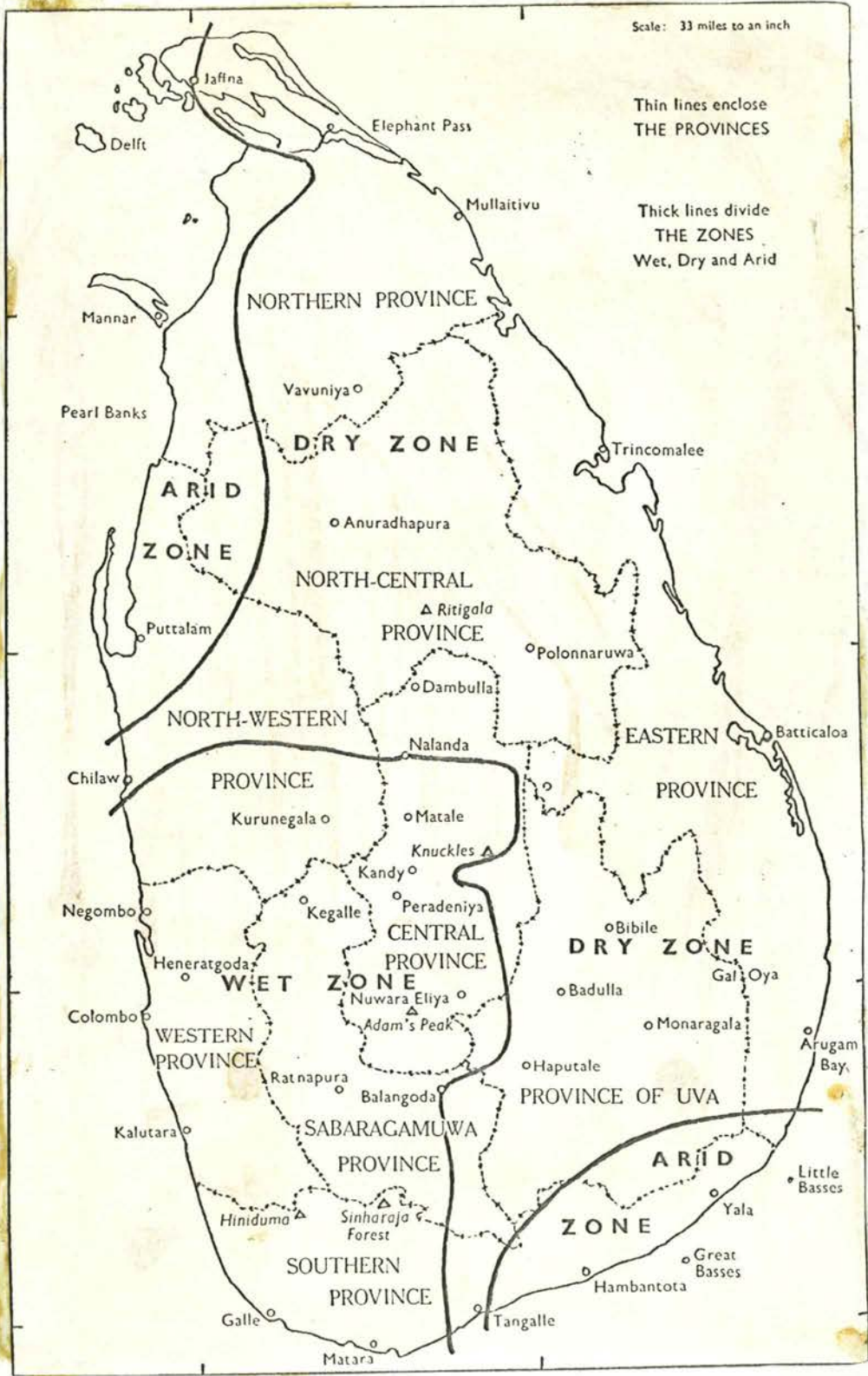


Figure 1

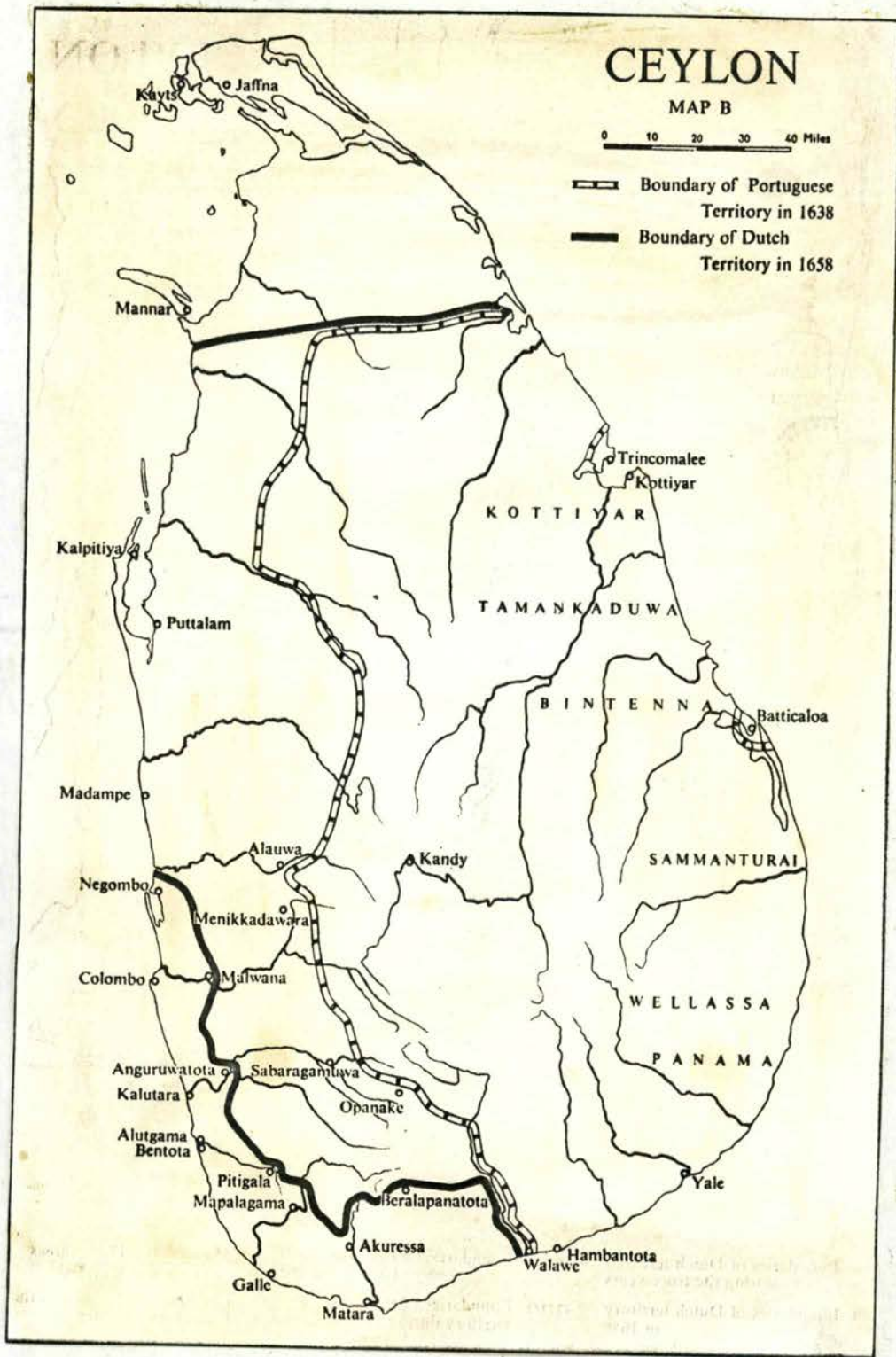


Figure 2

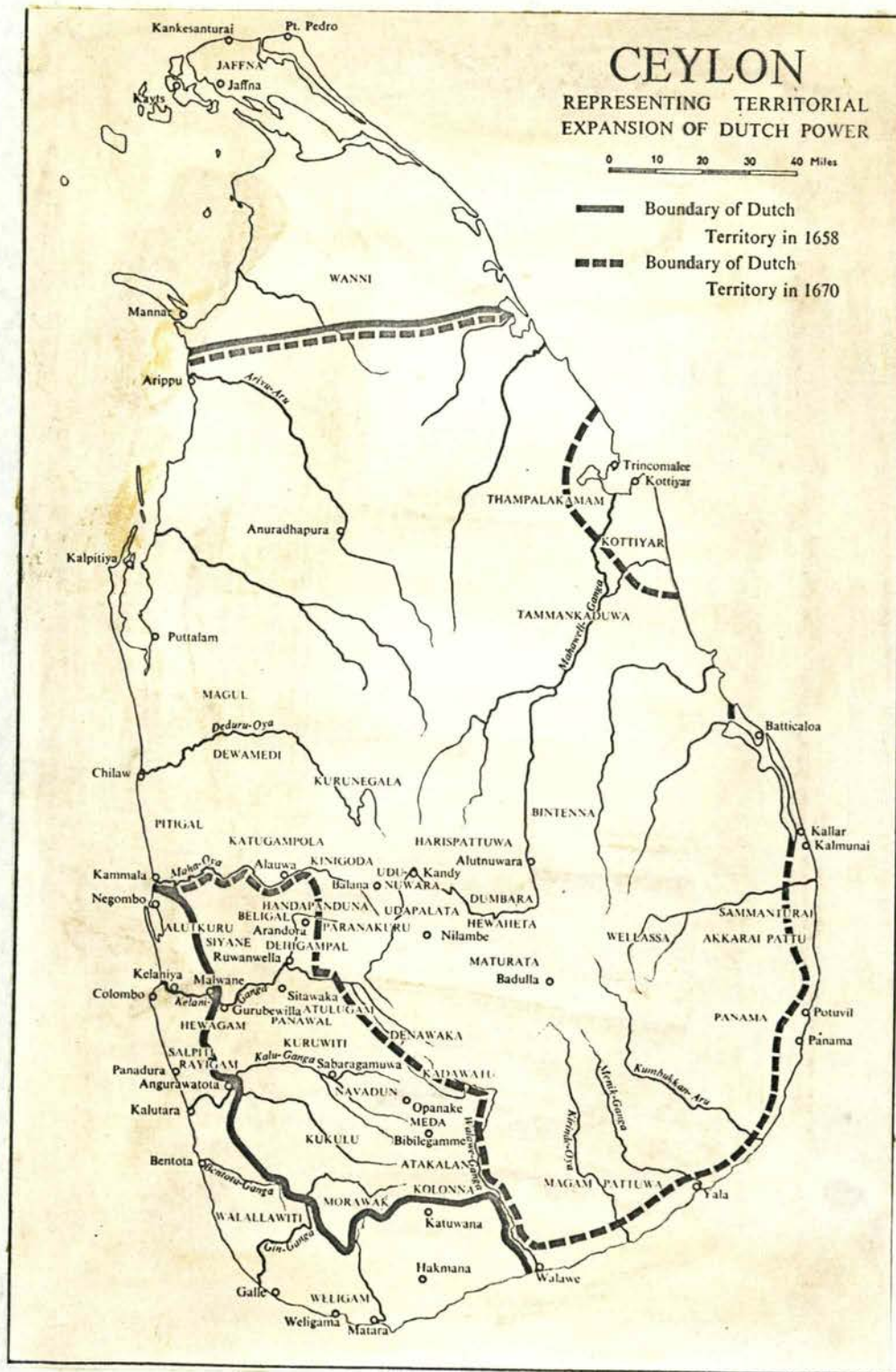


Figure 3



Figure 4. The Lagoon, Jaffna (233, p. 782)



Figure 5. Street in Jaffna (233, p. 782)



PHOTO 1.—Bullock operated water lift on well.



PHOTO 2.—Flume from well.



PHOTO 3.—Lined pond for irrigation.



PHOTO 4.—Irrigation from ponds with palmyrah pails.



PHOTO 5.—A garden of irrigated chilli.



PHOTO 6.—Penning cattle in Jaffna.

3*

Figure 6. Irrigation methods in Jaffna (200, p. 278)



Figure 7. The making of butter in Jaffnapatam. (14, p. 355)



Figure 8. Primitive methods of cooking (Illustrated Weekly of India, Sept. 9, 1951)



Figure 9. Peasant woman grinding millet
(Ceylon Observer, May 1, 1951)

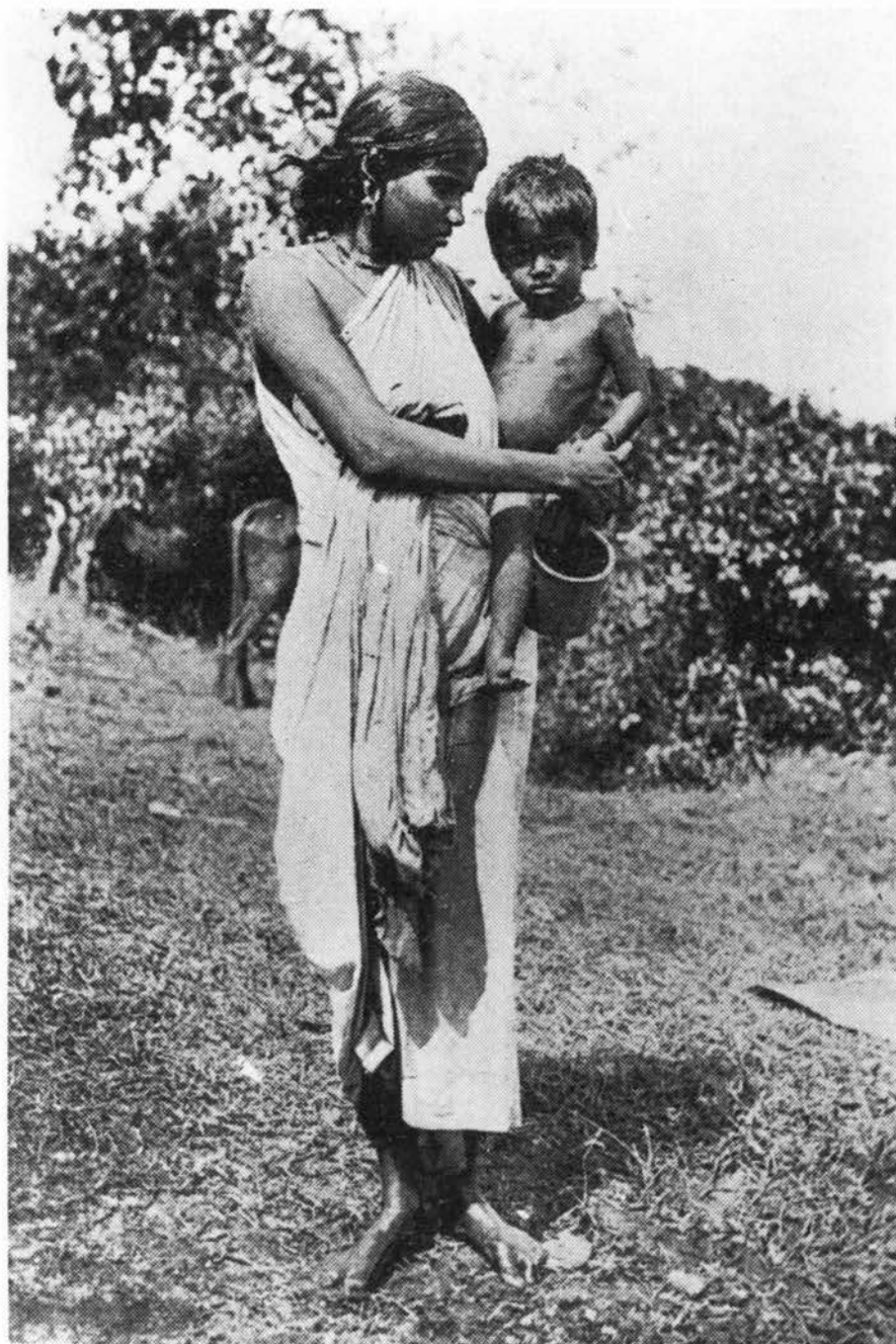


Figure 10. Low caste Tamil woman (233, p. 339)



TAMIL GIRLS. (233, p. 339)

Figure 11. High caste Tamil girls of the early twentieth century



Figure 12. A modern Tamil girl



Figure 13. Coconut-husking race in a modern Tamil Girls' School



Figure 14. Improved unit kitchen in a Ceylon College



Figure 15. Eastern and Western methods of making pastry



Figure 16. Eastern and Western methods of cleaning floors



Figure 17. Eastern and Western methods of making starch



Figure 18. Eastern and Western methods of ironing clothes



Figure 19. Improvised equipment for bathing a baby



Figure 20. Cookery exhibition in Ceylon.



Figure 21. Needlework exhibition in Ceylon

Appendix C
Sample Questionnaires

Students' Questionnaire

Name of school

Name of student

Age

Occupation of father

Occupation of mother

Home address

Type of power e. g. electricity, gas, oil, wood, which you use for the following purposes in your home:

Lighting Cooking Refrigeration Ironing clothes

Which of the following appliances do you have in your home:

Sewing machine Washing machine Pressure cooker
Vacuum cleaner Electric fan Electric mixer
Electric toaster Steam iron

Name the kinds of food you eat normally at the following meals:

Morning Noon Evening Night

How many years have you worn Western dress?

Will you continue wearing Western dress when you leave school?

How many years have you studied the following subjects in school:

Needlework, Laundry, Cookery, Nutrition, Home Management,
Child Care, Care of the Sick

Which did you like best?

Which did you like least?

Which do you think will be the most useful to you? Why?

Describe your future plans.

Teachers' Questionnaire

Name

Married or single

Present occupation

Qualifications in Home Economics. Please give dates.

Regular schools or colleges where you studied Home Economics.
Please give dates.

Courses in Home Economics followed in special schools, e. g. ,
schools of dressmaking, cookery, etc. Please give names of
schools, dates attended, and certificates gained by you.

Types of demonstrations attended by you

How many years have you taught Home Economics or worked in
fields related to Home Economics?

Which of the following subjects have you taught:

Needlework, Laundry, Cookery, Nutrition, Home Management,
Child Care, Care of the Sick

Do you think your Home Economics training was adequate
(a) in school (b) in college

Please give suggestions for the improvement of Home Economics
programs in schools and colleges of Ceylon.

Filled-in Questionnaire

இந்து மகனின் கண்ணி, யாழ்ப்பாணம்.

யோசனாணி : கந்தையா.

18 வயது 4 மாதம்.

புறநாடு மென் (மென்சென்)

மென்சென் மூலக்கூறுகள்.

NO: 23, அம்மன் வீதி,

கந்தையா,

யாழ்ப்பாணம்.

வெளிக்கூடு - மின்சாரம்

மண்மென்மென்மென் அடிப்பு, விநாடி சமையல்.

மின்சாரம் -

உப்பு வந்திருக்கிற செய்தல் - மின்சாரம்

செய்தல் மென்சென் - சூல்

சலவை மென்சென் - இல்லை.

மின்சாரம் மென்சென் - இல்லை.

Vacuum cleaner - இல்லை.

மின்சாரம் மென்சென் - இல்லை.

Electric mixer - இல்லை.

Electric ^{வாங்கிய} ~~mixer~~ - சூல்.

மின்சாரம் மென்சென் மென்சென் - இல்லை.

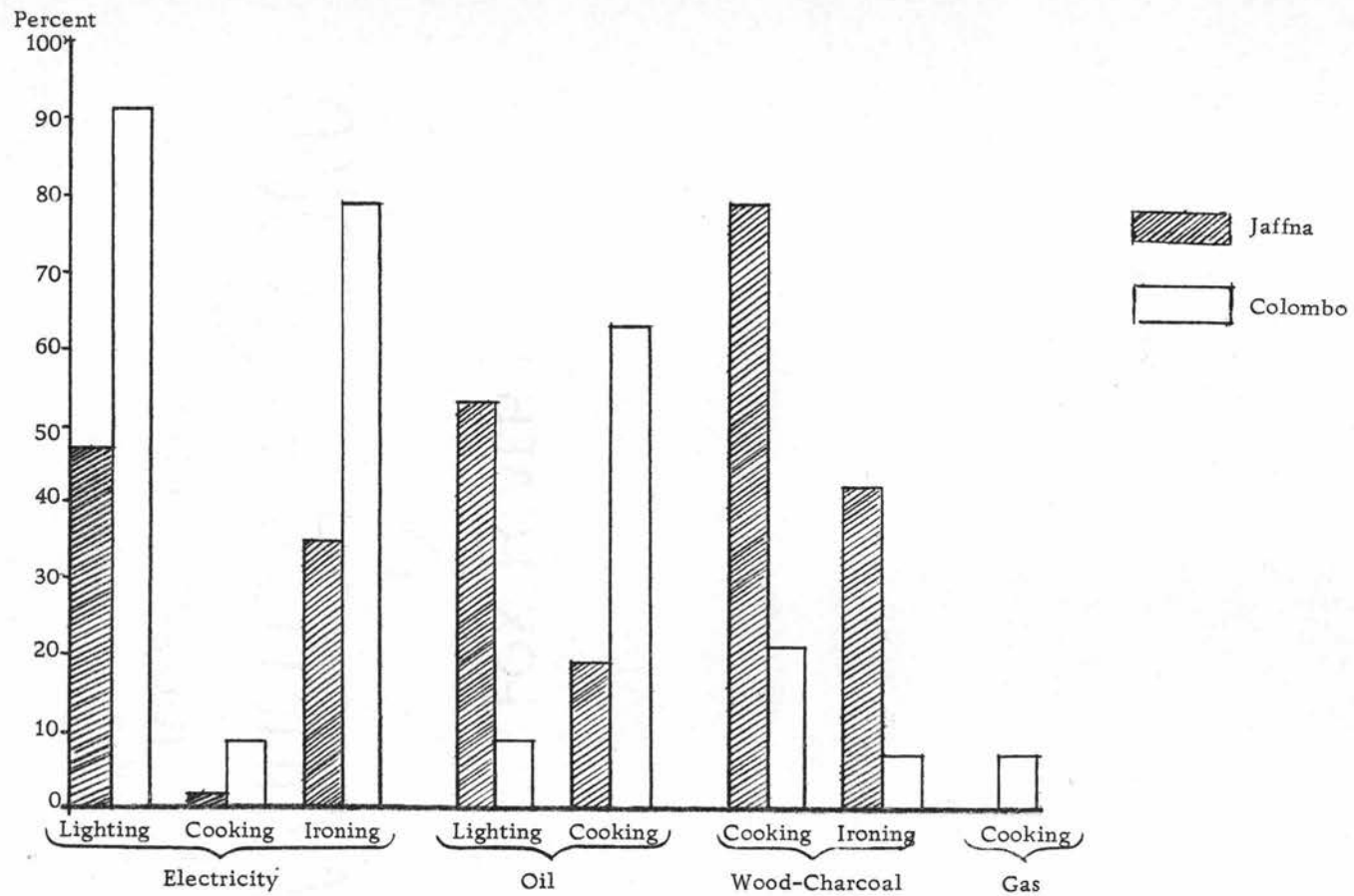
காலை: - மாண்பு பட்டம். மால் அடிப்பு

மந்திரமென்சென்: - சூல், மென்சென், மென்சென், மென்சென்

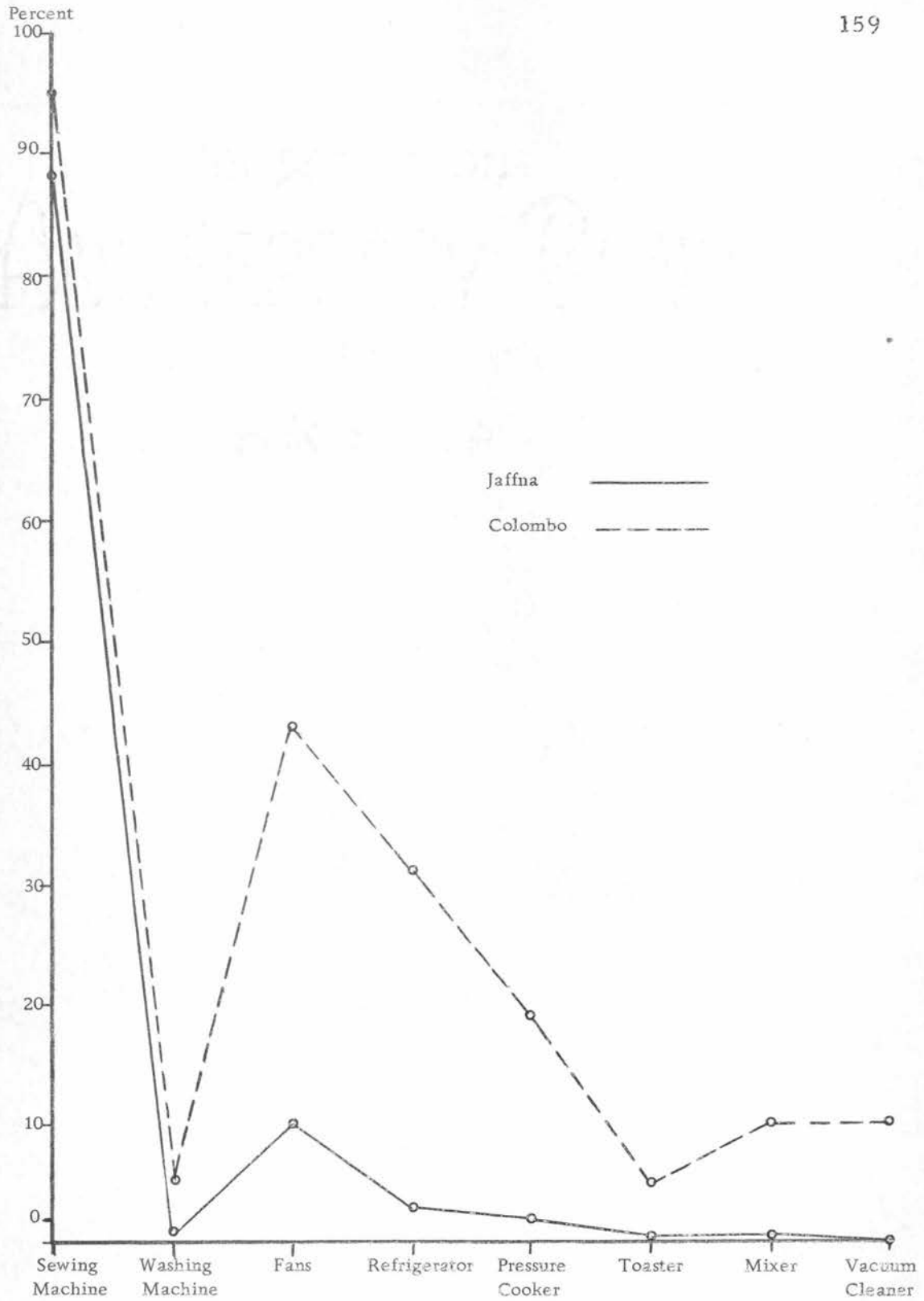
மென்சென், மென்சென், மென்சென்.

Appendix D

Graphs



Comparative Use of Fuels in Jaffna and Colombo



Comparative Use of Modern Equipment in Jaffna and Colombo