

THE DEVELOPMENT OF
TEACHER EDUCATION IN JAMAICA:
1940-1960.

by Ronald J. Samuda

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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

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INTRODUCTION

The people of Jamaica, in 1962, celebrated their independence from the mother country, England. After almost three hundred years of British rule, the islanders gained political autonomy. The event represented the climax of a series of social, economic and political changes which began just before the start of the Second World War.

The change of political status has heightened the importance of providing, for every Jamaican child, a basic education and the chance to share in the limited facilities for higher education in the country.

The recent social, economic, and political changes have emphasized the need for an adequate teacher education programme adapted to the reform and expansion of the general system of education. The new conditions of Jamaican society have also stressed the urgency for research into the history and philosophy of Jamaican teacher education--a field which has been scarcely investigated.

A search of the literature failed to uncover more than four theses directly related to education in Jamaica. R. N. Murray's unpublished master's thesis, The Education of Jamaica, was presented to the University of London in 1947. It was 228 pages in length, and was concerned with the general history and the trends of Jamaican education.

The first section dealt with the history of education in Jamaica from the British occupation of 1655 to the start of the Second World War. In the second section, Murray focussed his attention upon the trends and future development of education in the country.

Since Murray's thesis was concerned with the broad sweep of educational history, the work contains only incidental and indirect reference to teacher training. The writer relied upon Colonial Office publications, Handbooks of Jamaica, and annual reports of the Education Department for much of his source material.

The second thesis, in order of chronological sequence, was written by Ouida Wright for a master's degree in Education at McGill University in 1956. Wright's thesis, The Development of Education in Jamaica, was an attempt to survey the whole system of educational provisions in the country.

Because of their comprehensive nature, neither Murray's nor Wright's thesis dealt with Jamaican teacher education in any detail. These sources were, however, important in providing background material for the present investigation.

The third thesis, in order of time, was written by Granville E. Miller for his master's degree in education at McGill University in 1960. Miller's study, entitled Primary Education in Rural Jamaica, was not pertinent to the issues with which this particular study is concerned.

The only thesis which was directly concerned with the history of teacher education in Jamaica was written by Vincent D'Oyley, in fulfilment of the Ed.D. degree at the University of Toronto, in 1962. D'Oyley's study, The Development of Teacher Education in Jamaica: 1835-1913, is of special significance to any researcher concerned with the history of teacher education in Jamaica. D'Oyley's work, which divided the history of teacher education in Jamaica, 1835-1913, into three main chronological periods, namely, the ages of missionary enterprise, government enterprise, and maturity, presents a detailed survey of the establishment and growth of missionary and government institutions for teacher training in Jamaica. In addition, the thesis comprised the development of inspections, publications, the pupil-teacher system and teachers' associations. But D'Oyley's main contribution is his treatment of the contributions of the Mico Charity to Jamaican teacher education, particularly in the nineteenth century.

Three recent publications are also related to the topic of the present thesis. Shirley Gordon's article, "The Negro Education Grant: 1835-1845", was published in the British Journal of Educational Studies in May, 1958. It recounted the effects of the funds voted by the British parliament to assist Jamaican teacher education in 1835. The sources for Gordon's article were derived from the

papers of the Colonial Office, and from the archives of the missionary societies.

Gordon was also responsible for the introductory chapter in Elsa Walters' book, Teacher Training Colleges in the West Indies, published in 1960. The article, and the introductory chapter, provide a valuable insight into the historical background of nineteenth century teacher education in Jamaica.

Elsa Walters' book, mentioned in the previous paragraph, was written as a manual for teacher training colleges. In it, she outlined the policy and trends of Jamaican teacher education at the present time. However, since it was intended to serve the West Indies as a whole, it tends to be too general for the purposes of research into Jamaican teacher training.

No comprehensive thesis or publication is recorded in the literature concerning the development of teacher education during the two critical decades of evaluation, reform, and expansion, from 1940 to 1960.

All the chapters of the thesis, except the historical background, are based primarily on first sources. Apart from the material provided by Murray, Wright, and D'Oyley, the writer based his background material on the published works of the missionaries, Buchner and Gardner. The report and commentary of the Lumb Commission at the archives of

the Institute of Jamaica provided additional background material for the first chapter.

Chapters III and IV, which deal with the actual events in teacher training in Jamaica, from 1940 to 1960, were based on annual reports of the Education Department, the Schools Commission, the individual training colleges, the Teacher Training Board, special ad hoc committees on teacher training development, annual Handbooks of Jamaica, annual reports of the Jamaica Union of Teachers, and the Association for Assistant Masters and Mistresses, interviews and correspondence with training college principals, the professor of education, and education officers of the Education Department. Annual reports of the Colonial Development and Welfare Organization were also useful.

Certain periodical sources, such as The Torch, the official publication of the Education Department, and The Clarion, the official organ of the Jamaica Union of Teachers, were also found of value in providing perspective.

The paramount aims of the writer, in this investigation, are, firstly, to trace the major developments of the academic and professional training of teachers in Jamaica during the period 1940 to 1960; secondly, to estimate the progress of teacher training in Jamaica during those two decades, 1940 to 1960, in the light of the recommendations contained in three reports of inquiry.

The research was based on the hypothesis that the teacher training system of Jamaica, up to 1960, had not attained a satisfactory or adequate level of achievement. The criteria for judging the 'adequacy' of the teacher education system, and, indeed, of the educational reform of Jamaica in that twenty-year period since 1940, were derived from the recommendations and concepts included in a series of three expert reports of investigation, the gist of which is outlined in Chapter II, following the Historical Background.

Although the writer has made every effort to gather reliable statistics to illustrate the trends of the development, it should be remembered that, in some cases, the numbers reported have been gleaned from a variety of sources. Occasionally, in the case of two tables, statistics for certain years were not available and the writer had to content himself with estimates on the basis of preceding trends.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The aim of this chapter is to present an outline of the stages of educational growth in Jamaica, from the capture of the island by the British in 1655 to the beginning of the Second World War, with particular reference to the training and supply of teachers.

The time span, covering almost three centuries, falls into five different periods, each characterized by one specific factor or trend. The chapter comprises, however, six sections, since the beginnings of voluntary teacher training in the nineteenth century were divided for reasons of clarity into missionary and charitable enterprise.

The organization of the chapter follows the chronological sequence of the country's educational history. The first section, which sketches the foundations of education in Jamaica up to the abolition of slave-trading in 1834, is followed by two sections each dealing with separate aspects of voluntary teacher training. The establishment of government support and control, which preceded the investigations of a special commission, is then followed by the final section, which analyzes the main events of teacher education during the twentieth century up to 1940.

1. The Foundations of Education in Jamaica: 1655-1834

The early history of education in most Western countries appears to have followed the same developmental rhythm. Schools, which began with the introduction of Christianity, were founded and operated by religious orders or through private philanthropic endowment. It was the priests who taught the children of the 'poor of the parish' in the chantries, or officiated in the schools of the craft and merchant guilds. Hence, the unity and integration of education came through the partnership between the family and the Church, which provided the aims and the agencies of education. The educational systems mirrored Christian society.

The pattern of the growth of education in Jamaica, on the other hand, was characterized by a singular lack of harmony. Fragmentation has, traditionally, been its chief feature. The peculiar social mosaic of Jamaican society was reflected in the asymmetry of the island's educational system which, rather than helping to integrate the Jamaican people, as a whole, tended to divide them into definite classes and to maintain the separation of distinct social layers. The disunity of Jamaican education, and its causes, are examined in this section, in terms of the religious, voluntary, social, economic, and governmental factors.

Establishment of Trust Schools

After its discovery by Christopher Columbus in 1494, Jamaica was colonized by the Spanish with the aid of African slave labour. No doubt schools existed under the Spanish, who relegated to the Roman Catholic Church the responsibility for the spiritual welfare of the community and the instruction of children, but the first great rift in Jamaican education occurred with the British conquest in 1655. The influx of British settlers followed soon afterwards. All traces of Spanish schools were swept away by the tide of English army and navy veterans, artisans, wealthy planters and their servants, often prisoners released from Newgate and Bridewell.¹

Unlike his New England counterpart, the English immigrant to Jamaica did not leave the mother country for religious, but for economic reasons. The planters, who imported African slaves to work on the sugar estates, established the social pattern of the country on the basis of a master-and-slave relationship between the white and black races, in addition to a stratified class structure amongst the white population, from the plantation owner through the artisans to the English and Irish indentured servants.

¹ Jamaica, Education Department, Annual Report 1951, Kingston, Government Printer, 1951, p. 1.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, when the Catholic faith was proscribed by law, the Anglican congregation became the Established Church of Jamaica. There was, therefore, no continuity in the educational practices of the two conquests. Moreover, the unity and integrating influence of the Catholic Church, which prevailed under the Spanish, gave way to religious fragmentation, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, despite the virtual monopoly of the Anglican clergy in education. As early as 1685, and throughout all of the eighteenth century, it was deemed illegal for anyone but ordained Anglican ministers to practise the art of teaching.²

The fracturing and disjointedness of Jamaican society occurred both vertically and horizontally. Separated, soon after the British conquest, into the various levels of planters, artisans, servants, negro slaves, the social medley was even further compounded by miscegenation, which introduced another distinguishing factor of degree of racial origin. The society was dismembered vertically by the influx of the nonconformist denominations during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Nor did the fact that the negroes shared a common ancestral homeland in Africa mean that they

² Ouida Wright, The Development of Education in Jamaica, unpublished master's thesis in education, McGill University, 1956, p. 32.

represented one homogeneous group. The tribes were thoroughly mixed, causing the severance of old tribal bonds; marriage was discouraged, and the family organization, amongst the slaves, was almost non-existent.³

Since it was the policy of the planters to oppose any form of organized education for slaves, no government schools existed for the majority of the Jamaican people until well into the nineteenth century. The affluent planters of the eighteenth century, who employed private tutors to instruct their children within the home, or sent them to school in England, fiercely resisted the efforts of the missionaries. They were probably motivated more by the fear of losing cheap labour than by inhumanity or prejudice.

The sons of the poorer settlers and artisans, on the other hand, were taught in small private schools by Anglican clergymen. Moreover, hundreds of legacies were bequeathed by the wealthy citizens of the colony, throughout the first century and a half of British settlement, to provide free education for 'the poor of the parish', but the mass of the people did not benefit from them. The bequests were interpreted as referring exclusively to 'free white or coloured persons', and therefore, the children of slaves were barred

³ Roger Marier, Social Work in Jamaica, Paris, UNESCO, 1953, p. 39.

from attending the endowed schools while slavery persisted. Even after the emancipation of slaves in 1834-1838, the poorer classes were, as a rule, excluded from attending the trust schools by their inability to pay fees.

The schools were generally small, enrolling only about ten pupils on an average, and since they lacked organized or official government supervision, the trust schools themselves were poorly administered and the bequests of their benefactors often mishandled or misappropriated.⁴ It was, therefore, no wonder that only a few endowed schools survived the nineteenth century. Those that remained, however, served to set a characteristic pattern which has persisted in the secondary education of Jamaica to this day.

The fact that the headmasters and staff of the institutions were, in the early years, recruited from the mother country made the English grammar school the prototype of the Jamaican trust schools. They became, in fact, one of the most divisive factors in the educational system, since they encouraged the scholars to look towards England, rather than Jamaica, for models of behaviour and excellence of achievement. Attendance at one of the trust schools became, in time, a badge of class and privilege, which entitled the individual to the coveted membership in the

4 Jamaica, Education Department, Loc. cit.

ranks of the white-collared workers. In the main, the trust schools merely represented another fence in the separation of the classes. They did not serve the people as a whole, but established the socio-economic boundaries more firmly.

Establishment of Missionary Schools

It was not until the creation of a colonial diocese in Jamaica, and the increased agitation for the abolition of slavery, that the Established Church began to concern itself seriously with the education of the negro masses. In that pre-emancipation decade, 1820-1830, the Anglican clergy established churches in various parts of the country, each with an accompanying elementary school managed by a rector or priest of the local church. The planter oligarchy, however, fearful of disturbing the status quo, persisted in opposing the instruction of slaves, and even forbade their attendance at chapel, throughout the eighteenth and the first two decades of the nineteenth centuries.

However, where the Anglicans failed to accept the challenge of teaching and christianizing the negroes in the eighteenth century, the non-conformist pioneers stepped in to establish missions throughout the fourteen parishes of the island. In defiance of the ruling planters, the Moravians, Baptist, Methodist, Wesleyan, Congregationalist, and Presbyterian missions in Jamaica began fostering the

rudimentary education of slaves long before the abolition of slavery. Buchner⁵ traced the beginnings of the Moravian mission in Jamaica to 1754; and the Baptist mission, though officially established in 1818, benefitted from the pioneer endeavours of two Baptist forerunners, Moses Baker and George Lisle, who arrived in the island in 1783.⁶ In the face of official hostility, the missionaries established 'Bible classes' and basic schools, which were to form the nucleus of the denominational elementary school system later in the nineteenth century. Yet, as late as 1826, the penalty for the instruction of a slave, without the permission of his owner, was whipping and hard labour.⁷

Since the denominational schools were, primarily, vehicles of the Christian gospel, instruction in reading and writing was incidental to the teaching of the scriptures, hymn singing, and Christian morality. The missionaries themselves taught in the schools, while monitorial assistants were chosen from older and more advanced students. Only one

5 J. H. Buchner, The Moravians in Jamaica 1754-1854, London, Longman, 1854, p. 25.

6 Clinton V. Black, Living Names in Jamaica's History, Kingston, Jamaica Welfare Ltd., 1943, p. 1.

7 W. J. Gardner, A History of Jamaica from its Discovery by Christopher Columbus to the Year 1872, London, Unwin, 1909, p. 371.

denomination, the Moravian, concerned themselves with any kind of teacher training. They founded the Refuge at Fairfield, in 1832, to function primarily as a home or asylum for "shipwrecked black African girls, a few white orphans, and brown, illegitimate children."⁸ The institution also served as a sort of basic teacher training centre, since, as soon as the inmates were literate, they were recruited as teachers in the Moravian elementary schools.

No official record exists of the number of schools established before the beginning of the apprenticeship,⁹ nor can anyone assess the contribution of each denomination with any real accuracy. That the missionaries were there, before the beginning of the emancipation period, in 1834, ready and willing to work in the cause of elementary education for the masses, was significant. But the zeal of the pioneer educators did not alleviate the disharmony and fragmentation of Jamaican society. Competition to save souls intensified religious and class barriers.

⁸ Vincent Roy D'Oyley, The Development of Teacher Education in Jamaica: 1835-1913, unpublished Ed.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1963, p. 75.

⁹ The period of the Apprenticeship refers to that four-year span, 1834-1838, when the slaves were employed on the plantations in a state of semi-bondage. Full emancipation did not occur until August 1, 1838.

2. Imperial Subsidy and Denominational Contributions

The significance of the dates 1834 and 1838, and the intervening four-year span, can hardly be overestimated, as a period of radical social change for both the white planters and the black slave population. To the planters, it represented an economic catastrophe. The liberation of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children signified the loss of free and plentiful supply of labour for the sugar plantations. To the negro, it was a new birth. The four-year apprenticeship was intended as a transition stage, when the working masses were still in a state of semi-bondage on the plantations but were paid a basic wage for their labour.

The easing of restraints during the period of apprenticeship created a widespread and urgent demand for literacy. The sudden outcry for schools produced, in turn, an unprecedented emergency to train teachers within the shortest possible time. The challenge was met by four separate agencies: the British imperial government, the various missionary societies, the philanthropic organization of the Mico Charity, and token assistance from the local government of Jamaica. The extent of the exertions of the imperial government and the denominational groups comprise the following subsections, while the contributions of the Mico Charity and the local government follow in subsequent sections of the chapter.

The Negro Education Grant

The British imperial government at Whitehall, having set in motion the machinery for social change by parliamentary legislation, did not neglect its responsibility as the mother country. By means of the Negro Education Grant, it provided the funds for new school buildings, the erection and maintenance of normal schools, and later, the payment of teachers' salaries. Of the total parliamentary donation of thirty thousand pounds ceded to the West Indies, Jamaica was allowed an annual grant of two thousand pounds during the first six-year period, beginning in 1835. In the subsequent four-year term, the funds were reduced by one-fifth each year, and ceased altogether in 1846.¹⁰

It is important to note that the imperial subsidy was not given to the local representative assembly to support negro education in the country. Instead, the funds were made directly available to the missionary groups for the provision of their schools and, especially, for the training of teachers. The local Jamaican government, still antagonistic to the whole concept of emancipation, refused to accept social change and made no effort to channel or integrate the voluntary enterprises. The administration of the grant

¹⁰ R. N. Murray, The Education of Jamaica, unpublished master's thesis in education, London University, 1947, p. 18.

remained the prerogative of the British government. Inspector Latrobe, sent out from England in 1837 to examine the use and effects of the grant, found that two hundred elementary schools were established by 1837. He estimated the total enrolment at 43,000, comprising children and adults, out of a total population of 377,000.¹¹

The inspector's report reflected credit on the exertions of the missionaries, but it criticised the low academic standards of native teachers and deplored the "rapidity with which circumstances allowed them to be transported from the lowly status of pupil to that of teacher for which they had been ill-prepared."¹² In the normal schools of the non-conformist missionaries, training lasted for only a few months and the curriculum was restricted to the 'three R's' and Bible study.

Missionary Enterprise

The three decades from 1835 to 1865 represented a period of vigorous growth in elementary education and teacher training. During those years, the denominational missionary groups initiated normal schools and experimented with schemes to train teachers quickly for the expanding

11 Jamaica, Education Department, Op. cit., p. 1.

12 D'Oyley, Loc. cit.

system of denominational elementary schools.

The first phase, which corresponded to the period of apprenticeship, saw the emergence of five denominational normal schools, of which three were Baptist, one was Anglican, and one was initiated by the Church Missionary Society--an organization related to the Anglican community.

The second phase opened with the actual emancipation on August 1, 1838. When the final moment of liberation arrived, tens of thousands of negroes abandoned the manual labour of the plantations, which they associated with the status of slavery, and sought what they saw as the only avenue for social advancement--a basic education and the tools of literacy. The missionaries, concerned primarily with spreading the Christian gospel and adding to their own denominational flocks, responded to the call for more schools and originated or expanded facilities for training teachers to cope with the flood of scholars.

No one could validly question the zeal and sincerity of the missionaries. With the aid of the British government subsidy, each denomination redoubled its efforts in the cause of education for the mass of Jamaicans, but the most characteristic shortcomings of the missionary endeavours seem to have been a complete lack of co-ordination, the splintering of facilities for teacher training, and intense competition, which hindered the sharing of accommodation

and staff. By 1842, there were twelve denominational training centres divided amongst six different missionary groups. The Moravians established a male normal school at Fairfield in 1839, the Anglicans opened their second training centre at Montego Bay, while the Baptists initiated two more normal schools, and the Presbyterians and Wesleyans also entered the field with one normal training centre each.¹³

Furthermore, the divergence in missionary teacher education, which resulted from denominational competition and jealousy, led to several ramifications in the techniques of training, which were copied from the practices at that time in vogue in the United Kingdom. The Anglicans imitated the system of Andrew Bell, with its emphasis on the monitorial technique; the Moravians experimented with the Stow system of training; the Baptists followed the Lancastrian pattern. The two institutions which differed from all other training centres were the Presbyterian Academy and the Baptist seminary, Calabar. Both catered to missionary recruits as well as functioning as teacher training centres. Specializing in an academic curriculum, they developed reputations for excellence of scholarship with little concern for the methodology of teaching, which the graduates were expected to acquire through practice in the classroom.

¹³ Ibid., p. 203.

3. Establishment of Mico Charity

That the outstanding teacher training institution in Jamaica should have originated by fortuitous circumstances seems to symbolize the haphazard beginnings and erratic growth of education in Jamaica. The initial funds, which financed the projects of the Mico Charity, were derived from the bequest of Lady Mico, who willed a part of her estate, in 1670, to purchase the freedom of Christians held captive by the Barbary pirates. Since, however, the Algerians were quelled and the prisoners released, the money was invested and held in trust for over a century and a half. In 1834, when the capital was vastly increased, the income from the compounded fund of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds was redirected by the newly-appointed trustees to foster the education of negro apprentices in the West Indies.¹⁴

Consequently, in December 1835, soon after the beginning of the apprenticeship period, the Secretary of the Mico trust, Rev. J. M. Trew, arrived in Jamaica to initiate the educational programme. Accompanied by a handful of English teachers, the secretary immediately proceeded to

¹⁴ Vincent Roy D'Oyley, Jamaica: Development of Teacher Training through the Agency of the Lady Mico Charity from 1835 to 1914, Bulletin No. 21, Ontario College of Education, University of Toronto, p. 1.

establish five day schools and three normal schools, one in each of the three counties of Jamaica. By 1841, enrolment at the normal schools reached 116, and there were 2541 scholars in attendance at Mico's elementary schools.¹⁵

The aims of the Mico Charity, which the trustees outlined at the very outset, called for "the promotion of education in general, but especially religious education, the basis of the scheme to be Holy Scriptures."¹⁶ Though the secretary himself and his successor, Rev. E. A. Wallbridge, were both ordained Anglican ministers, the non-sectarian basis of the charity was stressed, and the doors of Mico's institutions were opened to teacher trainees of all denominations. However, certain missionary groups, especially the Wesleyans and Anglicans, opposed the initial teacher training ventures of the trust until 1841 when the reduction of the imperial subsidy forced the trainees of the Established Church and the Wesleyans to seek admission to Mico's normal school at Kingstōn.

Besides the frustration of missionary prejudices, Secretary Trew had to contend with the apathy of the local government itself. For, although the Jamaican assembly formed a board of education in 1842, ostensibly to take

15 Murray, Op. cit., p. 17.

16 Frank Cundall, The Mico College, Jamaica, p. 10, cited by Vincent Roy D'Oyley, Op. cit., p. 1.

over the support and control of education in the island, its total grant for the year was only one thousand pounds for all educational provisions. Even when the allowance was increased to two thousand pounds in 1844, it was still so inadequate that the board could do little more than make plans and recommend its schemes to the government with little or no hope for their realization.¹⁷

Thwarted by the failure of his projects for training coloured candidates, many of whom used the period of normal school training as a stepping stone to more lucrative employment, the secretary later looked to the negroes themselves as the main source of recruitment for teaching.¹⁸ Moreover, the reduction of British parliamentary assistance was another major blow, which caused the Mico Charity to close its day schools, to terminate teacher training for women at the Kingston normal school, and to reduce enrolment at the training centre after 1842. At the same time, the length of training at the one remaining Mico normal school at Kingston was raised to three years.¹⁹

17 Murray, Op. cit., p. 26.

18 The distinction is made here between persons of mixed ancestry and those who were of pure, or almost pure, African ancestry.

19 D'Oyley, Op. cit., p. 19.

In 1845, the Board of Education made a feeble attempt to amalgamate its endeavours with Mico's normal school by promoting a series of lectures in agriculture at the Kingston centre. However, since the venture was met with suspicion and hostility from all sides, the effort proved futile. The Jamaican masses associated the entire concept of industrial education with the humiliation of slavery, and they identified the source of the scheme as the planter-dominated House of Assembly.²⁰

Having failed to engage the wholehearted support of Mico's officers to foster its programme for manual training, the Board of Education refused to subsidize teacher training at Mico, and opened its own normal school in 1847. However, doomed from the outset by the attacks of the missionaries and by the resentment of the people, the government institution was closed in 1851 after functioning for only four years. Meanwhile, Mico continued to shun the government's schemes for industrial training and retained its three-year course consisting mainly of Scripture, CIPHERING, Writing, Geography, and Methodology.²¹

20 Shirley Gordon, The Development of Teacher Training in the West Indies, introductory chapter in Elsa Walters, Teacher Training Colleges in the West Indies, London, Oxford, University Press, 1960, p. 4.

21 D'Oyley, Op. cit., p. 17.

Hence, the period from 1851 to 1865 was one of slow progress and very little competition in teacher education. The loss of the British government funds, and the refusal of the local government to shoulder the responsibility for preparing teachers, led to financial embarrassment amongst the denominational groups and forced the closure of all but five normal schools. Two of the remaining institutions, the Baptist Calabar and the Presbyterian Academy, functioned as seminaries for missionaries as well as being teacher training centres. The Moravians operated both Fairfield and Refuge with the help of private philanthropic funds, and, even after the closure of the Refuge, they continued their female training programme at Bethabara from 1861.²²

Without the confidence of the missionaries, or the officers of the Mico Charity, and with sparse resources to support its schemes, the Board of Education could not function as an integrative agency. It did attempt to introduce a system of school inspection by the appointment of Inspector Savage in 1864,²³ and to place the pupil teacher

22 The Moravian centre at Bethabara functioned until 1889 when the institution was moved to Salem, where it was operated in temporary quarters until new accommodation was completed at its present site at Bethlehem in the Malvern hills of St. Elizabeth.

23 Wright, *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

system on a proper footing; but its efforts were shattered by the hostility of the people themselves and the refusal of missionary educators to accept its leadership.

4. Government Support and Control: 1866-1895

The smoldering resentment of the masses soon flared into open revolt. The riot, which erupted at Morant Bay in 1865, was triggered by the economic depression resulting from the collapse of the sugar trade, but its basic cause can be traced, as well, to the refusal of the so-called 'Representative Assembly' of Jamaica to orient its attitudes and administration to the new social conditions which were initiated by the emancipation of the slaves three decades previously. The uprising was not the mere expression of sudden anger by the working class alone; it was supported by segments of the middle class and encouraged by the sympathy of many educated Jamaicans. Though the rioters were subdued by superior government force, the situation was serious enough to prompt an imperial inquiry, which in turn led to a radical constitutional change in the government of Jamaica.

Officially, the new constitution became effective on October 11, 1865, when the island reverted to a system of crown colony government under the administration of

Governor Sir John Peter Grant.²⁴ A strong and vigorous organizer, Grant immediately attacked the problems of education. He strengthened the authority of Superintending Inspector Savage and established the general control of grant-aided schools under a department of education. Thus, teacher training and the inspection of schools became matters of major concern to the new government.

What is particularly significant in the changes which the Grant administration instituted is that they formed the basic pattern, the modus operandi, of the Jamaican system of education. Though the reforms were based on Inspector Savage's personal knowledge of conditions in the 289 denominational schools he visited throughout 1864 and 1865,²⁵ the changes which Savage proposed did not emanate from his own mind alone. The specific nature of the reforms were heavily influenced by the fact that similar events had occurred in England four years previously. The concept of 'payment-by-results', for example, did not originate with Governor Grant or Inspector Savage; it was the brain child of Robert Lowe, who, as Vice-President of the English Department of

²⁴ Jamaica Information Service, The Handbook of Jamaica for 1963, Kingston, Government Printers, 1963, p. 42.

²⁵ Wright, Op. cit., p. 42.

Education, was the chief architect of the British Education Code of 1860 and, especially, the Revised Code of 1862.²⁶

Besides, it was more than coincidence that the reforms of Jamaican education were characterized by that same kind of structured and rigid authoritarianism as the regulations which Lowe introduced into the English system to govern the granting of government subsidies. There seems little doubt that Inspector Savage adopted the identical educational theories and administrative practices at that time prevalent in England. Hence, Robert Lowe's infamous scheme became the keynote of the Jamaican system through the Code of Regulations.²⁷

The system of grants, which began in 1867, was intended to apply to the total number of 379 denominational government-aided schools, nearly half of which were Anglican; but the non-conformists continued to resist state interference and delayed the initial establishment of the schemes until their own sphere of influence was guaranteed. By 1870, however, four hundred schools were inspected. In that same year, new educational regulations provided for the

²⁶ S. J. Curtis, History of Education in Great Britain, London, University Tutorial Press, 1943, p. 150.

²⁷ Jamaica, Government Regulations with regard to Grants in Aid of Elementary Schools Promulgated July 1867 and Circular of the Inspector of Schools relating thereto, Spanish Town, Jamaica, Government Printers, 1867.

formation of local school boards with the power to raise money from rates to provide schools in those areas of the country where there was insufficient pupil accommodation. This represented the beginning of government schools in Jamaica, and, consequently, the total number of elementary schools rose to over seven hundred before the end of the century.²⁸

Unlike the previous government, the new crown colony administration did not rely on religious groups to foster its agricultural training and industrial education schemes. Instead, it opened model schools at carefully selected sites in the rural parts of the island. The first two, located at Bath and Falmouth, were started in 1868; a year later, two other model schools were initiated at Montego Bay and Port Maria.²⁹ These model centres were intended to propagate industrial education. They were also to be used to initiate new methods of teaching, and to provide the right climate for the apprenticeship of pupil-teachers.

In his enthusiasm to succeed where his predecessors failed, Inspector Savage did not reckon on the force of native prejudice against manual labour or on the disruptive

²⁸ Wright, Loc. cit.

²⁹ D'Oyley, The Development of Teacher Education in Jamaica: 1835-1913, p. 321.

power of the church leaders, who resented the intrusion of government into an area which they considered to be their special domain. Besides, the English teachers, who were brought in to operate the scheme, failed to adapt to the particular conditions of teaching in rural Jamaica.

To train teachers properly oriented in industrial skills and the special methods of teaching the practical subjects, and to offset the lack of success with the model schools, the Grant administration proceeded to open two government teacher training colleges, one at Stony Hill in 1870, and the other--a small rural institution--at Port Antonio in 1872. Each college was operated in conjunction with an industrial model school.³⁰

However, the zeal of the new government was not sufficient to overcome the negative attitudes to manual training which had been engendered in the Jamaican masses by the years of servitude. Hence, the Port Antonio college lasted only two years, and the major government institution, which was removed to Kingston and thence to Spanish Town in 1875 and 1876, was forced to abandon the training course for industrial school teachers and raised its academic standards, instead, to include classical studies in Latin and Greek.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 325-327.

In fact, the government ventures in teacher training helped raise the academic standards of recruits and trainees in all the other voluntary colleges as well, when candidates for the training course at Stony Hill were, for the first time, selected on the basis of an academic examination. Furthermore, in 1877, the Jamaican government adopted another English teacher training concept, the pupil teacher system, which owed its origins to Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, who advocated the scheme in England in 1846.³¹

The pupil-teacher system was a definite improvement over the widespread practice of using monitors to assist the regular teachers in the elementary schools. They were paid a monthly wage according to level of attainment, which required a minimum of Standard Six, the highest elementary grade, and the whole scheme for the employment and promotion of pupil-teachers was systematized in the Code of Regulations. Besides, the scheme had the advantage of cheapness in a country where money was scarce, and it helped to staff the growing number of schools which, by 1884, rose to 701. Unfortunately, it was retained in its original form for many years beyond the point where it was either practical or necessary; but, at that particular juncture in Jamaica's history, the pupil-teacher system filled a very real need.

³¹ Curtis, Op. cit., pp. 137-139.

The government continued its many-pronged attack upon the problems of academic and teaching standards in the colleges by awarding teachers' certificates for the first time in 1882. By granting three grades of certificates, each one corresponding to one year of successful college study, the pattern was laid for many years to come. The full training period could thus be broken up into three units to allow external candidates to write the examinations. The motivation of students and staffs of the voluntary colleges was assured by the grant of fifteen pounds for each resident student who passed the teachers' examination.³² Later on, grants to each voluntary college were paid on the successes of candidates on the annual examinations. It was the logical extension into the training colleges of the Robert Lowe system of payment-by-results.

Consequently, the years from 1866 to 1894 saw a gradual increase in training college enrolment and a cumulative expansion of government subsidies for teacher training. In 1872, when the government college at Port Antonio was founded, there were seven centres altogether. Of these, Calabar, Academy, Fairfield and Bethabara were denominational; Stony Hill and Port Antonio were government owned, and Mico was operated by the Mico Charity. Yet, when Port

³² D'Oyley, Op. cit., p. 327.

Antonio and Academy were closed, in 1874 and 1875 respectively, the total annual enrolment of teacher trainees continued to rise.³³

Of the five training colleges remaining after 1875, the Moravian centre at Bethabara, with a roll of only eight students, was the sole institution for training women teachers. The appointment of a local government commission to investigate elementary education, in 1885, however, signified the beginning of a new era of government enterprise, particularly in preparing women to teach in the elementary schools. As an answer to popular and missionary requests, Shortwood College for women was founded by the government in the parish of St. Andrew. Though the college remained small, with an annual enrolment of ten students, it was important as a definite trend in Jamaican teacher training, and although the institution was wholly owned by government, it was operated as an inter-denominational college.

In that same year, the government expanded its support of all the colleges. Mico, which remained the largest institution throughout the century, received additional subsidies after 1885 to cover the maintenance of thirty students, while the Mico Charity itself continued to support twenty trainees annually. Besides, when the Spanish Town

³³ Loc. cit.

government college was finally closed in 1890, the number of government-sponsored students at Mico was increased to forty annually, and the college was then forced to seek new and enlarged quarters and staff.³⁴

Similar arrangements were made at the denominational colleges. Annual enrolment at Calabar, between 1885 and 1895, averaged twenty; at Fairfield, the roll approximated thirty students each year. Government funds maintained about two-thirds of the total enrolment at each college, except Bethabara, which was fully underwritten by government subsidies. Enrolment at the Moravian centre for women remained small until after 1891, when the college was relocated at a new site in the parish of St. Elizabeth at Bethlehem in the rural district of Malvern. Accommodation at the college rose to twenty students annually, and the institution was thereafter known as Bethlehem Training College.

Although the expansion of the colleges in the latter part of the nineteenth century seemed to indicate the ideal partnership between Church and State, in reality, the administration of teacher training and elementary education tended to become more and more centralized because of the stipulations of the Code of Regulations. The total

³⁴ D'Oyley, Jamaica: Development of Teacher Training through the Agency of the Lady Mico Charity from 1895 to 1914, p. 45.

educational structure lacked co-ordination at the top. There was little representation of the religious groups at the policy-making level until 1892 when the Board of Education was reconstituted with Enos Nuttall, an outstanding Anglican bishop and educator, as vice-president. In that same year, the title of Supervising Inspector of Schools, created in 1866, was changed to Director of Education; elementary school fees were abolished and an education tax levied instead; furthermore, no new schools could receive government aid without the recommendation of the Board of Education.³⁵

Despite the fact that elementary education and teacher training remained, to a large extent, in the hands of church leaders and voluntary agencies, their curricular and administrative structure left little room for experimentation or variation. In order to qualify for government grants, the schools and colleges had to produce students and teachers in the manner prescribed in the code. Under the circumstances, the trend was more and more towards an academic bias, with less attention being paid to dogma and Bible study; and, in almost all the colleges, except Bethlehem, industrial education all but disappeared.

However, in his dual capacity as vice-president of the Board of Education and chairman of Mico's board of

³⁵ Jamaica, Education Department, *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

trustees, Bishop Nuttall stressed the need for curricular changes. He used the platform of the Jamaica Union of Teachers, formed in 1894, to exhort teachers to work towards higher professional standards and to underline the need for a teacher training programme which would be based less on the sentiments of a by-gone age and more on the realities of the emerging social pattern and industrial needs of Jamaica.

In the thirty years since the radical constitutional changes in the island's administration in 1866, enrolment and attendance at elementary schools doubled every ten years. In 1894, the Board of Education seriously contemplated the introduction of compulsory elementary school attendance for all Jamaican children from the ages of seven to eleven years. The ambitious plans of the board were damned by the severe economic depression of 1895, which was sufficiently serious to call for another Royal Commission to investigate the conditions of the colony. Once again, as had happened thirty years previously, Jamaica's educational system was to be overhauled as a result of economic depression and intercession by Whitehall. The causes and effects of the investigation, which comprise the contents of the following section, affected every segment of Jamaican education with far-reaching consequences stretching into the twentieth century. Coincidentally, the most significant changes in Jamaican education occurred at the very turn of the century.

5. Causes and Effects of the Lumb Commission:
1895-1899

No one can hope to disentangle the educational history of Jamaica in the twentieth century without examining the main causes and effects of the investigations and recommendations of the Lumb Commission.³⁶ The report was, in fact, the hub in the wheel of change. The arguments which the commission expounded in its report, and the implemented recommendations, provide the key for unravelling the trends and the main tendency of the Jamaican educational system, during the first four decades of the twentieth century.

The appointment of the Lumb Commission stemmed from the investigations of the Norman Royal Commission, which was assigned by the colonial administration at Whitehall to investigate the social and economic problems of the island following the economic depression of 1895. The local team, chosen because of personal knowledge and experience of the educational conditions, was led by Fuisne Judge Charles Lumb, and included Bishop Nuttall, whose work has already been mentioned, and Rev. William Gillies, principal of Mico College at that time.

Charged with a brief for economy, as well as increased efficiency, the team had the dual task of planning

³⁶ Charles Frederick Lumb et al, Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the System of Education in Jamaica, Kingston, Government Printers, 1898.

to curtail the educational budget, while, at the same time, trying to improve the efficiency of the system. Thus, the team had to contend with the traditional fragmentation of the school system and the stratification of the social classes while attempting to cut costs. Furthermore, the commission was expected to make specific recommendations to rectify the unsuitable type of education in the elementary schools, which specialized in a worship of theoretical instruction and stereotyped textbook methods to the virtual exclusion of manual and agricultural training, which the missionaries and the people themselves had persisted in rejecting for half a century.

The causes of the people's aversion to manual training, as shown in a previous section, were rooted in the pre-emancipation conditions of slavery; and despite the efforts of the government to introduce industrial education, the prejudice against manual labour remained a major factor in the organization of schools and their curriculum.

From the administrative viewpoint, the commission was faced with the lack of any overall organizational plan for the provision of schools, and consequently, with the overlapping of small denominational schools in some areas and insufficient accommodation for pupils in other regions. The team, therefore, recommended the amalgamation of many small schools, which reduced the total number of elementary

schools from nine hundred to almost seven hundred. Furthermore, it recommended that the length of elementary school attendance should be reduced to five years, from age seven to twelve years, instead of the usual term of nine years. The commission further called for the establishment of kindergarten and infant schools, and recommended that the model elementary school, established in 1896, should be devoted to the practice of kindergarten and manual training methods. The Hope Industrial School should form the nucleus of a system of farm schools.

When it came to investigate curricula, the commission found that the unsuitable form of teacher training in Jamaica was the principal factor in determining the bookishness and stereotyped methods of teaching in the elementary schools. The commission blamed the highly academic training programme of the training colleges for the unreal situation in the elementary schools; the report focussed, as well, on the obvious lack of manual training at most colleges.

Instead of looking at Jamaican education as one entire unit, including the grammar school system, the Lumb Commission coupled elementary education and teacher training as belonging together. Hence, one of the main defects in the commission's approach was that it accepted the stratification of the society without question and, therefore, it did not attempt to find the means of merging the two systems

under one comprehensive administrative structure; nor did it attempt to integrate, in any way, the two school systems. Apparently, the commission took for granted that the social patterns were fixed, and would remain so for some time; it failed to contemplate the possibilities of providing scholarships at the grammar schools for teacher recruits. Thus, the team failed to utilize the full potentialities of the grammar schools to prepare candidates for teaching in the elementary schools.

In fact, rather than using the grammar schools to improve the preparation of candidates for teaching, the Lunb Commission concentrated on a simplification of the training programme. Instruction in Latin, French and Higher Mathematics was relinquished, while the academic content of the college programme was diluted and 'practical' subjects of Manual Training, Hand and Eye Training, Infant and Kindergarten Methods, and Domestic Economy were substituted. In other words, the aims of the new syllabus, as recommended by the Lunb Commission, were primarily to train the college students in the actual subjects to be taught in the elementary schools, while stressing the practical arts of school management and manual training.

It was, therefore, logical for the team to single out the Moravian women's centre at Bethlehem for special praise. The Moravian scheme for preparing women teachers

in the skills of domestic economy became the model, and Bethlehem's principal was recruited to introduce a similar programme at Shortwood from 1896 to 1898. The same reasoning determined the closing of two denominational colleges of long standing, the Baptist Calabar and the Moravian male centre at Fairfield, because their facilities were deemed inadequate to provide training in agriculture and manual skills.

Instead of the academically oriented training course, which normally lasted three years at each college, the new simplified programme of training was reduced to two years with a third year for exceptional students. Moreover, in order to discourage the trained graduates from abandoning the classroom, every teacher recruit was required to contract to teach for a certain number of years or refund the cost of training, and in addition, the civil service was made inaccessible to teachers.³⁷

The publication of the Lumb Report in 1898 led to retrenchment in the government department of education and in training college staffs, as well as the closure of Calabar and Fairfield. The recommendations of the commission, which were contained in the revised code,³⁸ became the core

³⁷ Murray, Op. cit., p. 55.

³⁸ Jamaica, Education Department, Code of Regulations, Kingston, Government Printers, 1902.

of Jamaican elementary education and teacher training.

The report is not only significant because of the retrograde steps which followed, but mainly because of the lasting effects which it had on the organization of schools and teacher education. However, the inclusion of manual training and practical subjects enriched the elementary school syllabus, and, as Murray pointed out, it must also be remembered that "economy in expenditure was their raison d'être and that education was not the only service that underwent paring."³⁹ Nevertheless, it can hardly be gainsaid that a golden opportunity was missed to recruit the services of the grammar schools and to fuse the various teacher training agencies under one multi-denominational institution in order to utilize more efficiently the available accommodation and staff of Mico and the religious colleges.

Denominational jealousy and prejudice influenced the decisions of the commission. The result was a continuation of the barriers between the grammar and elementary school systems, and the perpetuation of all but two voluntary colleges with small and separated training facilities. For the subsequent four decades after the publication of the Lumb Report, fragmentation, a rigid syllabus, and insufficient staff and accommodation remained as the chief flaws.

³⁹ Murray, Op. cit., p. 58.

6. A Period of Comparative Stagnation: 1900-1940

As the twentieth century began, elementary education and teacher training were not simply pruned by the axe of expedience, which the Lumb Commission wielded with such telling force; the growth of the educational organism was stunted for forty years. Government legislation, following the publications of the report and its recommendations, established the status quo and the revised Code of Regulations perpetuated it. Despite the introduction of practical subjects, and the stress on methodology and school management at the elementary and teacher training levels, the educational system of the country suffered a serious setback.

The statistics in population and school attendance throughout the forty years clearly illustrate the stagnation which characterized the period. From 104,149 pupils on the books of elementary schools in 1894-1895, enrolment fell to 86,491 in 1905.⁴⁰ By 1916, average attendance was only six hundred more than it was in 1894, yet there were thirty thousand more children of school age in 1916. Moreover, in the fifty years from 1894 to 1944, the population almost doubled, rising from 665,000 to 1,290,000, but the average attendance of elementary school pupils rose from 64,700 to

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 66.

114,743.⁴¹ Hence, the comparative proportion of average attendance remained practically unchanged during the period.

The same sluggishness marked the growth of the island's teacher training. The pupil-teacher system, which permitted direct entry from the elementary schools, continued to be the main avenue for the recruitment and pre-college training of teachers. Despite changes in the pupil-teacher examinations, introduced in 1882, the programme remained a mere continuation of the sixth standard of the elementary school graded into three successive annual stages, and it continued as the main qualification for intending teachers.

The dual system of Jamaican education, heavily influenced by the English educational institutions of the nineteenth century, did not continue to benefit from the innovations of English twentieth century legislation and practice. For example, Jamaica was unaffected by the Balfour-Morant Act of 1902, which established the local education authorities throughout England to co-ordinate elementary and higher education as 'steps in the ladder' from the elementary school to university. Though the Jamaica Schools Commission was established as early as 1879 to manage endowed schools, the grammar schools remained separated from the elementary level. Nor did the small proportion of free-place scholars

41 Wright, *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

provide an effective bridge between the two systems; they merely allowed a few pupils to move from one social class to another.

The Hadow Report of 1926, which introduced the concept of diversification into English secondary education, did not affect Jamaica either. The traditional nineteenth-century concepts persisted in the organization and methods of the Jamaican elementary schools, and the system of payment-by-results lingered; even in the latter part of the period, teachers' promotions and salary increases were still dependent upon the achievements of the school and the annual one-day inspection.⁴²

The lag in the progress of teacher training was intensified by the retention of the Code of Regulations in administering elementary and teacher education; the English Handbook of Suggestions, which Morant issued in 1905 to replace the elementary syllabus in English elementary schools, was not adopted in Jamaica. The scale of marks and subjects of the teachers' colleges of Jamaica, outlined in Table I on page 40, illustrate the predominance of the 'three R's' and School Management in the college curriculum. Schedule B of the code left no room for experimentation by individual institutions, since the examinations, as well as the subjects

42 Murray, Op. cit., p. 56.

Table I.- Subjects and Scale of Marks in
Jamaican Teachers' Colleges in 1940.

| Subject | Marks |
|---|-------|
| Reading and Recitation | 120 |
| Writing | 120 |
| English | 200 |
| Arithmetic and Algebra | 200 |
| School Management | 200 |
| Scripture and Morals | 150 |
| Geography | 120 |
| History | 120 |
| Science | 120 |
| Physiology and Hygiene | 120 |
| Manual Training or Domestic subjects | 150 |
| Geometry | 120 |
| Vocal Music | 120 |
| Drawing | 120 |

Code of Regulations of the
Education Department, 1945, p. 21.

of the teacher training course, were established as part of the regulations and remained virtually unchanged throughout the whole forty-year period.

The Training College Pattern

The inactivity in the growth of teacher training during the twentieth century was relieved by one redeeming event--the opening of the Roman Catholic teacher training institution, St. Joseph's College for women. Though the centre was actually started in 1897, it is considered as part of the twentieth century period, since its initial development did not affect teacher training as a whole to any marked degree. Its commencement at that particular juncture, however, when the Lumb Commission was still embarked on its extensive investigations, and when two denominational colleges---Calabar and Fairfield--were just on the point of closing, was particularly significant.⁴³

Despite its humble beginnings, St. Joseph's prospered because of the tenacity of its founders and because its inauguration was prompted by Bishop Gordon's resolve to train Roman Catholic teachers to operate the Catholic elementary schools of the country. Beginning with an enrolment of five teacher-trainees, recruited by Father Lynch, a Roman Catholic

⁴³ D'Oyley, The Development of Teacher Education in Jamaica, p. 361.

priest, the initial staff consisted of only one Franciscan nun, Sister Mary Dolores, and although during the first two decades of its existence, St. Joseph's enrolment did not exceed ten students, yet it survived the difficulties of the first years. By 1940, there were thirty-six students enrolled at the college, and it was firmly entrenched as an integral part of the training college pattern.⁴⁴

Since St. Joseph's was originally founded as part of a compound of two elementary schools, one convent, and a high school, the initial cost of maintenance of the college was kept low; and furthermore, Bishop Gordon's design for the training of Catholic women teachers was in harmony with the government's scheme to encourage more women to teach in the elementary schools of the country. Since the Roman Catholic leaders supported the government's industrial education projects, the Catholic institution received financial subsidy from government funds which helped to tide it over the critical stages of initial growth.

However, particularly in the first decade, it was the Moravian centre for women at Bethlehem which received the most enthusiastic support of government. In fact, the college became the model for practical training in Cooking, Laundry Work and Needlecraft, and the teaching and residential

⁴⁴ Sister M. Bartholomew (principal), Extracts from Reports to the Board of Management.

facilities were gradually extended through government assistance. Enrolment rose from approximately twenty students to an average of forty throughout the third and fourth decades of the century.

Shortwood, the government-owned college, was the third centre for women teachers. The inception of the institution, which signified the beginning of a new stage of co-operation between Church and State in teacher education, was hastened by the enthusiastic support of religious and political leaders for the training of women teachers. However, the college remained small during the first stage of its existence. From its beginnings in 1885 to 1895, Shortwood accommodated a total of only 103 students, of which no more than sixty-nine completed the full term of three years, but the twentieth century saw a continuous extension of enrolment at the college,⁴⁵ and, by 1940, there were forty-one students in residence.

When Calabar and Fairfield were closed, as a result of the Lumb Report, Mico became the sole institution for training male teachers for the schools of Jamaica. Mico's survival was never questioned since it was not only the oldest teacher training centre, but also the largest, the best organized, and the most heavily endowed by charity. Moreover, it was inter-denominational; it had developed the

45. D'Oyley, Op. cit., p. 41.

tradition of religious tolerance; and, it had upheld reasonably high standards of training and service throughout its long history. In addition, when the government college at Spanish Town closed in 1890, Mico became the training centre for all male government-sponsored students. Consequently, enrolment at Mico averaged seventy trainees, including twelve from the Leeward Islands and British Guiana, as the century began. When the foreign students were withdrawn in the thirties, Mico continued to accommodate between fifty and sixty students, of whom one third were financed by the Mico Charity and two-thirds by government funds.⁴⁶

The concentration on agriculture and manual crafts emphasized the importance of Mico College as the central agency for preparing male teachers, as well as providing in-service training in the practical subjects, and for promoting better methods of teaching amongst practising teachers. It was at Mico that the elementary head teachers were trained; hence, the college was singularly important in shaping the theory and practice of teacher training and elementary education in the country.

Unfortunately, Mico's training programme was straight-jacketed by the rigidity of the Code of Regulations. The faculty did not set the annual examinations; it did not help

46 Ibid., p. 534-540.

to formulate the training curriculum; it was forced to function within the limits imposed by government officers; moreover, the institution suffered from inbreeding, since some of its own graduates returned to the college as instructors without ever having passed through the grammar school system or a university. It suffered, too, from inadequate staffing and training facilities, and from that same inertia which typified Jamaican education in the forty years of the period.

The Supply of Secondary School Teachers

The continued separation of the elementary and secondary levels of schools contributed to the inbreeding of ideas and a repetition of faulty methods of teaching within the grammar schools, as well as in the elementary schools. Similar causes can be attributed at both levels. Except in a few rare cases, the Jamaican secondary school teachers had never attended, or ever intended to attend, Mico College or one of the other three teacher training centres which remained in the twentieth century. Hence, the teachers were split in the same way as the school systems even in their professional organizations. Secondary school teachers belonged to the Association of Assistant Masters and Mistresses, while elementary school staffs were members of the Jamaica Union of Teachers.

Student enrolment and management of the grammar schools were as varied as staff qualifications. Of the twenty-three secondary grammar schools operating in the island in 1940, ten were trust schools, eleven were operated by denominational groups, and two were government-owned; all were fee-paying, aided by government funds, and enrolment ranged from 37 in one school to 344 in the largest, with an age span amongst pupils from nine to nineteen years. Only seventeen percent of the total grammar school teachers possessed teaching certificates of any kind, and only thirty-seven percent were university graduates.⁴⁷ Qualifications ranged through five recognized categories from trained honours graduates to untrained assistants with nothing more than the Cambridge School Certificate.

Furthermore, two other aspects of the staff arrangements of the grammar schools point up traditional defects in the secondary system. In the first place, the practice of employing Anglican ministers to operate the original trust schools of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries led to the custom of engaging a number of English-born teachers in the grammar schools even as late as 1940. As a consequence, the scholars were often unconsciously influenced to look away from their own island home towards the mother country for

⁴⁷ Jamaica, Education Department, Annual Report 1939-1940, Kingston, Government Printers, 1940, p. 2.

their social and intellectual orientation. It is also true to say that the circumstances of many of the grammar schools engendered racial barriers, since the grammar school students were, in the main, sons and daughters of white or near-white middle-class Jamaicans, who regarded white-collared jobs as their special prerogative. In the second place, the fact that thirty percent of the teachers had no qualifications higher than the Cambridge School Certificate, or the London University matriculation, shows that the grammar schools operated a sort of pupil-teacher system resembling the organized pupil-teacher scheme in the elementary schools, except that, in the case of the grammar schools, there were no stated policies or regulations; it was merely a cheap and expedient way of solving the recurrent staff shortage.

It was, in fact, those very defects discussed in this section which caught the attention of the Moyne Commission of 1939, and which led to an intensive investigation of post-primary education in Jamaica between 1940 and 1944, the circumstances and deliberations of which are outlined in some detail in the subsequent chapter and which is intended to form the basis of judgment of the progress in Jamaican teacher education in the twenty years after 1940.

Summary

This chapter, which was devoted to the development of education and teacher training in Jamaica from 1655 to 1940, comprised four distinct periods of development, each with its own characteristic trend. The first section, in which the foundations of education in Jamaica were traced to the trust schools of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, provided the underlying causes of the dual system of schools which ensued in the nineteenth century. It was shown that the division of the school systems, and the fragmentation of the educational facilities, was based on the social, racial, and economic barriers which grew out of a sugar economy based on slave labour.

The second section was concerned with the effects of the imperial grant, donated by the British parliament in 1834 to assist in the education of the liberated negroes and their children; the consequent expansion of missionary enterprise, in elementary education and teacher training, was also outlined and the fact that the missionaries vied with each other in their determination to provide basic schools and teacher training was illustrated.

The third section was also devoted to the expansion of voluntary endeavours through the Mico Charity in the first phase of vigorous expansion after the abolition of slavery from 1835 to 1865.

The intensification of government support and control, following the constitutional changes of 1866, was given in the fourth section, which also sketched the events of the latter part of the century when the efforts of the government officers to introduce industrial education into teacher training were frustrated by the resistance of the masses. In the fifth section, the reasons for the formation of the Lumb Commission, and the measures it recommended, were briefly discussed. The closing of Fairfield and Calabar, the emphasis on domestic economy at Bethlehem and the other two women's centres, and the focus on manual crafts and agriculture at Mico, were all seen as part of the effects of the Lumb Report.

In the sixth and final section of the chapter, it was shown that the Lumb recommendations fixed the administration of teacher training and the whole period was marked by comparative stagnation. Subsections outlining the emergence of the Roman Catholic St. Joseph's as part of the pattern of colleges in the twentieth century, were intended to provide orientation and background information, so that the investigations of 1940-1945, outlined in the subsequent chapter, may be viewed in their proper perspective.

CHAPTER II

EVALUATION BY EXPERTS: 1938-1944

At the beginning of World War II, Jamaican education stood at the same level of maturity as did English education at the turn of the century. The most pressing educational needs of the previous era had been to provide sufficient elementary school places for a growing child population and to supply enough teachers through the pupil teacher system and training colleges. Secondary education, provided through the grammar schools, was still regarded as something quite distinct from elementary education and, though a small proportion of children from public elementary schools did manage to enter the endowed secondary schools through free-place scholarships, the two levels of schools remained parallel and separate. As in the English system during the latter nineteenth century, Jamaica's pre-war elementary education and teacher training were linked and controlled through a Code of Regulations while the grammar schools remained largely in the hands of private philanthropic and religious agencies.

Thus, during the period under review in this chapter, the island's educators were confronted with the same set of problems as Sir Robert Morant faced in 1900 in England. There was a need for the co-ordination of the

various levels and kinds of institutions, for an expansion of elementary school places to meet the needs of universal primary school attendance, and for considerable extension of the teacher-training facilities to cater to the proposed increase of elementary and secondary schools. Moreover, the administrators of Jamaican education, and the teachers themselves, had to redefine their basic philosophy of education and replace nineteenth-century concepts with modern theories and practice.

The post-war reforms of the island's education in general, and teacher training in particular, were instigated by a series of investigations contained in four documents referred to as the Moyne Report,¹ the Hammond Report,² the Kandel Report³ and the Easter Report.⁴ These follow a

1 Lord Moyne (Chairman) et al, West India Royal Commission 1938-1939, Recommendations, (Cmd. 6174), London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1940, 30 p.

2 S. A. Hammond, Recommendations to the Comptroller of Development and Welfare in the West Indies, Kingston, Government Printers, 1941, 20 p.

3 I. L. Kandel (Chairman) et al, Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the System of Secondary Education in Jamaica, Kingston, Government Printers, 1943, 26 p.

4 B. H. Easter (Chairman) et al, A Plan for Post-Primary Education in Jamaica, Kingston, Government Printers, 1946, 45 p.

chronological sequence and each one represents one definite developmental stage in the series of inquiry. Thus, the critical evaluation of the reports, as they relate to teacher training, should provide further insight into the pre-war conditions of education in the island and the proposals for post-war reform.

The primary aim of the chapter, however, is to isolate the main points of criticism in the reports of Kandel and Easter as they concern the needed reforms in teacher education at the college and pre-college levels. Since the Easter Report was really a continuation of the Kandel Report, the two are treated together in the third section as different aspects of the same report--the first providing the policy while the second outlines the practical. In the fourth section, the attempt is made to isolate and expand the main errors of the reports, while the fifth section of the chapter, which summarizes the relevant recommendations of Kandel and Easter, is intended to serve as the criteria for evaluating the pattern and progress of teacher training, between 1945 and 1960, in the subsequent chapters of the study.

1. The Moyne Commission

In the years before the war, unemployment was widespread throughout the West Indies. The general depression

of the thirties, which had such drastic effects in Europe and America, was also keenly felt in Jamaica. Wages were low and manual workers, especially, subsisted at a minimal standard of living.⁵ With no organization for uniting the workers, employers were able to fix their own wage levels in the certain knowledge that there were thousands of unemployed ready and willing to grasp at any opportunity for making a living.

In such circumstances, Alexander Bustamante, the first of the union organizers in the island, gained his reputation as the champion of the people. Despite harrassment, arrest and imprisonment, he persisted in stirring up the workers and proceeded to found the first union for stevedores, agricultural workers, domestic servants, and manual labourers. The labour movement soon spread to the other trades, and Bustamante himself became the head of a political party, the Jamaica Labour Party, which drew its members from the various unions.⁶

At the same time, Norman Manley, an outstanding Jamaican barrister and cousin of Bustamante, was striving

⁵ Roger Marier, Social Welfare Work in Jamaica, Paris, UNESCC, 1953, p. 43.

⁶ Great Britain, Central Office of Information, Jamaica, monograph prepared for United Kingdom Information Service, Ottawa, No. R.3966, September 1958, p. 22.

to effect political changes leading to eventual self-government. Having pioneered in the establishment of Jamaica Welfare Limited, a social welfare organization for co-operative self-help and improvement of adult literacy, Manley later became the head of the People's National Party. Committed to social, economic and political reform, this party took on socialist tendencies and was later to form the opposition to the labour party.⁷

It became increasingly evident that the organizations of Bustamante and Manley were neither haphazard nor superficial, but represented a definite change in political thinking from an indifference to colonial rule to national awareness. Demands for better wages led to a general strike throughout the country, followed by a series of violent eruptions. Moreover, the uprisings which soon spread to other parts of the West Indies, were supported by members of the middle class, professional men, business executives, as well as manual workers.

The disturbances were sufficiently serious and widespread to demand immediate action from the British imperial government at Whitehall. Consequently, the West India Royal Commission was appointed to study the social and economic problems in Jamaica and other British West

⁷ Roger Marier, Op. Cit., p. 15.

Indian colonies, and to recommend measures to alleviate depressed conditions. The commission, which consisted of ten highly selected members under the chairmanship of Lord Moyne, arrived in Jamaica in October, 1938, to commence a series of investigations which lasted for just over a year.⁸

The Moyne Report, as the document is generally referred to, was completed after the outbreak of war and submitted to the British government on December 21st, 1939. The report makes clear that the commission did not content itself with superficial expedients but directed its recommendations towards a long-term plan of carefully organized developmental stages touching on several aspects of the social and economic life of the West Indies. The following extract from the report summarizes the team's point of view:

. . . Serious discontent was often widespread in West Indian colonies during the nineteenth century; occasional uprisings occurred, leading sometimes to considerable loss of life. But the discontent that underlies the disturbances of recent years is a phenomena of a different character, representing no longer a mere blind protest against a worsening of conditions, but a positive demand for the creation of new conditions that will⁹ render possible a better and less restricted life.

The two major proposals of the Moyne Report called for the establishment of a special fund of one million

8 Lord Moyne, Op. Cit., p. 7.

9 Ibid., p. 8.

pounds to be paid annually for a period of twenty years, and for the creation of a special organization to administer this fund under the charge of a comptroller. Since the general improvement of education was one of the main objects of the proposed organization, the commission specified that the staff of the comptroller of the West Indian Welfare Fund should include an educational expert. The report focussed attention upon teacher training as an area of special concern by recommending that "steps should be taken to ensure that all teachers have had an adequate training at some properly organized training college."¹⁰ In addition, the report recommended an elimination of the pupil-teacher system, changes in the literary curriculum of the primary schools, and the creation of junior secondary schools, which should be treated on an equal footing with the academic secondary schools.

The Colonial Development and Welfare Act, which became law in July, 1940, incorporated the Moyne proposals within the larger framework of development policy for the empire as a whole. In so doing the imperial government met the major recommendations of the royal commission. The British Parliament voted the necessary funds for social and economic development, and, in September, 1940, it

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 10.

appointed Sir Frank Stockdale, with a staff of expert advisers in various fields, as the first head of the organization for Development and Welfare in the West Indies.¹¹ The comptroller, and his staff, were to become the heralds of major social, economic, and educational change.

2. The Hammond Report.

The twentieth-century reform of Jamaican education began in 1940. The arrival in the island of the Comptroller for Colonial Development and Welfare of the West Indies, Sir Frank Stockdale, and his staff, marked the onset of a series of intensive investigations into the educational system and into ways and means for improving the training and supply of teachers. During the first year, 1940 to 1941, the team was primarily occupied with preparing plans as a basis for expenditures from the imperial fund. The task of analyzing the educational needs of Jamaica fell to Mr. S. A. Hammond, educational adviser to the comptroller, whose memorandum on education in Jamaica was presented to the island's government on October 23, 1941.¹²

¹¹ Sir John Macpherson, Development and Welfare in the West Indies, 1945-1946, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1947 (Colonial No. 212).

¹² Hammond, Op. Cit., p. 2.

Hammond's report was far more than a mere study of the educational system. It was particularly significant, firstly, because it contained recommendation concerning "desirable development for which financial assistance might be sought under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act,¹³ and, secondly, because of the severe criticisms which the adviser levelled at the organization for post-primary education as a whole and teacher training in particular. In other words, the report, as accepted by the comptroller and presented to the government, became the basis for controlling, allocating or withholding funds within the various facets of the educational system.

Teacher training per se was not considered as a separate issue in the report. Since Hammond approached the proposed reorganization of educational facilities from a unitary point of view, his evaluation of the preparation and supply of teachers cannot be properly understood without first looking at the suggestions for changing the entire educational structure. The main aims of Jamaican education, and the paramount objectives of the reform movement, as Hammond saw them, should be genuine literacy, and practical training for the mass of the

13 Ibid., p. 2.

population "in accordance with opportunities which the country afford, principally those of husbandry, handicrafts, and the home."¹⁴ Therefore, the primary responsibility of the government was to provide opportunities for a basic education in publicly-supported schools for children aged seven to eleven years, and for practical and vocational training for the majority of children from twelve to fifteen years old. Thus, expenditure on any form of post-primary education, including teacher training and secondary grammar schools, should necessarily be appraised in the light of their contribution to the general system.

Hammond's assessment of the actual school facilities and the expansion required to achieve compulsory primary school attendance was quite startling. The estimates of enrolment in 1940 and the potential number of scholars in the age range from seven to fifteen years, given in Table II on page 60, emphasized the inadequacy of school accommodation, and denoted the gross shortcomings of the current supply of teachers.

¹⁴ Hammond, Op. Cit., p. 3.

Table II.- Estimated Numbers and Enrolment of Scholars in Jamaican Schools in 1940.

| Age Range | Type of School | Enrolment | Group Total | Estimated Number ^a |
|-----------|----------------|-----------|-------------|-------------------------------|
| 4 - 7 | Infant | 4,000 | 4,000 | 100,000 |
| 7 -15 | Primary | 165,000 | 167,000 | 249,000 |
| | Secondary | 1,700 | | |
| | Industrial | 937 | | |
| | Technical | 36 | | |
| 15-18 | Secondary | 1,100 | 1,848 | 73,000 |
| | Industrial | 210 | | |
| | Technical | 538 | | |
| Over 18 | Secondary | 124 | 292 | |
| | Technical | 168 | | |

S. A. Hammond, Memorandum to the Comptroller of Development and Welfare in the West Indies, Kingston, Government Printers, 1941, p. 2.

^a Estimates of the potential enrolment in the various age ranges.

Hammond's estimates demonstrated that over a third of the children of school age were being deprived of even a basic education. As Table II on page 60 shows, for a potential enrolment of 249,000 in 1940, only 167,673 students were registered in schools of any kind while the actual number of school places provided was limited to 126,000. The report stressed, further, that the implementation of compulsory school attendance, even at the primary school level, would mean planning for a minimum of seventy-five percent of the potential school enrolment and a consequent demand for more teachers immediately.¹⁵

Moreover, the proposed reorganization of schools would create new demands upon the teacher training facilities. The pressing need for additional staff, as well as accommodation, was made even more acute by the recommendations for the reform of the existing elementary schools into junior and senior departments, for ages seven to eleven and twelve to fifteen, respectively, resembling closely the English pattern of primary and secondary modern schools for the mass of the population.¹⁶ The senior schools, yet to be built as part of the proposed plan, and the senior departments of large elementary schools would specialize in a

15 Hammond, Op. Cit., p. 4, para. 37.

16 Ibid., p. 3, para. 22-26.

vocationally oriented type of curriculum with the emphasis on the practical, and a limited number of senior school students would proceed to more academic studies from the age of fifteen to the age of eighteen years.¹⁷

Teacher training reform would have to run concurrently with the proposed changes and expansion of the elementary schools. While his major criticism was directed at the very insufficient supply of teachers from the four existing colleges to cater to the demands of the reformed general system, Hammond's memorandum drew attention to the inefficiency of the training scheme due to the duplication of college lecturers and residential student accommodation, as well as teaching facilities, in four small institutions. Of the total of 187 students in training in 1940, there were 55 men students attending Mico; St. Joseph's accommodated 36; Shortwood, 41; and Bethlehem, 55 women students, respectively. The implications of the expanded programme and compulsory primary school attendance were such that in the place of the 187 students in training a number nearer to one thousand was required.¹⁸

The report criticised, further, the location of all but one of the colleges in the capital city of Kingston

17 Ibid., p. 7, para. 81 and p. 11, para. 118.

18 Ibid., p. 9, para. 100-101.

and its suburbs.¹⁹ This aspect of the adviser's criticisms resulted from his judgment of the future economy and the potential development of the country, which he considered would remain essentially agrarian. Thus, he contemplated the training of teachers should be carried on close to the environment where the majority of them would be employed in the schools after leaving the college. Apparently, Hammond did not envisage any sudden or advanced industrialization to occur, but felt assured that the main occupation of the people of Jamaica would continue to be agriculture and the by-products of the sugar-cane.

The report attacked the internal organization and curricular structure of the training colleges from two main points of view: In the first place, there was no college life, as it is understood in progressive institutions, which should "infuse into the teaching service a body of men and women in whom the seeds of liberal development have been planted."²⁰ In other words, social and extra-curricular activities in the colleges were minimal, and student government, of any kind, was non-existent.

In the second place, the college curriculum was overloaded with academic material since the average college

19 Hammond, Op. Cit., p. 9, para. 101.

20 Loc. Cit.

entrant had little more than a primary school education and the colleges were, therefore, forced to spend time on subjects which should have been taught at a secondary school.²¹ Furthermore, the reform of the general system would be impossible without considerable curricular changes since the three-year training scheme was producing only primary school teachers and there was no supply of teachers for the proposed senior school programme.

Hammond showed that the cost of more than doubling the teaching force was the real problem of the reformed programme. The government was faced with the dilemma of mounting costs for teachers, which in 1940 amounted to one fourteenth of the island's revenue, on the one hand, and the need to provide more teachers and, at the same time, increase the training facilities for specialists in senior subjects, on the other hand.²² Moreover, under the existing conditions, there were many overcrowded classes while the rising birth rate continued to strain the supply of teachers and school accommodation.

The adviser concluded, therefore, that the recommendation of the West India Royal Commission, which called for every child of school age to be taught by a trained

21 Hammond, Op. Cit., p. 9, para 101.

22 Ibid., p. 2, para. 1 and p. 10, para. 102.

teacher appropriately paid, was impossible under the circumstances. The country was faced with either increasing illiteracy or dependence upon external aid.

The solution was reduced to simple arithmetic. If teachers were to be properly paid and trained, the only answer lay in increasing rather than decreasing the number of children under the charge of each trained teacher. Hammond therefore recommended that, instead of taking steps to eliminate the pupil-teacher system, as the West India Royal Commission had suggested, the solution would be found in expanding it "to make it a sound instrument and a means of continued education to the young people engaged in it."²³ According to Hammond's suggestion, the pupil teachers, who would be initiated into half-time teaching of small groups at the age of fifteen, would be obliged to spend half of the working day in supervised study under the guidance of selected master teachers. Only those pupil teachers who, by the age of eighteen, had shown particular ability as assistants in the classroom would be selected to undergo further training towards full certification. The bulk of the pupil teachers would normally pass into other occupations at eighteen, having had a fuller and wider education

²³ Hammond, The Cost of Education, Bulletin No. 15, Kingston, Government Printers, 1945, para. 14.

than they would otherwise have had from the senior school alone.²⁴

The scheme called for the training of master teachers rather than assistant teachers, at the college level. It was, in effect, an adaptation of apprenticeship to a craft. The normal method of recruitment would be that the best of those offering as pupil teachers each year "should be given the opportunity of a course in the secondary schools in preparation for student teachership and teacher training."²⁵ The objective would therefore be not to train prospective teachers before they began to teach, but to train teachers already in service who had shown the inclination and the aptitude for teaching.

Implementation of the reforms in the general system of schools was entirely dependent upon changes in teacher training. The reforms implied a complete re-organization of the existing colleges, which would be combined into one single institution located in a rural district such as Bethlehem, where the Moravian college stood.²⁶ Furthermore, since the suggested pre-college training of pupil teachers and probationers would involve the secondary grammar schools,

24 Ibid., p. 5, para. 15.

25 Loc. Cit.

26 Hammond, Memorandum to the Comptroller of Development and Welfare in the West Indies, p. 10, para. 106.

the proposals required an integration and articulation of the three levels of institutions: elementary schools (junior and senior), secondary grammar schools, and teachers' colleges. Thus, the reforms of the three levels were linked and interdependent.

The most drastic criticism of the whole report was reserved for the system of secondary schools as they were in 1940. By refusing to recommend any financial support whatsoever, the adviser could not have applied a more effective sanction against the grammar schools, which he found, so far from helping to solve the social and economic problems of the country, were actually making them worse since the graduates from the secondary schools would enter only certain socially acceptable occupations and considered teaching in the elementary schools to be beneath them.²⁷

Besides failing to contribute to the pre-college preparation of prospective teachers, the grammar schools were aggravating the problem of middle-class unemployment. Therefore, before any financial assistance could be recommended, the memorandum called for a full investigation into teacher training "in relation to the present and probable needs of the schools, the cost of the training and the direction of limited resources in the most efficient

²⁷ Ibid., p. 10, para. 110-112.

and productive way."²⁸

Such an inquiry should not only explore the possibility of unification of control of teacher training, but also of using the secondary schools for pre-college training. The proposal called for an investigation of post-primary education as a whole, and stressed the desirability of considering the grammar schools and teacher training colleges as essential parts of the same problem.

3. Policy and Plans for Post-Primary Reform.

The memorandum of Mr. Hammond, with its direct criticisms and specific recommendations, left no room for speculation or doubt. The significant issue of the report was that all financial subsidy to secondary education would be withheld pending a full consideration of the shortcomings and a plan to amend the system accordingly. Consequently, the government was spurred to act immediately. It appointed a committee of twelve, as the educational adviser had recommended, to inquire into secondary education, and invited Dr. I. L. Kandel, head of the Teachers' College of Columbia University and a contributor to the Spens Report,²⁹

²⁸ Hammond, Op. Cit., p. 10, para. 109.

²⁹ W. Spens (Chairman) et al, Secondary Education with Special Reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1938.

on secondary education in England, to undertake the job as chairman.

The Kandel Report.

The Kandel Committee, which began its inquiries on September 10, 1943, represented a wide cross-section of the leaders in Jamaican education.³⁰ The team included, among its twelve members, the Director of Education, B. H. Easter, as vice-chairman; the Anglican Bishop, and the nominee of the Roman Catholic Bishop; two members of the Legislative Council; a principal of Shortwood Teachers' College; one grammar school principal; the chief inspector of secondary schools, and the secretary of the Jamaica Schools Commission. Moreover, deputations and memoranda were received from the principal agencies concerned with post-primary education. Thus, comprehensive representation from all interested parties was guaranteed.

Instead of restricting itself to a narrow definition of its task, the Kandel Committee interpreted the word 'secondary' in its widest connotation. Having accepted the recommendations of the Hammond Memorandum, as its terms of reference, the team was committed to inquire into the whole

³⁰ I. L. Kandel (Chairman) et al, Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the System of Secondary Education in Jamaica, p. 1, para. 3.

organization of secondary education, and to recommend changes in the administrative structure to integrate the various levels of schools. However, the main focus was upon the better utilization of secondary resources for the training and supply of elementary school teachers, the staffing of secondary schools, and the needed expansion and reform of teacher training colleges in the light of the changing general system.³¹ Teacher training was, therefore, regarded as the paramount area of investigation within the context of post-primary reform.

The criticisms and recommendations of the team, directly concerned with teacher training, may be roughly divided into five main topics: Administration, Curriculum, re-organization of training facilities, pre-college training of intending teachers, and the supply of secondary school teachers. Therefore, though the suggested reforms in teacher training necessarily overlap with that of the general system, the recommended changes in teacher training have been separated, as much as possible, in the discussions which follow.

The critical review of the administration of education was not restricted to any one level of institutions. The committee severely criticised the lack of articulation

³¹ Ibid., p. 1, para. 2.

which resulted from the dispersal of control of the various layers of schools.³²

Furthermore, while there was no single authority responsible for the orientation of the different educational facilities, the island's administrative structure was, in fact, highly centralized, although the actual control of each branch was vested in a different board.

Under the existing conditions, the Schools Commission, which controlled secondary education, left little or no discretion to headmasters or governing bodies of schools, even in trifling matters. The same general fault was to be found in the administration of elementary education and teacher training.

The individual institutions, which were controlled through the Code of Regulations, described in the previous chapter, were divided according to ownership amongst the denominations, the government, and private individuals or trusts. Consequently, an integrated one-track system of education was impossible without placing the administrative control of educational policy in the hands of one central agency of government and providing an adequate staff to implement its policies.³³

³² Kandel, Op. Cit., p. 5, para. 23-25.

³³ Ibid., p. 9, para. 61-62.

Moreover, the Kandel Report attacked the failure of the local community to contribute to the provisions for secondary education. It found that the inhabitants of rural districts and towns, especially, tended to look towards the government to supply their school facilities without realizing the need for their own involvement as responsible citizens.³⁴ Consequently, the Report called for a re-organization of local authorities, which would plan the educational provisions in the light of local needs and within the framework of the proposed central authority.³⁵ Thus, the administrative hierarchy would ensure representation of the people at all levels of education.

The same general complaint was directed at the curricular content of courses, study methods, and teaching techniques in the three levels of education. The Kandel Committee found that the emphasis at the training colleges, secondary schools, and elementary schools on the passing of examinations resulted in bad methods of study and dependence upon textbook memorization on the part of students and lecture methods and dictation of notes on the part of teachers.³⁶

34 Kandel, Op. Cit., p. 9, para. 54.

35 Ibid., p. 9, para. 56-57.

36 Ibid., p. 11, para. 79-83.

Furthermore, the fact that the majority of students attending teachers' colleges were drawn from the elementary schools, through the pupil-teacher system, without ever having attended any other type of school, was mainly responsible for the inbreeding of attitudes and ideas which prevailed throughout the entire school system. The atmosphere of the training college was, in many respects, identical with that of the elementary school; self-government was virtually unknown; the training college lecturers, like the elementary school staff, habitually treated their students with condescension.³⁷ Under such circumstances, the committee found that intuition, creative teaching, and individuality in tackling the problems of the classroom were almost entirely discouraged.

Consequently, curricular reforms were proposed by the committee from the point of view of content and method in teachers' colleges and in the schools themselves. Firstly, since the overcrowding of the college curriculum was caused by the inadequate preparation of student teachers and the consequent necessity of providing both general and professional education in a relatively short time, Kandel recommended that pre-college training should be ensured in properly organized centres at the level of the secondary

³⁷ Kandel, Op. Cit., p. 19, para. 152-153.

school.³⁸ Secondly, the training colleges should be reserved for the theoretical side of professional teacher education³⁹ in History of Education, Psychology, Theory of Education, Sociology, Hygiene, and Rural Economy, while the centre for the practical side of professional training should be the practising school "which should bear the same relationship to the preparation of teachers as hospitals do to the preparation of doctors,"⁴⁰ and which should actually be attached to the college as an integral part of the training facilities.

Thirdly, Schedule A of the Code of Regulations, which outlined very definitely the curriculum content and administrative procedures in training colleges and elementary schools should be replaced by Suggestions or Helps to Teachers, and the college curriculum should be developed through consultation between the faculty and the panel of inspectors concerned with the teacher training programme.⁴¹

The curricular reforms were based on a parallel change in the relationship between administrative officers, faculty and students at all levels. The proposals called

38 Kandel, Op. Cit., p. 19, para. 154-155.

39 Ibid., p. 19, para. 156.

40 Ibid., p. 19, para. 158.

41 Loc. Cit.

for a freer interchange of ideas between college lecturer and intending teacher in the colleges, between inspector and teacher in the elementary schools, as well as between teacher and pupil in the classroom. The committee envisaged the retraining of college faculty and practising teachers through a planned programme of educational development, by means of scholarships and leaves to allow selected teachers, college lecturers, and inspectors, the experience of studying at universities abroad.⁴² In other words, the team's suggestions involved the concept of continued professional growth through post-graduate courses, conferences, refresher courses, and new attitudes towards educational administration and teacher training.

The Kandel proposals were by no means one-sided. They involved concurrent changes in the location, accommodation, and size of the teacher education facilities.⁴³ Like Hammond, the committee was extremely critical of the inefficient arrangement of the four separate and small institutions, all but one of which were located in the general area of the capital city.

Consequently, the team recommended that the inter-denominational colleges of Mico and Shortwood should

42 Kandel, Op. Cit., p. 20, para. 167.

43 Ibid., p. 20, para. 162-165.

be combined and moved to a rural centre, preferably near an institution for agricultural education.⁴⁴ The amalgamation of the two institutions, from the committee's point of view, would allow for a larger staff, more efficient operation, and would serve as a valuable experiment in co-education. What would happen to the denominational colleges was not specified by the committee. Presumably, they would either continue as independent institutions, in a small way, or would become absorbed by the larger reconstituted college.

That the economy would remain agrarian was taken for granted. The suggestion for the rural location of the amalgamated training college was posited on the assumption that the main occupations of the people would continue to be essentially agricultural. Therefore, the committee anticipated that in the revised programme of the reorganized college the problems of agriculture, rural life, and rural economy would be stressed and instruction could be made as realistic as possible in a genuinely rural environment.⁴⁵ How large the college should be, how many students it should accommodate, what it should contain in equipment, the committee did not state. Only the lines of development were

44 Kandel, Op. Cit., p. 20, para. 164.

45 Ibid., p. 20, para. 163.

outlined while the details were left for further study.

The pupil-teacher system was entirely rejected in principle, but not in practice. Unlike Hammond, the Kandel Committee condemned it as a relic of the nineteenth century when teaching was regarded as a craft which could be learned through a period of apprenticeship.⁴⁶ The system was criticized on four main counts: First, the pupil teacher, who became involved in classroom work immediately after completing elementary school, was forced to make a choice of career at too early an age; second, the fact that the student continued in the elementary school, without ever having attended a secondary school, meant that the intending teacher would be deprived of the opportunity of meeting those of his or her peer group who would be following other careers; third, the progress of the pupil teacher was too often dependent upon the chance that the headmaster of the school would be sufficiently interested and capable of giving instruction and guidance to the pupil teacher; fourth, since many of the teachers were themselves untrained, the pupil teachers were likely to pick up bad attitudes and habits in teaching, which would have to be eradicated at the college level.⁴⁷

46 Kandel, Op. Cit., p. 18, para. 148-149.

47 Ibid., p. 19, para. 144-150.

However, since expedience demanded its continuation for some time, the pupil-teacher system would have to follow a new direction. The committee recommended that, in order to relieve the burden on the college curriculum, pupil teacher centres of junior training colleges should be established to provide preparation in the general subjects.⁴⁸ In addition, intending teachers should be sent to secondary schools where they would undergo a special course with the emphasis on a fuller richer background in English, Mathematics, and those subjects which the pupil teacher would be expected to teach. The Kandel team recommended, further, that students should be oriented to their future career in teaching through instruction at the secondary school in the social meaning of education, and through visits to schools to observe classroom conditions and the techniques of master teachers.⁴⁹ Moreover, care should be taken in assigning pupil teachers to only those schools with faculties competent enough to ensure the proper guidance to the pre-trained recruits to teaching.⁵⁰

To supply grammar school teachers, the Kandel Committee did not propose the establishment of a separate

48 Kandel, Op. Cit., p. 19, para. 153.

49 Ibid., p. 19, para. 154-155.

50 Ibid., p. 19, para. 149.

institution. Instead, it suggested three expedients: First, the team recommended an organized method of in-service training through the guidance of headmasters and department heads, who would be relieved of regular teaching duty to devote their time to helping the untrained assistants, and through the discussion of programmes and instructional methods at staff conferences.⁵¹ Second, special training college courses for secondary school teachers already in service should be offered at the combined college.⁵² Third, scholarships should be provided for promising assistants who had reached the Inter-B.A. standard to enter British or American universities to complete their bachelor's degree and one year of professional preparation.⁵³

The report of the Kandel Committee confirmed all but one of the findings of Mr. Hammond. There was general agreement in all of the five main areas of projected reform: Administration, Curriculum, training college staff and accommodation, pre-college preparation of recruits, and the supply of secondary school teachers. But the team did not merely criticize and recommend. Its paramount purpose was to spell out the policies and the philosophy

51 Kandel, Op. Cit., p. 20, para. 165.

52 Loc. Cit.

53 Kandel, Op. Cit., p. 20, para. 167.

underlying the educational reforms and to indicate more precisely the desirable lines of development.

The main point of variance in the reports of Hammond and Kandel was that of the desirability of continuing the pupil-teacher system. The educational adviser enthusiastically supported the scheme as a desirable and integral part of the ladder of progression from recruitment to certification as a qualified teacher while the Kandel Committee reluctantly accepted it as a necessary evil and a temporary expedient. Yet, the practical effect was identical in the two reports of inquiry. They both supported the concept of probationary pre-college training and service, as well as the need for adapting the secondary school curriculum for the preparation of intending teachers, who would actually become involved in classroom teaching which would determine their later selection for professional training at the college level. In the two reports, special conditions were outlined for pupil teachers, who would undergo supervision, guidance and part-time study during their pre-college employment. Therefore, the Kandel Report did not essentially change any of Hammond's suggestions. It was, on the whole, an elaboration of those same issues which the educational adviser had emphasized.

The Easter Report.⁵⁴

As its name implies, the Secondary Education Continuation Committee, sometimes called the Easter Committee, was the final stage in the series of investigations. Since it was an extension of the Kandel study rather than an independent inquiry, the committee's personnel consisted of six of the original twelve members of the Kandel team in addition to two co-opted education officers who were all local educators with special experience and qualifications in Jamaican post-primary education. The chairman himself, B. H. Easter, who had served as vice-chairman of the Kandel group, was able to draw upon the statistical resources and administrative assistance of the Education Department, of which he was the director.

The main difference between the two committees lay in their goals. The Kandel Report laid down the policies for reform in its recommendations while the task of the Easter Committee was to recommend practical measures to implement the Kandel proposals.⁵⁵ In other words, the principles underlying the re-organization of the school

⁵⁴ B. H. Easter (Chairman) et al, A Plan for Post-Primary Education in Jamaica, Kingston, Government Printers, 1946.

⁵⁵ Idem, Ibid., p. 4, para. 7-8.

system, as established by the Kandel Report, were accepted by the Easter team as the guideline in planning a blueprint of concrete and specific plans to translate theory into practice. More specifically, the committee was required to prepare a plan of development and reform which would set the order or priority for realizing the various reforms in the light of the available financial resources.

The same general plan was followed in both studies. Essentially, they called for administrative and curricular changes and a re-organization and expansion of the various levels of educational facilities. Teacher training, which was placed first on the list of reforms, after the change of administration, was properly regarded as the key issue.

In accordance with the Kandel proposals, the Easter Committee called for the establishment of three levels of education authority: at the national, parish and district levels.⁵⁶ All school facilities would come under the aegis of one Central Education Authority, which would integrate the function and responsibility of the Board of Education and the Jamaica Schools Commission, hitherto concerned with grant-aided secondary schools. The new body, which would be subject to the authority of the Executive Council and the Legislative Assembly, would represent all shades of

⁵⁶ Easter, Op. Cit., p. 5-6.

opinion, and would be responsible for shaping the whole future of education in the island.⁵⁷ Five of its twenty-two members would be chosen from an all-island conference of parish education committees; three would represent the owners of schools; four would be teachers; the remaining ten would be independent members chosen for their interest in and knowledge of education. The Minister of Education would become president of the central authority with the Director of Education attending the meetings in an advisory capacity only.⁵⁸ Thus, the central body would establish policy while the Education Department would carry out that policy.

The administrative changes required an entire re-organization and expansion of the Education Department itself. Chief inspectors would control primary, secondary, and teacher education. The officer in charge of teacher training would be aided by a panel of specialists in various fields, who would assist in supervising the training of teachers at the colleges and the pre-college preparation of pupil teachers and probationers before and after their entry into the classroom situation.⁵⁹

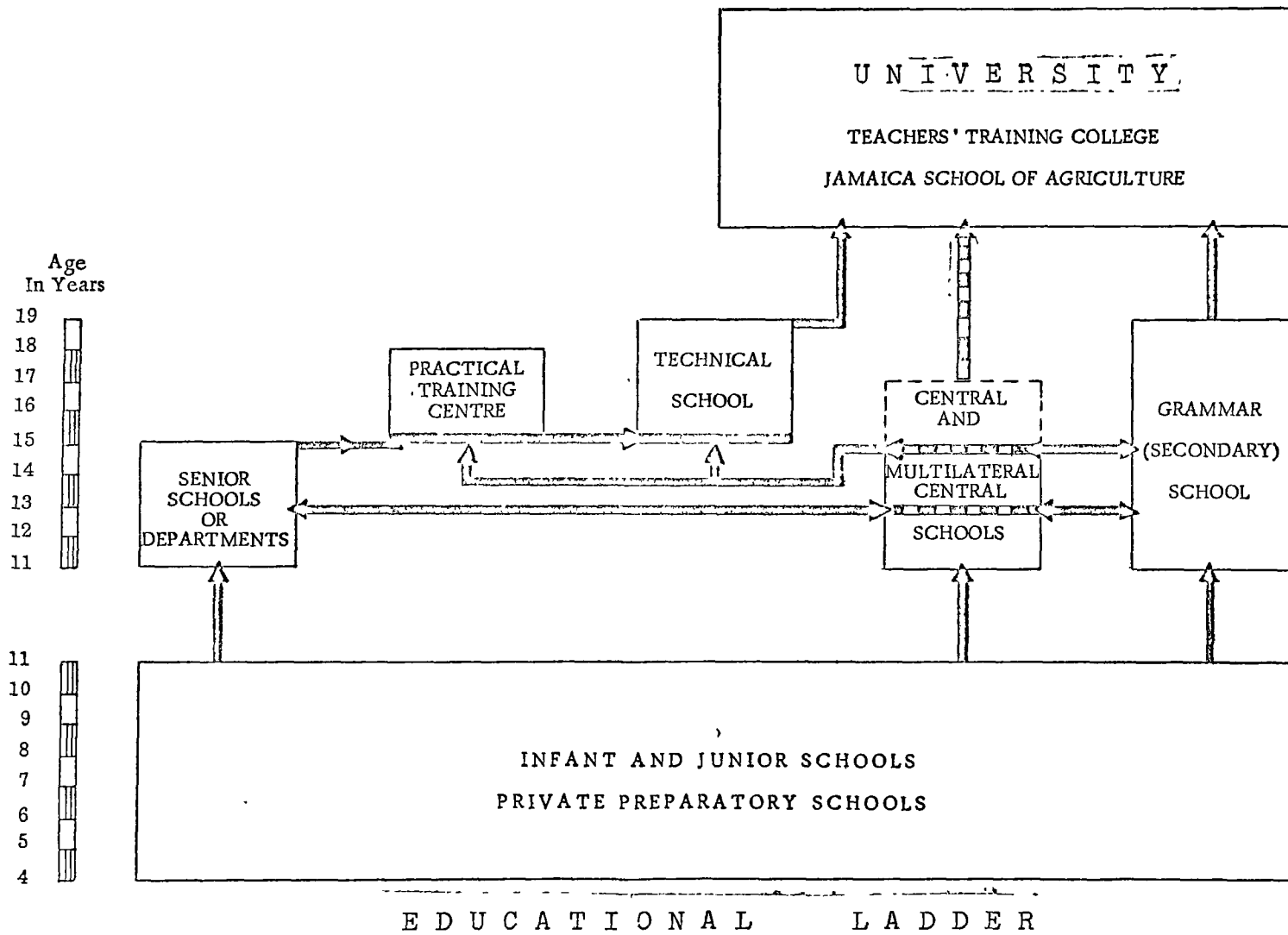
57 Easter, Op. Cit., p. 7, para. 30.

58 Ibid., p. 7, para. 33-34.

59 Ibid., p. 20, para. 4.

In its re-organization of the school facilities, the committee envisaged an education ladder, illustrated in Figure 1 on page 85, along which students would pass according to age, aptitude and ability. Only the junior school level would be compulsory while all post-primary education would be voluntary.

Figure 1.- Educational Ladder of Jamaican Schools as Proposed by Easter Report.



EVALUATION BY EXPERTS: 1938-1944

As Figure 1 shows, the pattern of schools was, in many respects, similar to the English system. Post-primary education would be offered at the age of eleven plus in four different types of schools. All children would take a common entrance examination after the junior school to determine their fitness for further education.

Grammar schools, which would continue to charge fees, would be free to a larger proportion of students through increased government scholarships; central schools and senior schools would offer a practical 'secondary modern' type of syllabus, while in nine multi-lateral schools both practical and academic courses would be offered side by side.⁶⁰

The technical school and the practical training centres would offer specialized vocational training from the age of fifteen to eighteen plus.⁶¹ The committee anticipated that the teachers' college would draw its candidates from the grammar, multi-lateral and technical schools.

In line with the Kandel proposals, the Easter Committee recommended a radical change in the curricular structure of training colleges to match the changes in

⁶⁰ Easter, Op. Cit., p. 21, para. 111-116.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 12, para. 65.

the general system.⁶² The requirements of the Code of Regulations should give way to a less rigid system in which the colleges would be free to work out and develop their own programmes of study in consultation with the panel of inspectors, experienced and competent teachers, and supervisors or other inspectors from the Education Department. But the colleges should not limit their training programme to the classroom. They should foster the full development of personality through such cultural and social contacts as those provided by the Institute of Jamaica, the Music Society, the Little Theatre Movement, and by participation in community enterprises for mass education, co-operatives and agricultural training.⁶³

In formulating plans for curricular reform, the team emphasized what it considered to be the essential requirements of all teachers. These were: mastery of the language and the power of clear speech, grounding in the fundamental principles of education, and competence in the art of teaching.⁶⁴ Therefore, since the role of the college was to concentrate on 'professional training', a change of attitudes and better preparation would be

62 Easter, Op. Cit., p. 33, para. 26.

63 Ibid., p. 33, para. 26.

64 Loc. Cit.

required of the college faculty. Only the most qualified and suitable persons would be appointed; scholarships should be provided to allow college staff, practising teachers and administrative personnel to keep in touch with contemporary thought on educational problems.⁶⁵

Five different training courses for teachers were proposed by the Easter Committee under the new programme. The entry of students to each course would depend upon his or her pre-college preparation.⁶⁶ Entrance to the main course, which would last two years, would require successful completion of the Cambridge School Certificate or its equivalent, a minimum age of eighteen years, and evidence of good character.⁶⁷ The regular three-year course would continue in operation for some time, but the committee anticipated that the minimum educational requirements would shortly make this course redundant. Courses of one year's duration for head teachers and specialists at the post-primary level would be offered for experienced Registered Assistants, First Class. In addition, the committee recommended the use of the college facilities to accommodate short residential courses and correspondence

65 Easter, Op. Cit., p. 34, para. 27.

66 Ibid., p. 32, para. 19.

67 Loc. Cit.

courses for probationary teachers and assistant teachers of the lower grades leading to improvement in qualifications. Refresher and special courses would be offered during the summer months for practising teachers.⁶⁸

The responsibility for grading of students would rest with the college faculty. The lecturers would keep records of students, set and mark examinations for internal and external students, and recommend the granting of professional certificates according to the results and college record of students.⁶⁹ Thus, the committee anticipated that the need for preparation in the general subjects would be obviated by the new entry requirements and by the arrangements for pre-college preparation of prospective teachers through attendance at secondary schools and through in-service probationary training.

One of the key points of variance between the Easter and Kandel reports concerned the location of the training college facilities. Essentially, the Easter Committee agreed that the non-denominational colleges, Mico and Shortwood, should be combined to allow for a more economical use of teaching personnel, administration, and student accommodation. But the committee objected to

68 Idem, Ibid., p. 32, para. 19.

69 Ibid., p. 32, para. 20.

the suggestion that the college should be located in a rural area since the students, many of whom would come from a rural district, would lose the opportunities for cultural contacts which were only available in the capital city of Kingston. Since many of the college graduates would take up employment in rural schools in which the problems of agriculture, rural economy and village life, would be emphasized, a compromise was suggested by which the combined college would be located at the Mico premises in Kingston, and the Shortwood property would be surrendered to the government, while a college or department, under common management with the Mico institution, would be built in a rural area. Training would be given partly at the main college at Kingston, and partly at the rural department.⁷⁰

The committee did not anticipate the continuance of either of the two denominational colleges as independent entities. It recommended that St. Joseph's College, the Roman Catholic training centre, should be invited to join in with the proposed college at Mico.⁷¹ Although the team did not spell out the terms or conditions under which the denominational college would become affiliated,

70 Easter, Op. Cit., p. 31, para. 10-15.

71 Ibid., p. 31, para. 10.

it was clearly inferred that the plan would require the Roman Catholic lecturers to work at the combined college side by side with the staff from the other training institutions, but that religious instruction would be given to Catholic students by the St. Joseph's faculty.

As far as the Moravian institution, Bethlehem College, was concerned, the committee could see no need for it to remain as a training college after the transition period. It was recommended, therefore, that the college should be converted into a selective central or modern school to serve the surrounding villages.⁷²

The Easter plan included a substantial expansion of accommodation and teaching aids. The committee stipulated that colleges, which would be designed as residential institutions, should be built to accommodate and provide training facilities for not less than four hundred students, and should allow for an expansion to four hundred and fifty students if the need arose.⁷³ Moreover, the requirements for specialist teaching would be greatly increased to provide such facilities as science laboratories, and special rooms for arts and crafts, music and drama.

⁷² Idem, Ibid., p. 31, para. 13.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 38, para. 41.

The role of the practising school was defined and specifically emphasized by the team. Like the Kandel Report, the Easter Committee called for the establishment of five local demonstration and experimental schools, which would be established at suitable places throughout the island and which would later be expanded to one for each parish.⁷⁴ Such schools, which should work in close conjunction with the faculties of the parent colleges, would operate as laboratories for the testing of experiments in curriculum and teaching techniques, for demonstrating methods during the initial training of probationers, and for providing special training and experience for selected practising teachers as the need arose. The committee stressed the need for each college to have a number of practising schools attached to and controlled by it, so that the practical aspect of professional development might be closely tied with actual classroom conditions and school management.

Definite plans were formulated by the committee for the control and expansion of pre-college preparation of teachers.⁷⁵ It was recommended that pupil teachers, who would continue to be employed during the period of

74 Easter, Op. Cit., p. 35, para. 31-32.

75 Ibid., p. 32, para. 21-22.

expansion and reform, would be subject to special conditions of service, which would limit their engagement to no more than half-time duty, and further, that intending teachers should only serve in schools with an adequate staff to coach them during the other half a day.

Proposals for the engagement of probationers were equally stringent. These young recruits, who were, in fact, merely senior pupil teachers of eighteen or more, were to be given a special pre-service training, which would include a two-week observation period at a Demonstration School, and, as in the case of pupil teachers proper, care should be taken to place the probationers in only those schools where they would be given a lighter load of teaching duty to allow them to prepare for training college entrance. One year of successful service and study by correspondence, assisted by Education Department officers, would qualify the probationer to enter the two-year course at a teachers' college.⁷⁶

Because of its commitment to practical solutions, the Easter team was forced to take up apparently paradoxical positions. While stressing the need to upgrade the academic entrance qualifications of teacher recruits, to the minimum of the Cambridge School Certificate or its

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 32, para. 22.

equivalent, the committee was forced to accept the continued employment of pupil teachers because of the sudden developments. The committee's estimates of the probable supply and demand of teachers, illustrated in Table III on page 95, had to be based on the division of existing elementary schools into primary and senior levels and, on the compulsory attendance of primary school children at ages seven to eleven years of age.

Table III.- Estimate of Requirements for Elementary School Teachers for 1945-1951.^a

| Year | School Staff | | | Recruitment | | |
|------|--------------|------------|-------|-------------|-----------|-------|
| | Teachers | Probatnrs. | Total | Graduates | Probatnrs | Total |
| 1945 | 2,260 | 560 | 2,820 | 82 | 262 | 344 |
| 1946 | 2,490 | 620 | 3,110 | 170 | 310 | 480 |
| 1947 | 2,730 | 675 | 3,405 | 180 | 340 | 520 |
| 1948 | 2,960 | 740 | 3,700 | 185 | 365 | 550 |
| 1949 | 3,200 | 790 | 3,990 | 190 | 390 | 580 |
| 1950 | 3,430 | 855 | 4,285 | 195 | 415 | 600 |
| 1951 | 3,660 | 915 | 4,575 | 200 | 445 | 645 |

B. H. Easter (chairman) et al, A Plan for Post-Primary Education in Jamaica, Kingston, Government Printers, 1946, p. 37.

^a Assuming one hundred percent compulsory enrolment for primary school children and sixty percent enrolment for pupils aged twelve to fifteen years.

There was a pressing need, as Table III illustrates, to produce qualified teachers and to expand the inflow of teaching recruits. The Easter Committee, however, agreed with the Kandel team that the intending teachers should not be segregated from their peers, and, therefore, it did not support the notion of a junior training college or any special schools specifically designed to prepare prospective teachers. The committee anticipated, instead, that intending teachers would be recruited, in the main, from the regular stream of the academic grammar schools through the provision of special scholarships and through better communication, at the grammar schools, of the opportunities offered in a teaching career, for useful service and advancement towards full professional status. As a logical extension of its plan, the committee proposed that training colleges should upgrade their entrance qualifications to the minimum of the Cambridge School Certificate or its equivalent as soon as possible.⁷⁷

When it came to deal with the training and supply of secondary grammar school teachers, the Easter team recommended nothing new. It did not specify any special institution or devise any new method for rectifying the inadequate preparation of the majority of the faculties

⁷⁷ Easter, Op. Cit., p. 32, para. 23 and p. 30, para. 4-5.

of grammar schools. Instead, it followed the same lines proposed by the Kandel Report for providing scholarships to finance the cost of training selected students at universities in the United Kingdom and the United States on courses leading to a bachelor's degree and a teacher's diploma.⁷⁸

Like its predecessor, the Easter Committee further suggested a programme of recruitment of qualified teachers from the United Kingdom and the arrangement of a scheme for the exchange of local teachers with suitable teachers in schools abroad.⁷⁹ Generally speaking, when the recommendations for grammar school staff are compared with those for the training of teachers within the general system, the conclusion must be that, in fact, very little was done to ensure the supply of competent personnel at the grammar school level.

4. Appraisal of the Reports.

In evaluating the three reports of inquiry two decades after publication, the writer has the obvious advantage of hindsight after the event. Nevertheless, close examination of the proposals for reform point up

78 Ibid., p. 27, para. 9-10.

79 Ibid., p. 27, para. 10 and p. 20, para. 106.

certain pronounced errors of judgment which are significant despite the difference of time. Hammond, for example, was admittedly faced with a difficult problem of balancing the prior educational needs of the Jamaican mass against the potential resources of the country in 1940, but, despite the handicaps, his essential approach, and the remedies he suggested, were short-sighted, limited, and perhaps, patronizing.

Hammond's error lay in his basic premise. That the island's economy would remain agrarian and, therefore, comparatively poor was the judgment which led the educational adviser to recommend an extension of the pupil-teacher system rather than ending it, as the Moyne Commission had suggested. Essentially, Hammond's vision of change was limited by the economic circumstances existing in Jamaica during the Second World War. Thus, the main concept, projected in his report, appears to have been one of a general educational system, and teacher training facilities, geared to a pattern of village society which would remain closely related to agricultural occupations. He failed to realise that educational and political changes would inevitably result in industrial and economic reforms, which in turn would provide the financial possibilities for further educational expansion. Instead, Hammond's emphasis was merely upon the need for literacy and

practical training for the masses.

In his report, Hammond equated teacher training with apprenticeship to a craft. Even the concept of 'master teachers', which was specifically outlined in the educational adviser's memorandum, was reminiscent of a trade. In general, the proposals depended upon the teaching of children by older children under the supervision of a relatively small number of experienced college-trained teachers who had come through the stream of pupil-teacher apprenticeship and eventual college training. What was significant was that nowhere did Hammond propound his idea as a temporary expedient. It was, in fact, the logical extension of his original notion that Jamaica would remain unable to pay the salaries of qualified teachers for the expanded system.

Although they only accepted the pupil-teacher system reluctantly, both the Kandel and Easter Committees, supported its continuation. Indeed, the later idea of probationary pre-college service, which formed part of the plan for teacher training reform, was merely the pupil-teacher system in slightly different guise. Like Hammond, the two teams of inquiry were convinced of the necessity of using unqualified teachers because of the tremendous increases in finances required as a result of universal compulsory enrolment at the junior school level and the

implementation of other proposed reforms. Thus, though the idea of recruiting grammar school students as intending teachers was broached, it was anticipated that the main source would be the senior schools.

That the four institutions should be combined was unanimously agreed in all three reports. The idea of amalgamating denominational and non-denominational colleges was proposed without apparently taking into full account the basic issues of denominational differences and traditional independence which, especially in Jamaica, was jealously guarded by all religious groups. Furthermore, combining the four colleges would imply the secularizing of teacher training resulting in the abandonment of the autonomous Moravian and Roman Catholic institutions, which had served the country for part of the nineteenth and all of the twentieth century. History had shown that affiliation of the denominational teacher training institutions in Jamaica was a problem which offered no simple solution. If the plans called for amalgamation of all the colleges, they would have to specify guarantees of special conditions which would provide a good measure of independence of action within the framework of a combined institution. The main difficulties lay in the difference of the definition of education and the attitudes towards teacher training. If, like the Roman Catholics, it was felt that the

proper training for prospective teachers could be achieved only through the daily religious influence of a close-knit residential organization rather than through formal religious instruction alone, then the whole concept of amalgamation was untenable.

That the combined training facilities should be closely related to an agricultural milieu was also generally agreed by all three investigations. Despite the Easter Committee's modification, which called for a division of the amalgamated college to include a city location at Mico grounds, as well as a rural department, the proposal was undoubtedly determined by the basic premise, propounded by the Hammond Report, that agriculture would continue to occupy the paramount place in the economy. In arriving at their conclusions, none of the three investigators appear to have contemplated the possibility of the rapid industrialization which followed their inquiries. Instead, the recommendations stressed the relationship between teacher training and agricultural village life--an erroneous decision in the light of subsequent developments in the economy and occupational trend.

Although they criticised the lack of articulation of the various levels of education, neither the Kandel or Easter Committee proposed what might be described as a thorough one-track system. The reports of inquiry called for a

closer relationship between the elementary and secondary schools through increased government scholarships and through the establishment of a central administrative authority, but, despite the suggestion for a common entrance exam at eleven plus, which the plan included, the ability of parents to pay fees remained a deciding factor for all but the brightest grammar school candidates. While they anticipated that prospective teachers would be recruited from the grammar schools, none of the committees of inquiry made any stipulation for the acceptance of a definite proportion of intending teachers to be trained by the grammar schools prior to probationary service, as part of the conditions for government grants-in-aid. Thus, the arrangements suggested by the reports for pre-college preparation at the grammar schools were ineffective because of their vagueness.

The same general lack of specificity typified the recommendations for the supply of grammar school teachers. Kandel and Easter indicated the need for training secondary school teachers abroad through government grants, but the committees did not at any time suggest the use of the reconstituted college facilities for training grammar school teachers. Elementary and secondary teachers were considered separately. Implicit in the recommendations was the idea that the two levels of schools required teacher training

in different institutions with separate developmental programmes. The combined college was not intended for the training of staff for the academic secondary schools; nor did the committees envisage the establishment of a special local institution for grammar school teachers, despite the fact that, even while the Easter Committee was proceeding with its deliberations, a planning committee was, at that very time, meeting in Jamaica to prepare estimates for the development of a university college of the West Indies which would eventually be linked to the University of London.

5. Summary of Recommendations.

The three reports called for changes in administration and curriculum, relocation and amalgamation of the training facilities, arrangements for the supply of secondary school teachers, and the pre-college preparation of prospective teachers.

The Easter Report, having accepted the concepts of the Kandel Committee, outlined plans for the replacement of the Board of Education and the Jamaica Schools Commission by a Central Education Authority. The proposed administrative hierarchy should comprise a managing body for each institution, district education committees consisting of

from six to ten schools, and regional education committees for each of the fourteen parishes in the island. The staff of the Education Department should be enlarged to include a panel of inspectors and supervisors to assist in teacher training and one full-time chief inspector who would be entirely responsible for the administration of teacher training. In schools and colleges, the rigid administration of the Code should be replaced by a volume entitled Suggestions to Teachers, which should allow greater freedom to principals, training colleges and classroom teachers.

The administration of training colleges should encourage a greater measure of self-government among students, while the college faculty themselves should be made responsible for developing training courses in consultation with the panel of inspectors and supervisors. The responsibility for setting and marking college entrance examinations as well as final examinations for certificates should rest with the college staff. The focus of the training courses should be professionally oriented with the emphasis upon the elements of language communication, education theory, and demonstration of standard and experimental methods in the classrooms of the practising schools. In addition, a number of special demonstration and experimental schools should be established throughout the country to serve the training colleges.

From the point of view of accommodation of training facilities, the Easter Report corroborated the views of the Hammond and Kandel inquiries in general and added certain specific modifications. It was proposed that the existing system of training colleges should be replaced by a single college for 450 men and women at Mico, with an additional rural department near an agricultural centre. Both institutions would be interdenominational and would be administered through a single board of governors. Thus, the denominational colleges of St. Joseph's and Bethlehem should become absorbed within the interdenominational institution.

The new training college should conduct: (1) Courses of two years' duration leading to certification as a First Class Assistant; (2) one-year courses for assistant teachers of the first grade (A1) leading towards certification as principals and specialists in senior school subjects; (3) short residential courses for probationers to assist them in general and professional education; (4) correspondence courses for both probationers and assistant teachers of the lower grades leading to improvement in qualifications; (5) special and refresher courses for teachers in service. Since the minimum academic standard for entry to the regular two-year course should be the School Certificate or its equivalent, government scholarships should be provided for senior school students to enter the grammar school programme.

By this means, an adequate supply of qualified candidates for the two-year course would be ensured.

The general and professional training of grammar school teachers should be effected through the provision of scholarships for selected students to study abroad on university courses leading to a degree and teacher's diploma. Suitable arrangements should be made for exchange teachers from abroad for periods of about one year.

Scholarships should also be provided for selected members of training college staff, teachers in service, administrative officers of the Education Department, to facilitate the inflow of new concepts and practices in teacher training.

Though vague and indefinite in their proposals, the three reports -- considered as a single series -- formed the hub of the wheel of change in Jamaican education and especially in the reform of teacher training. How closely the proposals were followed, the extent of administrative and curricular reform, and the estimate of educational progress, measured in terms of the reports, are expounded in the two chapters which follow.

CHAPTER III

ADMINISTRATIVE AND CURRICULAR REFORM

Close analysis of the administrative and curricular changes in Jamaican teacher education, in the years following the publication of the series of inquiry, reveal one essential feature--that of integration. Thus, the period of the island's educational history, which this chapter encompasses, represents a radical contrast to the previous one. The integration of the reform movement, however, occurred in two distinct phases; The first, beginning in 1944, coincided with the attainment of a new constitutional status and partial self-government, followed by the re-organization of all Jamaican education under one central education authority in 1950, and a full ministerial system of education by 1953. The second phase, characterized by the rapidity and extent of teacher training reforms, signifies a new level of maturity in Jamaican teacher education.

Although the events are outlined mainly in chronological order, the central purpose of this chapter is to examine the causes of the apparent initial lethargy of the Jamaican educators, as well as showing how the various religious, voluntary and government agencies were coordinated under one controlling body, and to unearth the

reasons why teacher training reform failed to gather momentum until the beginning of the second phase in 1954. The latter section of the chapter, which comprises the significant events of the final phase of administrative and curricular development, traces the causes of that rapid period of growth and illustrates the change in the aims of teacher education in Jamaica.

1. Legislation and Consolidation: 1945-1954.

When the Jamaica Labour Party took the leadership of government in December, 1944, the new political machine contained a germinal Ministry of Education. Theoretically, the Director of Education relinquished his legislative duties and, under the new constitution, became the professional superintendent or chief executive officer of the Education Department. The change, however, was only in theory and on paper. Effective control of elementary education, and teacher training, remained as it had always been, with the Education Department which continued to administer the teacher training programme through the traditional manual of operation--the Code of Regulations.¹

¹ Jamaica, Education Department, Annual Reports, 1945-1953, Kingston, Government Printers, passim.

The annual reports of the Education Department, up to 1949, reveal only two attempts at curricular or administrative innovation during that early phase. First, in 1942, the draft for a revised teacher training curriculum, presented by a committee of education officers and one training college principal, resulted in a greater emphasis on Child Psychology and Education Theory in the colleges.² But the change was merely superficial; it did not seriously affect college administration. Second, discussion by college faculty on curriculum revision culminated in experiments, in 1945, whereby the colleges were permitted to set, conduct and mark their own examinations, through a panel of examiners appointed by the four colleges and one representative from the Education Department.³

A new system of control and increased responsibility for the teaching profession began in 1950. A Central Education Authority, originally suggested by the Kandel Committee,⁴ was accepted and elaborated upon by the

2 R. W. Meredith (Principal of Shortwood Training College), Personal Correspondence with the Author, letter dated May 4, 1964.

3 Jamaica, Education Department, Annual Report 1945, p. 9, para. 47.

4 I. L. Kandel (Chairman) et al, Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the System of Secondary Education in Jamaica, Kingston, Government Printers, 1943, p. 9, para. 61.

Secondary Education Continuation Committee headed by B. H. Easter,⁵ whose recommendations were included in the Jamaican government's first ten-year plan of development and educational reform.⁶ What was particularly significant, from the professional teacher's point of view, was that under the terms of the Education Authority Law 32 of 1950, six of the twenty-four members of the co-ordinating body were required to be representatives nominated by the teachers' associations.⁷ The council of educators, which took over the duties and responsibilities of the Jamaica Schools Commission and the Board of Education, would be operating at the policy-making level with the Minister of Education as chairman, and the Director of Education (later called Chief Education Officer) as the vice-chairman. Jamaican teachers, for the first time in the educational history of the island, were to have a direct say and a major share of the responsibility in the total organization of the educational facilities, and, in particular, in the professional development of candidates for the teaching career.

5 B. H. Easter (Chairman) et al, A Plan for Post-Primary Education in Jamaica, Kingston, Government Printers, 1946, p. 5, para. 18-20.

6 Jamaica, Ministry of Development, A Ten-Year Plan of Development for Jamaica, Kingston, Government Printers, 1947, p. 10-12.

7 Jamaica, Education Department, Annual Report 1950, p. 7.

One of the very first acts of the Central Authority was to appoint a sub-committee to prepare a new salary scale for teachers to be presented to the government.⁸ As a result, salary scales and classification levels for all teachers were re-organized so as to attract new recruits and to encourage practising teachers to remain in the profession.

Despite the existence of the Central Education Authority, however, the years 1951 and 1952 appear to be devoid of any major event in teacher training reform. Yet the introduction of compulsory primary school attendance in urban areas, and the relaxation of the Code of Regulations, in selected schools where the annual one-day examination was abandoned, created a more urgent need for revisions and expansion in the training and supply of teachers. More than half of the teachers were under-qualified, and those who were qualified had grown up under a system of comparative 'rote' teaching dictated by the Code, and were, therefore, unused to the degree of freedom which was gradually being extended as the reforms proceeded. The inspectorate, which had been enlarged to include two deputies to the Director of Education, five Senior Education Officers, fourteen Education Officers, and twenty

8 Idem, Ibid.

four Assistant Education Officers, included a panel of officers directly concerned with teacher training.⁹ But the administrative machine was not yet properly in motion.

Thus, in 1953, when the system of full ministerial government was introduced, the Education Advisory Council, as the co-ordinating authority was later renamed, appointed a special committee to review the progress of teacher training, to recommend measures for the emergency training of probationers and other under-qualified teachers in service, and to consider specialist training for the technical and agricultural staff of senior schools.¹⁰

The change from the authoritarian code to a new sense of professional awareness was gradual. The lag in the reform movement in teacher education may be partly explained by the fact that it took time for the teachers, the college faculties, and the Education Department officers, accustomed as they were to the rigidity of the printed words of the code, to become adjusted to the machinery of new educational legislation.

But the real causes go deeper than that. They can be traced to the very nature of colonialism, which tends

⁹ Jamaica, Education Department, Annual Report, 1953, p. 5.

¹⁰ S. E. Buck, "Curriculum Planning", in The Torch, Vol. 7, No. 2, issue of May, 1956, p. 5.

to sap initiative and to encourage direction from the top. The reasons lie also in the fact that so many of the older teachers, as well as the college lecturers, who grew up under the pupil-teacher system, had never known what it was to experiment or innovate. Even the headmasters and college faculties had, until the beginning of the post-war reform, accepted the code as the very bible of curriculum and administration. It had, in fact, become a way of life. As Buck wrote in 1956, the teachers tended to regard the word 'curriculum' as an exact guide to what should be taught and when it should be taught.¹¹ Teachers, at all levels, had become conditioned to the circumstances through four decades of stagnation in Jamaican education.

Moreover, the education officers themselves were unaccustomed to that level of professional responsibility which the reform demanded. The concept of the participation of teachers at the policy-making table was entirely novel. To those, whose minds had become fixed along the lines of a colonial form of government administration, it took time to realign their ideas. Mere democratic legislation was not enough. The law could not change overnight the ingrained attitudes and habits, reminiscent of the master-slave relationship, which had for so long

11 Ibid.

a time been accepted as the norm.

Thus, the early attempts to change the college syllabus and to liberalize the methods of teaching at the various levels were not then, and could not then have been, truly effective. Far-reaching reforms would have been properly implemented only if, as well as the changes in the content of the college courses, most of the college instructors had been given the opportunity of studying comparative methods of teacher education in Europe or North America. For, aside from the content of the college courses, and the attempts in the elementary schools to reorient the curriculum, the college lecturers and practising teachers needed to re-examine their values and aims of education, to shed the nineteenth-century concepts which the special circumstances tended to inbreed within the colleges, the schools, and the Education Department itself. There was a strong realization of the need for reform, but what was lacking was an overall philosophy of teacher education to harmonize the new surge of freedom and increased responsibility for the teacher as a vital force within the developing society.

Within the democratic context, the teacher, if he is to be truly effective, requires that sort of professional training which encourages the growth of personality and self-respect. This was the main element missing in

the previous era of teacher education in Jamaica.

To be of significant help in shaping the island's unfolding social pattern, the teacher needed that self-concept, that inner awareness of himself as an effective social force, with tremendous potential for shaping character and enriching the minds of his students. Moreover, he must present the social image of an educated individual whose leadership can be accepted by the community of which he forms a part. This aspect of teacher training is of particular importance in a place like Jamaica where, especially in the rural village areas, a high degree of illiteracy exists and the teacher is the only one to whom the villagers can look for guidance in more than just the classroom or basic education of their children. It is in such a context that the whole idea of a teacher's 'apprenticeship' becomes absurd, because it fails to take into account the personal and proper professional development of the candidate for teaching which calls for the awakening of potentialities and knowledge far beyond the mere pragmatic needs of the classroom, for mature values, and for a basic respect for the uniqueness of the human person through the study of the science of behaviour.

Yet, despite the apparent sluggishness of the reform of teacher training during that early phase, the less obvious and undramatic business of consolidation

was taking place, through discussions with the teachers' associations, radio broadcasts, and articles propagating the new ideas and values. The period was, therefore, important mainly as a transitional stage, as the editor of the main educational periodical implied in the following paragraph:

What has happened since 1946? We have spoken and written about education in these nine years more than in any previous ninety. If words were deeds, we would strut like peacocks! Still, much of what has been said has been true, and wise, and sensible; the trouble is that much has only been said. But even words have value, and I count it as an achievement that there has been spread through most of Jamaica's thoughtful people, a sense of the importance, the vital urgency even,¹² of sound education and training for all her children.

2. An Era of Rapid Change: 1955-1960.

The second phase of teacher training reform presents a direct contrast to the first, which was marked by deliberation rather than action. The latter years were characterized by a succession of major events, each of which was to have telling consequences in the movement towards a modern system of teacher education in Jamaica. The period thus represents the final integration of the agencies in teacher education, and each event, though

¹² Jamaica, Education Department, "Education in Jamaica", editorial in The Torch, Jamaica, Vol. 6, No. 3, issue of July, 1955, p. 3.

discussed separately in chronological order in the following pages, forms one link in a chain of progressive development towards the co-ordination and the liberalizing of teacher training in Jamaica.

U.C.W.I. Education Faculty.

Although the Education Faculty of the University College of the West Indies (later renamed the University of the West Indies) was actually formed in 1953, it belongs to the final phase of development for two reasons: First, upon his appointment as head of the Education faculty in 1953, Professor H. R. D'Aeth was concerned with internal organization of his department initially and, therefore, his really active work in advancing the cause of teacher training reform did not begin until 1955. Second, the Education faculty was the primary instigator of that series of changes which occurred in rapid succession from 1955 onwards. Though the administrative machinery, and the desire for teacher training reform, undoubtedly existed before the establishment of the university's training institution, it was the Education faculty which provided the fuel, the added fire, and the expert personnel, for accelerating the pace of the reform movement in teacher training.

The impact of the university's Education faculty was particularly significant because of the timing. It began, by a fluke of circumstances, at just that psychological moment when all the conditions were ready and, indeed, when the teachers were prepared to accept change. The lengthy discussions, the spate of educational propaganda, and the much awaited reforms proposed in the reports of inquiry, had all had their effect. A special committee of the Central Education Authority had been given the mandate to explore the ways and means for the improvement and re-organization of teacher training to match the advancing reforms and expansion of the general system.

The Education faculty was, therefore, a welcome addition to the teacher training potential. Moreover, the professor and his staff brought fresh ideas to bear upon the problems of development.¹³ What was important was that the attitudes and values of the university's Education staff were untouched by the authoritarianism of the previous era in Jamaican education. The effect was a cross-pollination of ideas leading to a phase of vigorous growth in the reform of teacher training.

¹³ R. W. Meredith (Principal of Shortwood), Personal Correspondence with the Author, letter dated May 4, 1964.

But the accelerated momentum of reform could not have been achieved without the economic factor. The simple truth is that the government of Jamaica had more money than ever to spend on education. In the four years from 1950 to 1954, the export trade of the island doubled, rising from 15,221,000 to 30,665,000 pounds sterling, and, at that time, the plan for increased industrialization was only at the initial stage of development.¹⁴ The pessimistic predictions of Mr. Hammond had not materialized. Moreover, the government had wisely selected education, especially teacher education, as the area of special concern in its proposed ten-year plan.¹⁵

The expansion of skill training within the senior schools, the reflected boom of world prosperity, and careful and imaginative economic planning had, by 1954, placed the government of Jamaica in a position to finance the expansion in teacher training and to tackle enterprises which it did not dare to hope for in the early post-war years.

Within months of its establishment, the university's Education faculty was engaged in preparing students as

¹⁴ Jamaica, Ministry of Development, A National Plan for Jamaica, 1957-1967, Kingston, Government Printers, 1957, p. 12.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 4.

professional teachers. The courses for the Diploma in Education, designed for university graduates, emphasized the study of education in the British Caribbean in the light of the modern educational theory and practice in Western countries, and catered mainly to those who would be entering the secondary grammar schools as teachers.

For those who held, or were preparing to hold, posts of special responsibility in the Education Department or Training Colleges, the Education faculty offered a Professional Certificate in Education, which stressed the historical and comparative development of West Indian education and the examination of curriculum revision in the country.¹⁶ Thus, by the very nature of its focus on current educational problems, the faculty was able to reach the core of the system and to effect changes in the thinking and attitudes of those who would be administering the Education Department, and the secondary and teacher training institutions.

The professor of the faculty, H. R. D'Aeth, had a direct effect on the administrative and curricular reform. Soon after his arrival, he was drawn into the deliberations of the special planning committee of the Central Education Authority, the training college faculties, and those

¹⁶ University College of the West Indies, Calendar 1960-1961, Mona, Jamaica, University Press, 1960, p. 100.

Education Department officers delegated to administer teacher training development. From those initial unstructured conferences arose the concept of a specialized board --small enough to be efficient, but large enough to contain the elements of the teacher training agencies operating in the island--which could continuously examine the current structure of the teacher education programme, suggest changes to make the system more efficient, and work out the plans for the achievement of interim and long-term goals.

The Board of Teacher Training.

That the Board of Teacher Training was initiated in 1955¹⁷ was significant by the mere fact of its existence since it illustrated clearly the advanced stage of maturity which the island's educators had achieved collectively. It indicated the final level of integration. The composition of the board's membership, the wide terms of reference which it enjoyed, and the generally liberal approach to the problems of educational development marked a sharp departure from the denominational bickering, the professional jealousy, the fragmentation of enterprise, the duplication of services, and the unco-ordinated mosaic

¹⁷ Elsa H. Walters, The Board of Teacher Training, Jamaica, mimeographed copy of a report by the Senior Lecturer of the Education faculty of the University of the West Indies, March 20, 1961, p. 1.

of teacher training institutions which, until the beginning of the reform, typified the island's educational system.

The board could not have succeeded as it did had it not contained representatives of all the major teacher training factors in the island. Moreover, all the ten members were either practising teachers or teacher training administrators. Five teacher training college principals comprised fifty percent of the members; the remainder included the university's Education faculty's professor and senior lecturer, the two Education Department officers involved exclusively in teacher training, and one representative of the Central Education Authority who was also a practising headmistress.¹⁸

Technically, the board of teacher training was formed to advise the Minister of Education and, thus, operated by delegated power. But, in fact, it did much more than advise. For the first time in the educational history of Jamaica, the representatives of the denominational, voluntary, and government training institutions were co-operating in a single endeavour to shape an integrated policy of teacher training and to delve into the basic issues of professional development. Indeed,

¹⁸ Jamaica, Ministry of Education, First Annual Report of the Board of Teacher Training, 1956-1957, (unpublished), para. 1.

the board became the fulcrum of the reform movement: It established, for the first time, the overall philosophy of teacher education for Jamaica; it instigated the goals for the practical development of teacher training facilities; it set the standards for training and certification and, of particular importance, it revised the aims for general education and the professional preparation of teachers.¹⁹

The board approached the aims of teacher education indirectly. It outlined, at the outset, in the course of the first five meetings throughout 1956, the role that the school should play and the basic influences which teachers should seek to engender in their students: First, schools should facilitate the development of the full potentiality of all children, in mind, body, and spirit, and it was the school's responsibility to be concerned with all three aspects; second, the school should operate within the context of the community so that children may realize themselves as part of the social and cultural pattern and share in its development; third, the education provided in schools, as well as the training in skills, should materially contribute towards the development of the country as a whole.²⁰ Essentially, however, the board

19 Ibid., passim.

20 Ibid., para. 4.

regarded the school as a partner with the home and the Church in the broad process of education.

It was from these considerations of the school's influence that the board attempted to define the qualities to be fostered in the teacher and his desirable role in the community. If he was to have that kind of effect on children, then "it follows that a teacher should be a well-educated person, imbued with purpose and integrity, able to think clearly and actively about the world around him."²¹ The teacher, at the same time, would need to have that professional understanding and skill to transmit a broad human influence in his teaching in the school.

What the board stressed, primarily, was the wider role of the teacher in the community. The task of the teacher, the board showed, was not to be confined to the classroom; it required of the practising teacher an identification with the problems and activities of the community, where he would require the social skill to foster the growth of leadership and co-operative effort and where he should earn the respect of those with whom he works by example as well as precept. Thus, to translate the ideal qualities of a teacher into practical terms, the board stipulated five requirements:

21 Jamaica, Ministry of Education, Op. Cit., para. 5.

First, a sense of purpose in teaching: if not a special sense of vocation, at least a determination to do his job well and not think of it as a stepping stone to something else; second, adequate knowledge of what is to be taught; third, sufficient understanding of the theory and practice of education to make his class teaching effective, and to enable him to understand and assist the full development of each child; fourth, the qualities of personality --sympathy with children, patience, vitality, perseverance, and so on (sic)--that enable the well-trained person to become a good teacher; fifth, the ability to understand the social and cultural setting of the school and to work as a member of the community.²²

Although it did not neglect cultivation of academic and professional aptitudes in its proposed programme of training, the essential philosophy of the board was that character training was an integral part of the development of a teacher. Consequently, great importance was given to the concept of residential attendance and to individual attention and personal contact of faculty and students within each of the colleges.²³ The type of training, which the board proposed, appears to be in contrast, to some extent, to the schools of education in Canada and the United States where numbers grow to as many as two thousand, where the contact between staff and students

22 Ibid., para. 7.

23 Jamaica, Ministry of Education, First Annual Report of the Board of Teacher Training for January 1956 to January 1957, mimeographed copy from the Chief Education Officer, p. 3, para. 9-10.

ends at the door of the lecture hall, and where the faculty remains comparatively unconcerned in the moral and social aspects of the individual teacher trainees. .

Instead of combining the training institutions within one huge complex of buildings, the board encouraged individual colleges to develop their own syllabuses within the framework of the standards collectively established.²⁴ Thus, it operated as a cabinet of professional training for all the colleges; it provided a unique and, indeed, an ideal solution to the problems of dispersal, disintegration, and variety of standards which plagued the teacher training system in the pre-war decades. It generated no inter-denominational strife, because it did not seek to control the religious aspects of training, and allowed for some differences in the patterns of the various colleges within the context of the aims and standards mutually accepted by the board, of which all college principals were members.²⁵

Subject Committees.

It would have been difficult, and perhaps impossible for the Board of Teacher Training itself to re-organize the

24 Idem, Ibid., p. 8, para. 28.

25 Elsa H. Walters, Teacher Training in the West Indies, Oxford, University Press, 1960, p. 114.

details of the training curriculum to fit its stated aims. It did not have the personnel or the expert knowledge of all the specialized subjects. The board's task was not to fill in every detail of the design but to set the main features and establish the guidelines for future development in greater detail. The job of filling in the finer strokes of the plan was left to specialist Subject Committees, which consisted of the tutors of the four regular training colleges in each subject and one external examiner appointed by the board to act as chairman of each committee.²⁶

During the first year of the board's operation, the Subject Committees in the various disciplines were engaged in reviewing the syllabuses of all the training colleges. But the general effect of the committees was more than just the practical. The tutors from the four colleges were brought together from time to time to discuss the norms of training in the subject, the methods of teaching, and standards which should be required from teacher trainees on examinations.²⁷ This was a far cry

26 P. C. C. Evans (Chairman) et al, Report of the Committee on the Development of Teacher Training in Jamaica, mimeographed copy from Ministry of Education, Kingston, Jamaica, December 1960, p. 15, para. 32.

27 Ibid., p. 17-22.

from the days of the code when each tutor sought to teach what he felt would be expected by the examiner from the Education Department. The Subject Committees, therefore, provided the ideal opportunity for the cross-fertilization of ideas and for exploring the best means of steadily improving the training college courses.

However, the Subject Committee's task did not end with the designing of the syllabus; it maintained academic standards by mutually drafting examination questions allowing for some degree of difference from college to college.²⁸ The committees became involved, as well, in the marking of scripts which were first checked by individual college tutors and then passed to the appointed external examiner, who was the chairman of the Subject Committee, for comparison of standards and adjustment of marks. Thus, the system allowed for individuality, yet it ensured the maintenance of reasonably uniform standards throughout all the four regular institutions. Moreover, the fears that some tutors, knowing the gist of the papers, would tend to coach students with pre-arranged answers proved to be groundless. In fact, the experience of the first year showed that the similarity of answers, which prevailed under the code, ceased to occur when the Subject Committees

28 Ibid., p. 15, para. 32.

began to function.²⁹ The operation of the specialized groups was yet another example of the successful integration of the teacher training elements in the country.

Although revisions in the teacher training curriculum of all colleges were initiated soon after the Board of Teacher Training began its operation, the final draft of the new syllabus was not complete until 1959. The tyranny of the Code of Regulations--for so long a time regarded as the bible of instruction and administration--gave way to a new programme of teacher education governed by those principles which were collectively promulgated through the Board of Teacher Training. Essentially based upon the concepts of the English MacNair Report,³⁰ the new curriculum bore a close resemblance to the pattern of training in the English teachers' colleges.

The programme comprised three basic units of study: First, the courses regarded as fundamental in professional development--English, Principles of Education, Psychology and Child Development, History of Educational Ideas, and Teaching Methods. Because the teacher educators were committed to the concept that no teacher

29 Walters, Op. Cit., p. 115.

30 Report of a Committee Appointed by the President of the Board of Education to Consider the Supply Recruitment and Training of Teachers and Youth Leaders.

can function efficiently and effectively without a reasonable mastery of the language, the study of English, which was required of all students, was wedded to the unit of professional development.

The second part involved a review of the ordinary subjects of the curriculum, with special emphasis on the teaching of English and Arithmetic, Physical Training, Music and Art and Craft. All students were required to acquire competence in the basic courses, but these were not followed in depth.

In the third part of the course, every student was required to elect two academic subjects, and one practical subject, which would be studied with intensity as major areas of specialization. Thus, each graduate of all the regular colleges was expected to have the basic training for the understanding of students, for administering and developing courses within the classroom. Each teacher would have a guarantee of basic competence in the subjects of the school syllabus, and, by following at least two academic subjects in depth, he would develop an interest which he could follow later to the level of the university degree standard. Thus, the system was designed to produce teachers who were both specialists and generalists in the basic concepts of teaching.

However, academic and professional training was only one aspect of the new curriculum. The essence of the training which the programme sought to encourage was in personality development through social and cultural association, individually motivated study, and personal contact between tutor and student within a relatively small academic complex, in which the individual student would remain the focus, and where he could develop an identity with the faculty, sharing the ideals of the institution and the concepts of its philosophy.

A New School Manual.

But curricular reform was not confined to the training colleges. At about the same time that the Board of Teacher Training began its first year of operation, and when the board's Subject Committees were engaged in the revision of teacher training courses, a parallel movement in curriculum revision was taking place at the primary school level. Although this movement was more concerned with the practising teacher, it forms part of that same stream of change which, in the years between 1954 and 1957, washed away the last vestiges of a redundant Code of Regulations. What was especially important about the revised curriculum was that it was not issued from the Education Department as a completed fact, but began as an

idea emanating from the discussions of sixty-five head teachers at a conference at Shortwood College in July 1956.³¹ As a result of the deliberations, the head teachers' conference recommended that a new curriculum of elementary instruction should be drafted by a panel comprising teachers, Education Officers, and training college lecturers. Thus, in 1957, a number of special committees were formed to devise 'suggestions' for the guidance of teachers in primary schools. The consequent result was the Suggestions to Teachers.³²

The significance of the new volume lay in the fact that it implied a higher level of professional status for the practising teacher by operating within a more liberal and wider frame of reference. This in itself indicated the need for a new kind of teacher training, for a new approach to the inspector-teacher relationship, as well as the teacher-student relationship. What was essentially different between the 'Suggestions' and the Code was not so much in content of material for instruction at the various levels but the freedom which the teacher enjoyed under the new system. The grouping of subjects, the

³¹ Jamaica, Ministry of Education, Suggestions to Teachers in Primary Schools, Kingston, Government Printers, 1959, p. 3.

³² Loc. Cit.

stress upon pupil activity, the recognition of individual differences, and variety of presentation required far greater professional skill than had been the case under the code. Furthermore, such freedom in the classroom tended to make redundant the practice of using pupil teachers who could, if their personalities were strong enough, dominate a class of children and force them to follow a specified drill dictated by the manual, but who were not equipped with the skills of planning and following through an organized lesson.

Changes in the curricular organization of the schools brought greater pressure to bear upon the colleges for a new level of competence. Fortunately, the Board of Teacher Training, by its vigorous attack upon the problems of the reform, had updated the system of teacher education, and, by integrating the potentialities for training, had devised a comparatively unified system of professional development.

But the expansion of the general system in mere physical numbers, in addition to the innovations of the new primary school curriculum, skill training in technical schools, senior schools, and practical training centres, and the introduction of compulsory primary school attendance, created new demands for more teachers. The need was not merely for a change in the quality of preparation,

but for a far greater supply of graduates from the training colleges. The methods devised to cope with the flood of trainees, and the expansion within the individual institutions, form the substance of the subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER IV

EXPANSION OF TRAINING FACILITIES

The reforms and schemes for the expansion of the facilities for teacher training in Jamaica did not immediately follow the publications of the reports of inquiry discussed in the subsequent chapter of this study. Two distinct phases, as previously indicated, become equally apparent from an examination of the growth of the enrolment at the four colleges, and their expansion in terms of buildings and equipment for specialized subjects. The developments which occurred within each of the four regular colleges, outlined in the first section of the chapter, show a slow growth in enrolment throughout the first decade of the reform movement, 1944 to 1954, along with important innovations in student government and the introduction of increased programmes of extra-curricular activities, in contrast to the tremendous surge of interest in teacher training enterprise in the final phase.

The main substance of the second and third sections of the chapter, which deal specifically with the schemes for emergency training of teachers, and the changes in the training and supply of secondary school staff, respectively, belongs to that final phase of the

reform. Although this inquiry, as a whole, was designed to study the events of the two decades, 1940 to 1960, some statistics and developments beyond 1960 were included in parts of the text where it was felt that these would emphasize the trend or clarify an issue.

1. Regular Training Colleges.

When Mr. Hammond initiated the series of inquiries in 1940, the total enrolment at the four colleges was 187 students. The main criticism of the educational adviser, who appears to have been primarily concerned with educational costs, was that the training potential of the four small colleges was pitifully inadequate to cope with any kind of expansion in the general system. His report, though presented to the government of Jamaica in 1941, when the Colonial Development and Welfare Organization were already in full swing, does not seem to have made any difference to the total number of graduates or college enrolment, to any marked extent, over the first five-year period; yet, throughout the war years, added interest in teacher training was stimulated by the inquiries of the Kandel and Easter inquiries. The lag in the teacher training reform is indicated by the fact that the total enrolment, throughout that five-year period, rose by only twenty-four students despite the innovations and expansion

of the general system of education.

Two main reasons explain the delay: First, because of the particular bias of Mr. Hammond's report, there was, throughout those five years and even afterwards, great uncertainty as to the fate of all four institutions for teacher training. Second, throughout the war period, the only college that benefitted from any imperial subsidy was Bethlehem.¹ Moreover, the reports of Kandel and Easter, which subscribed to the general concept of combining the four colleges, added to the uncertainty.

The consequences of the terms of the series of reports, which began to take effect after 1945 by the anomalies of enrolment growth in the four colleges, illustrated by the statistics on page 138, Table IV, show that the comparative enrolment figures of Mico and Bethlehem expanded at the fastest rate in the first decade of reform, while St. Joseph's and Shortwood remained comparatively static, especially in the years from 1940 to 1950.

¹ S. A. Hammond, Memorandum to the Comptroller of Development and Welfare in the West Indies, Kingston, Government Printers, 1941, p. 10, para. 106-109. See also R. J. Fleming (Principal of Bethlehem), Report to the Synod of the Moravian Church for the Year 1943, (unpublished one-page summary of events), 1943.

Table IV.- Enrolment at the Regular Training
Colleges of Jamaica, 1940-64.

| Year | Enrolment | | | | Total |
|------|-----------|---------|----------|----------|-------|
| | Mico | Shortwd | St. Jos. | Bethlehm | |
| 1940 | 55 | 41 | 36 | 55 | 187 |
| 1945 | 67 | 53 | 31 | 60 | 211 |
| 1950 | 105 | 64 | 43 | 88 | 300 |
| 1955 | 111 | 78 | 59 | 91 | 339 |
| 1957 | 104 | 82 | 66 | 93 | 345 |
| 1958 | 125 | 114 | 77 | 95 | 411 |
| 1959 | 170 | 155 | 103 | 95 | 523 |
| 1960 | 238 | 195 | 113 | 111 | 657 |
| 1961 | 238 | 232 | 113 | 110 | 693 |
| 1962 | 239 | 236 | 122 | 120 | 717 |
| 1963 | 293 | 266 | 117 | 120 | 796 |
| 1964 | 347 | 268 | 121 | 122 | 858 |

Jamaica, Education Department, Annual Reports of the Training Colleges, 1940-1964.

The pattern of enrolment, given in Table IV, forms an exact parallel to the events in the administrative structure. The lag in the re-organization of curriculum and administration of teacher training was matched by the lethargic rate of expansion of training facilities. But, from 1957 onwards, the pattern changed and a new design evolved which clearly shows the effect of the government's decision to by-pass one aspect of the proposals of Hammond, Kandel, and Easter by building upon the existing institutions. Thus, the teacher training forces were joined in a collective endeavour to develop a unified and vigorous programme of teacher education which would allow for equal development of the denominational colleges and an expansion of Mico and Shortwood to more than double the enrolment at St. Joseph's and Bethlehem.

The change in the pattern of enrolment, resulting from the integrated programme of training which the Ministry of Education inaugurated from 1957 onwards, was due mainly to the proposals of the Board of Teacher Training and the Education Advisory Council. The expansion of training facilities at each of the individual institutions, outlined in the subsequent sub-sections, indicate clearly the two phases of the reform movement, of which the new system of ministerial government and educational administration was the lever of change, but it was the Board of

Teacher Training which provided the fulcrum for that change.

Mico Training College

That Mico should become the largest and the main teacher training institution in Jamaica was entirely logical from three principal points of view: First, Mico was by far the oldest existing training institution in the island which, as the first chapter of this study showed, could boast a history of pioneering in the cause of Jamaican teacher training ranging over more than a century even before the emancipation of slavery was finally achieved in 1838. Second, though committed to the concept of training concerned with fostering moral and spiritual values, as well as upholding practical and academic standards in teacher education, Mico was thoroughly inter-denominational by the basic terms of the trust which brought it into being. It was, therefore, the ideal vehicle for carrying on the traditions of Jamaican teacher education. Third, the college, which was heavily endowed by the Mico Trust Fund, was located at a campus ideally situated in the capital city of Kingston with ample ground to spread its buildings.

However, the developments anticipated and proposed in the Easter Report, to enlarge the facilities at Mico, and to change the curricular form of the college,

did not materialize during the first phase of the period.

The main innovation, realized in that decade from 1945 to 1955, was the increased participation of students in extra-curricular activities--an aspect of college life which had been drastically criticized by both Hammond and Kandel. The students' social activities, by 1955, included such organizations as a literary society, camera club, art club, drama club, musical society, Boy Scouts, and 4-H club, while the Student Christian Movement occupied a central place in the extra-curricular influence of the institution. Ministers from various denominations were invited, from time to time, to hold services in the chapel of the campus.²

However, in that first phase, there was no essential change in the overall philosophy or practice of teacher education at Mico. The important feature of those early years was the introduction of pre-college training for probationary recruits and candidates for training college entrance. In the nine years from 1949 to 1958, two groups of approximately two hundred students each were given pre-service training at the college.³ During the

² A. J. Newland (Principal), Annual Report of Mico College, 1955-1956, (unpublished), passim.

³ Ibid. See also Jamaica, Education Department, Annual Reports, 1948-1954.

first term of the year, one group would be trained in the practical aspects of classroom function in handicrafts, art, music, practical teaching and physical training, while a second batch of students would undertake training, during the second and third terms, in the academic subjects of the Education Department Code at the level of third class assistant (A3). Thus, Mico fulfilled one aspect of the recommendations during the first years of reform.

In a similar way, the college personnel became actively engaged in the work of upgrading the certification of practising teachers through the correspondence division of the institution. Students who had already passed one or two of the Training College Examinations, and were planning to enter Mico, or some other college, to gain full certification, were prepared by a nine-month correspondence course to sit for the final entrance examinations in January of each year.⁴ Additionally, those practising teachers who were afforded the chance of attending courses at Mico during the vacations brought the total of all those attending throughout the year 1955 to over one thousand.⁵

4 Newland, Annual Report of Mico College, 1955, p. 1-2.

5 Ibid., p. 3.

Although in 1955 the Board of Teacher Training was launched and the pace of change was stepped up under the government's new educational programme, the results did not become immediately apparent in enrolment or administrative change. From the point of view of staff, however, the annual reports of Mico College reveal two significant trends. First, each year the principal reported the departure, on study leave, of two or three members of his faculty to attend the Diploma of Education course at the University College of the West Indies, or to work for certificates or degrees at universities in the United Kingdom, Canada, or the United States. The college was thereby enriched by the exposure of its faculty to fresh ideas from outside the island. Second, the college, in 1955, began interchanging staff with the practising school which began to figure more and more in the training programme.⁶

The really big changes, however, did not occur until 1959, when G. H. Owen, the college's second Jamaican principal, was appointed to initiate the expansion upon the retirement of Principal Newland. The student population, which was then increased from 125 to 170, called for the immediate recruitment of suitable staff. The

6 Ibid.

number of women students, the first of whom had been admitted in 1955, was increased to 41 in 1959. New buildings for specialized subjects, a new science laboratory, a new residence for accommodating students on campus, and a complete re-organization of the entire existing facilities to match the needs of the new programme of training made the task of orientation and co-ordination one of major proportions for the new principal.⁷

What was most important was that for the first time, in 1959, the new training curriculum was, at long last, an accomplished fact. Prepared through the guidance of the Teacher Training Board, and the collective participation of the various Subject Committees of specialists in each college course, the new programme was arranged to cover integrated courses of two years' and three years' duration, depending upon the standard of entry.⁸ Music, art, and religious education, became part of the basic training for all students at Mico, while Sociology and a short course in Christian Ethics was obligatory for all students in their senior year. These subjects were in addition to the three-part programme of courses outlined in the previous chapter.

⁷ G. H. Owen (Principal), Annual Report of Mico College, 1959, (unpublished), p. 1.

⁸ Ibid., p. 2.

Under Principal Owen, two new concepts were introduced into the training programme: First, the college adopted a tutorial system of operation whereby one member of the faculty was assigned as personal tutor for each group of fifteen students to assist them in study methods, teaching techniques, or to provide guidance in personal problems.⁹ Thus, the stress of the training at Mico was on the development of character through a face-to-face individual contact of faculty and staff, as well as upon academic achievement and professional competence in the classroom.

Second, under the new head, the college built a close liaison with thirteen primary and senior schools where the student teachers were engaged in practice teaching. The principal invited the head teachers for conferences at the college where the principles governing the practice sessions of the student teachers were both demonstrated and discussed.¹⁰ Therefore, the experienced personnel of the practising schools, briefed in the concepts of practice teaching, became associates of the college organization for professional development, and were made

9 Ibid., p. 4.

10 Ibid., passim.

aware of their role as participants in the training process rather than, as was the case in the past, merely functioning as hosts for the students of the college.

The spread of new buildings and the expansion in enrolment continued with equal vigour in the years 1960, 1963, and 1964, when the new level of registration reached 238, 293, and 347, respectively. The climax of the reform movement, for so long awaited with gathering anticipation by the college faculty, finally reached a level which exceeded the plans of those who had called for island-wide opportunity for all children to obtain a basic training, and for those who could benefit, a more advanced training. Mico College, after one hundred and thirty years of pioneering in teacher education, stood proudly at the forefront of the new educational programme, offering a course of teacher training which was comparable to any such institution in the world.

Thus, when in 1962 Jamaica became a sovereign state, responsible for her own affairs at home and abroad, it was to Mico College that the independent government of the island turned once more for assistance in helping to produce the calibre of teachers who would work, not just within the context of their classrooms, but who would function as social educators in a real sense in fostering the emergency programme, educating adults as well as

children in the duties and responsibilities of their new political status. By the high level of its staff members, by the philosophy of teacher education which it evolved between 1955 and 1960, and by the comprehensive nature of the training which the college provided, Mico subscribed to the community guidance which the government sought in its programme of "Leadership for an Emergent People".¹¹ Steeped as it was in the theory and practice of democratic procedures in teacher education, Mico was equipped to meet the new challenge.

By the year 1960, the rapidity and extent of Mico's physical expansion were very apparent. The nineteenth-century buildings, which characterized the college premises until 1957, were gradually being replaced by a modern complex of academic and residential halls, and well designed gardens, testifying to the advance of the teacher education programme; but less tangible and yet more spectacular in their realization were the reforms in the basic concepts of training offered at Mico, which, in more ways than one, made the institution a very real part of the twentieth century at long last.

¹¹ I. M. Jones (Vice-principal), Annual Report of Mico College, 1963, (unpublished), p. 5.

Shortwood College.

It was natural that Shortwood's enrolment would remain low during the first phase of development. The reports of Hammond, Kandel, and Easter, had called for amalgamation of the college with the proposed larger teacher training unit which would be co-educational and would expand to an enrolment of some 450 students. Thus, the entire faculty and student body of Shortwood would become absorbed and the college, as a unit, would cease to exist.

The trend of events, however, did not follow that course, and the fate of Shortwood, throughout the whole of the fifteen-year period until 1955, was one of uncertainty and speculation. Hence, although the college's enrolment did rise by forty seven percent over the first ten years due to the pressure of expansion in the general system of schools, no new buildings were initiated, and the conditions of the college remained largely unchanged. In anticipation of the merger of the two institutions, Shortwood and Mico, in 1948, inaugurated joint third-year classes and an interchange of staff between themselves.¹²

¹² H. E. Drummond (Acting Principal), Report of Shortwood Training College, 1948-1949, in Annual Report of the Education Department, 1949, Kingston, Government Printers, 1950, p. 28.

Upon the retirement of Miss Drummond as principal of Shortwood, her place was taken by Mrs. R. W. Meredith, in 1952.¹³ The change coincided with the gradual rise in enrolment at the college from a total of 63 in 1952 to 78 by 1955.¹⁴ But, as in the case of Mico College, the spectacular increases in registration of student teachers did not occur until 1957 and thereafter. By 1958, the college was being attended by 114 students, but in 1960 the enrolment had risen to 195, and four years later, in 1964, there were 268 students registered for teacher training at Shortwood.¹⁵

The pattern of the expansion in enrolment, in the massive building programme which took place in the second phase of development, and in the certainty and resolution in the progress of Shortwood after 1954, was a direct result of the new educational programme adopted in 1955, which followed the integrating influences of an Educational Advisory Council, full ministerial administration, and, most important of all, the influence of the Education

¹³ P. C. C. Evans (Chairman) et al, Report of the Committee on the Development of Teacher Training in Jamaica, Ministry of Education, Jamaica, December 1960, para. 8.

¹⁴ Marjorie A. Myers (Principal of Shortwood), Personal Correspondence with the Author, letter dated November 13, 1964.

¹⁵ R. W. Meredith (Principal of Shortwood), Personal Correspondence with the Author, letter dated May 4, 1964.

Faculty of the University of the West Indies and the Board of Teacher Training. The converging of these factors, between 1955 and 1957, and the decision to retain Shortwood as an operating unit, instead of becoming part of the proposed amalgamated institution, determined the re-organization and expansion of the college.

Like Mico, the residential feature of the training at Shortwood was retained. Although the college continued its strong affiliation with the Anglican Church, whose Bishop of Jamaica continued to hold the position of chairman of the Board of Directors, Shortwood was essentially an inter-denominational institution, accepting students from all religious groups. It remained, however, a training college for women teachers exclusively.¹⁶

The changes, initiated in 1955 and 1956, resulted in an upgrading of the qualifications of the faculty and a complete overhaul of the curricular and administrative organization of the college. Recommendations of the Board of Teacher Training for the staff structure of colleges fixed the minimum qualifications of lecturers as a university degree (preferably in the area of specialization), a diploma in education, and at least five years experience

¹⁶ Jamaica Information Service, Handbook of Jamaica, 1963, Kingston, Government Printers, 1963, p. 455.

in teaching in primary or secondary schools.¹⁷ Particularly during 1958 and 1959, the college underwent major changes to fit the reformed concepts of the new curriculum, organized through the participation of specialist Subject Committees appointed by the Board of Teacher Training.

As in the case of Mico College, the entire premises of the institution were renovated and expanded to include the science laboratory, gymnasium, and specialist rooms to accommodate the expanded student body and facilitate training in accordance with the new programme of teacher education.¹⁸

Like Mico, the years 1955 to 1960 saw a conversion of Shortwood College from an institution built in the latter nineteenth century and fostered mainly by the pioneer enterprise of Bishop Nuttall, to a modern training college of twentieth-century Jamaica, participating in the forward advance of citizenship within the democratic structure of an independent government. Having come of age, Shortwood could lend force to the needed reforms of Jamaican education.

17 Meredith, Op. Cit.

18 Evans, Report of the Committee on the Development of Teacher Training in Jamaica, p. 4, para. 8.

The Denominational Colleges.

In comparing the rate of growth in the enrolment of Bethlehem with that of St. Joseph's and Shortwood, one fact becomes quite clear--Bethlehem's registration outstripped the other two teacher training colleges for women during the first phase of development. The reason for this anomaly was due directly to the terms of the Hammond Report, which, as previously indicated, showed a definite preference for Bethlehem as the site for the proposed combined college because of its rural environment which "exhibited the common features of poverty stricken husbandry in which nevertheless the principal had shown that soil conservation and cultivation are possible."¹⁹

Moreover, because of that particular slant of the educational adviser's memorandum to the government of Jamaica, neither the Roman Catholic St. Joseph's College, nor the inter-denominational colleges of Mico and Shortwood, received the benefit of imperial subsidy in the first ten years of the reform period. Only Bethlehem was sorted out for the improvement of existing accommodation of the college and practising school, and for the provision of a hostel for men to cost 4,500 pounds.²⁰

¹⁹ Hammond, Op. Cit., p. 10, para. 106.

²⁰ Ibid., para. 108. See also Fleming, Op. Cit.

One need look no further to find Mr. Hammond's orientation. While it was undoubtedly true that the Moravian Church had a long and outstanding record of service in the cause of Jamaican teacher training, Bethlehem was not the oldest nor the most progressive of the four teacher training institutions. Furthermore, despite Mr. Hammond's claim that the college was ideally suited because it accepted students from all the principal denominations of the island, the fact remains that Bethlehem was a denominational college. It was owned by the Moravian Church and designed primarily to serve the system of Moravian schools, in the same way that St. Joseph's was a Roman Catholic college established with the major intent of training Catholic teachers for Catholic schools. Besides, both Mico and Shortwood accepted students from all denominations as, indeed, did St. Joseph's.

The recommendations of the Hammond Report did not help the cause of teacher training in general, especially during that early phase of development. It was a biased view favouring the Non-Conformist Protestant denomination and oriented towards the Moravian institution because, in addition, the educational adviser found it to be "inexpensively run for the poorer classes of the island."²¹ The

²¹ Ibid., para. 106.

patronizing tone of that quotation, the predisposition of the memorandum, and the pre-occupation with the concept of rural accommodation, were all reminiscent of a form of colonialism from the nineteenth century, expressing the attitudes implied in the works of Rudyard Kipling and his concept of 'the white man's burden'. In the opinion of this writer, the educational adviser may have done a disservice to the cause of unity and integration of teacher training enterprise by the obvious partiality of his proposals. Nor did he appear to show the proper respect for the connotations of his task. Consequently, the narrowness of view, the shortsightedness which the document reveals contributed to the uncertainty and indecision which characterized the first phase of development. It did nothing to further the cause of teacher education at that crucial time when what was needed, more than anything else, was consolidated effort and harmony of purpose through the merging of the four agencies involved in teacher training to produce a unified programme. The best that can be said for the Hammond Report is that it aroused further inquiry.

In the ten years between 1940 and 1950, St. Joseph's enrolment rose by only nineteen percent²² from 36 to 43;

²² Sister Bartholomew (Principal of St. Joseph's), Extracts from Reports to the Board of Management, 1944-1964, p. 2.

Bethlehem's roll, in comparison, increased by sixty percent, from 55 to 88.²³ Although St. Joseph's registration reached a high of 77 in 1958, it was not until the final inauguration of the new programme in 1959 and the introduction of the new teacher training curriculum at the two denominational institutions that their enrolment reached, more or less, the same level. From 1960 onwards, the registration of students at both institutions remained at approximately 120, but the recommendations of the Board of Teacher Training envisaged a minimum enrolment at all Jamaican colleges of 240 students, which would allow for a faculty of eighteen in addition to the principal and clerical staff.

Although St. Joseph's and Bethlehem remained denominational in essence, both colleges accepted students from other denominations. However, religious instruction continued to be an integral part of the training given at each of the colleges. All Catholic students attending St. Joseph's were required to attend the two-hour weekly course in Apologetics,²⁴ while at Bethlehem attendance at chapel and the course in Christian guidance remained essential. But the academic and professional curriculum of the denominational colleges did not differ in any essential regard

²³ Annual Reports of Bethlehem College, 1940-1960.

²⁴ Sister Bartholomew, Op. Cit.

from the other two inter-denominational colleges since, after 1959, the syllabus of all colleges came under the aegis of the Board of Teacher Training.

By 1960, the pattern of the four regular training colleges was fixed from the point of view of size of enrolment, staff structure, and curricular organization. The denominational colleges were retained as entities, but they remained at about half the size of either of the other two inter-denominational colleges. However, after the achievement of independence in 1962, and the beginning of a new drive for literacy and community education, Mico and Shortwood reached new levels of enrolment of 347 and 268, respectively, by 1964, while the denominational colleges remained at the 120 level. Altogether, the four regular training colleges, by 1960, had a total enrolment three and a half times greater than in 1940, and by 1964, the total registration of 858 (excluding the one hundred teachers undergoing emergency training) was almost five times the original figure of 187 in 1940.

The massive surge in teacher training enrolment, and in the number of graduates leaving the colleges each year was tangible proof of the achievement of the Jamaican educators in the field of teacher training. It represented a reform both in the quality of training as well as the quantity of the supply of teachers from the four colleges.

2. Emergency Training Schemes.

In 1955, when the Jamaican government launched its new educational programme, the total enrolment at the four regular training colleges was only 354. In fifteen years, the student teacher registration had increased, since 1940, by almost one hundred percent, but the number of graduates leaving the training colleges each year, amounting to about one hundred, was still radically insufficient to meet the annual demand, estimated at twice that figure. The difference between supply and demand was reconciled by employing probationary teachers--a practice which, in effect, was no more than an extension of the pupil teacher system. Hence, the proportion of trained to untrained teachers calculated by the Education Department in 1955, showed that fifty-six percent of the practising teachers were underqualified, and of these about half were probationers.²⁵

The government was faced, not only with the problem of producing more teachers, but of upgrading the training of those who were already functioning in the classrooms. Thus, when the Teacher Training Board began its operations in January 1956, it had to find answers to three questions: First, how to attract candidates with first class academic

²⁵ R. M. Bent, "Moneague Training College", in The Torch, Vol. 7, No. 2, issue of May, 1956, p. 34.

background from the secondary grammar schools into teaching; second, how to improve the academic training of probationers and provide suitable orientation for the young teacher recruits; third, how to help underqualified practising teachers in the schools to upgrade their level of training.

Moneague Emergency College.

When the Board of Teacher Training undertook the task of planning the means for the improvement of training methods and the supply of teachers in January, 1956, it was immediately realised that the four regular training colleges by themselves could not cope with the volume of teacher supply that would be required.²⁶ Some deviation from the conventional training pattern was necessary if the plans for educational expansion were to succeed. Consequently, Moneague Emergency College was opened on June 1st, 1956, in the make-shift quarters of a remodelled hotel to accommodate one hundred students, and Aubrey Phillips was brought from Mico College, where he was a senior member of the staff, to become the first principal of Moneague.²⁷

²⁶ Aubrey Phillips, Annual Report of Moneague Emergency College, 1956-1957, (unpublished), typewritten copy from the Ministry of Education, Kingston, Jamaica, p. 1.

²⁷ Evans, Op. Cit., p. 5, para. 12.

Though originally designed to cater to the 1200 probationers practising in the schools, the plan of the college was later changed to take in second class and third class assistants, instead.²⁸ It was felt that there was no certainty that probationers would stay in teaching, and that the first consideration should be given to those who had, through the external examinations of the training college, vacation and correspondence courses, raised the level of their training by their own initiative. Thus, instead of increasing the supply of teachers, Moneague was organized to improve the qualifications of those already functioning in the classrooms.²⁹

The experience with the emergency college fulfilled the expectations of the board. The first group of one hundred women and two men, selected for their academic potential as well as the promise they had shown in the teaching situation, confirmed the worth of the experiment by the quality of the teaching practice and examination content, as reported by the Subject Committees and External Examiners of the Board of Teacher Training. Since the course was designed primarily to help the student advance professionally, the classroom situation in nearby schools

28 Bent, Op. Cit., p. 34.

29 Evans, Op. Cit., p. 5, para. 12-13.

was used extensively to emphasize the principles and techniques of teaching under existing conditions.³⁰

The Moneague course was divided, like the curriculum of the regular colleges, into three parts. First, the professional subjects consisted of Child Study and psychology, Principles of Education, Special and General Methods, and English Language and Literature. Second, the academic courses were "oriented towards an intelligent use of the elementary school curriculum."³¹ Instead of stressing the academic content, Moneague was designed to help practising, older teachers, who had already proven some degree of competence, to meet fully the demands of teaching within the context of the new programme within the elementary schools, and, particularly, to acquaint them with an adequate knowledge of sources of information. Third, the emergency college sought to introduce the student to new methods of instruction through demonstration in the classroom, and encouraged her to experiment with new teaching aids.³²

Over the period of six years of operation, from 1956 to 1962, Moneague trained 605 underqualified teachers,

30 Phillips, Op. Cit., p. 2, para. 5.

31 Ibid., p. 1, para. 3.

32 Ibid.

stepping up their level of certification by one grade.³³

However, by 1962, a change in the standard of applicants was reported by the principal, and it was decided to change the Moneague course to cover two years of training instead of one, but the college continued to serve the pre-trained teachers who had, at least, succeeded in passing one of the examinations beyond the level of the probationary teacher.³⁴ As Table V, on the subsequent page, shows, the college retained the approximate level of one hundred students annually throughout the first phase of its operation. The drop in the candidates for examination in 1963 is explained by the transition to the two-year course.

³³ Idem, Exam Results in Annual Reports of Moneague Training College, 1957-1963.

³⁴ Ministry of Education, Moneague Training College, (unpublished), mimeographed brochure of aims and courses of the two-year course at Moneague, September, 1963, p. 1.

Table V.- Candidates and Failures on Final Examinations at Moneague in 1956-1962.

| Year | Candidates | Failures |
|-----------|------------|----------|
| 1956-1957 | 99 | 0 |
| 1957-1958 | 101 | 0 |
| 1958-1959 | 99 | 1 |
| 1959-1960 | 103 | 4 |
| 1960-1961 | 103 | 2 |
| 1961-1962 | 100 | 1 |
| 1962-1963 | 57 | 0 |

Aubrey Phillips (principal), Annual Reports of Moneague Training College, 1956-1963.

The training provided by Moneague was valuable in improving the certification of under-qualified teachers, who comprised more than fifty-five percent of the teaching force in 1956.³⁵ But Moneague was only a drop in the bucket. The inadequacy of the regular training colleges to produce trained teachers in sufficient numbers to serve the expanding general system of schools had forced the Education Department, and the individual schools, to hire untrained assistants who had passed the Third Jamaica Local Examination (formerly the Pupil Teachers' Examination) to make up the deficiency in the staffs of elementary schools. Hence, in the years between 1944 and 1954, the number of probationers employed in schools had risen from 549 to 1203,³⁶ and, despite the effect of Moneague, the trend in hiring an even greater proportion of probationers was bound to continue under the existing circumstances. The pupil-teacher system, in slightly different guise, was still the predominant feature of teacher supply in Jamaica.

Thus, in 1957, when the first Regional Conference on Teacher Training was held in Trinidad, Jamaica's trained teachers were estimated at no more than forty-four percent

³⁵ Evans, Op. Cit., p. 5, para. 11.

³⁶ Jamaica, Ministry of Education, A Review of the Developments in Education and Social Welfare in Jamaica, 1944-1954, Kingston, Government Printers, 1954, p. 6.

of the 4,500 teachers employed in the schools at that time.³⁷

The central theme of the resolutions from that conference--that the Caribbean territories should work towards a fully trained service--was accepted by Jamaica as an interim ten-year goal, to have at least two-thirds of all teachers with some training by 1967, and it was included in the government's ten-year development plan.³⁸ Immediate arrangements would be made to provide pre-service short-term training for three hundred teachers annually, and, at the same time, the expansion of the regular colleges would be intensified.

Caledonia Junior College.

The decision of the government to accept the recommendations of the Regional Conference on Teacher Training led to the establishment of Caledonia Junior College in 1958.³⁹ Initiated in temporary quarters on Caledonia Avenue in Kingston, the college was headed by another ex-member of the Mico faculty, D. R. B. Grant, and organized to provide a basic training for two groups of 150

³⁷ Evans, Op. Cit., p. 9, para. 19.

³⁸ Jamaica, Ministry of Development, A National Plan for Jamaica, 1957-1967, Kingston, Government Printers, p. 40, para. 27.

³⁹ Evans, Op. Cit., p. 6, para. 13.

probationary student teachers each year.

The Caledonia course, which lasted for twenty weeks, gave to the probationary student a preliminary training in the elements of Child Study, simple techniques of teaching English and Arithmetic to juniors, supervised practice teaching and observation of experienced teachers, and a more intensive course of reading and study of the English language and literature.⁴⁰

Upon completing the Caledonia twenty-week course, the probationary teacher was further required to follow a specified Correspondence Course provided by the Ministry of Education during pre-college service. The correspondence curriculum consisted of the study of English, Education, Arithmetic and one or two optional subjects, in addition to a course of reading from books circulated amongst the students. The course, which was normally intended to be completed in two years, could be followed by the probationary teacher at his or her own pace, and, upon its successful completion, the probationer would then be entitled to enter the two-year course of training at any one of the four regular training colleges.⁴¹ Thus, the effect of probationary training was to reduce the regular

40 Ibid., p. 11, para. 23.

41 Loc. Cit.

teacher training by one year, or place the student on the same level as a candidate with the Cambridge School Certificate or its equivalent.

The Caledonia probationary training and its complementary correspondence course were the only logical means of staffing the schools while there was still an insufficient number of graduates from the training colleges. Besides, the scheme ensured that the main defects of the pupil-teacher system, that of the imitation of poor habits of teaching during pre-college service, would be largely counteracted by the preliminary training and follow-up by education officers to provide help and guidance for the pre-trained probationer.

By 1960, a total of 453 student teachers had received training at Caledonia, and the first group of probationers, having completed correspondence courses, was ready to enter the two-year course of the regular colleges.⁴² The system was working well.

However, the fact that such an institution as Caledonia was necessary at all was partly due to the insufficient supply of secondary grammar school graduates as candidates for teaching. This stemmed from two basic causes. First, the secondary grammar school graduates, as

⁴² Evans, Op. Cit., p. 13, para. 27.

a whole, still regarded teaching, especially elementary school teaching, as a second-rate choice of career. The attitudes, which the dual system of secondary trust schools and denominational elementary schools had engendered throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century, were still very powerful forces in Jamaican society despite independence and despite the new educational propaganda. Second, the lack of enthusiasm of secondary grammar school graduates to enter elementary school teaching was, in part, due to the comparatively low salaries which failed, from time to time, to keep pace with the trend of the economy. Consequently, many trained teachers left teaching to undertake better paid employment in the fields of Probation Service, Social Work, the Jamaica Agricultural Society, and 4-H club work. To combat the latter trend, the Evans Committee⁴³ called for a publicity campaign to improve the public image of the teacher and to attract recruits.⁴⁴

Moreover, there was a tendency during the second decade of the reform movement for more and more college-trained teachers to move towards the grammar schools. The rate of increase in the grammar schools, indicated in Table VI, was even greater than that of the general system.

⁴³ The Committee on the Development of Teacher Training in Jamaica.

⁴⁴ Evans, Op. Cit., p. 9, para. 17-18.

Table VI.- Jamaican Secondary Grammar Schools and Their Enrolment: 1944-1960.

| Year | Schools | Enrolment |
|---------|---------|--------------------|
| 1944-45 | 23 | 3997 |
| 1945-46 | 23 | 4026 |
| 1946-47 | 24 | 4755 |
| 1947-48 | 24 | 4761 |
| 1949-50 | 27 | 5838 |
| 1950-51 | 27 | 6197 |
| 1951-52 | 27 | 6579 |
| 1952-53 | 27 | 7850 |
| 1953-54 | 27 | 8142 |
| 1954-55 | 29 | 9755 |
| 1955-56 | 34 | 10000 |
| 1959-60 | 41 | 11000 ^a |

Jamaica, Education Department,
Annual Reports, 1944-1960, passim.

a Estimated number for 1959-60.

The number of grant-aided secondary grammar schools rose from twenty-three in 1944 to forty-one in 1960. Pupil enrolment almost trebled. The increase, however, was not due entirely to the establishment of new schools but by recognizing other secondary schools, formerly initiated privately, as qualifying for government aid.⁴⁵ The advancing enrolment, nevertheless, left the organizers of teacher education in a dilemma.

3. Supply of Secondary School Teachers.

To obtain an overview of the changes in the qualifications of secondary grammar school staff over the period of the reform, one would need to return to the report of the Jamaica Schools Commission of June, 1940. At that time, Director of Education Easter, as chairman of the Schools Commission, reported that while 63 percent of the teachers had no degree, only 17 percent had a teacher's diploma, and 30 percent had no qualification higher than the School Certificate or Matriculation Certificate.⁴⁶ As Table VI illustrates, the number of schools and pupil

⁴⁵ Jamaica, Ministry of Development, A National Plan for Jamaica, 1957-1967, p. 39.

⁴⁶ Jamaica, Education Department, Annual Report 1939-1940, Kingston, Government Printers, 1940, p. 2, para. 7.

enrolment had skyrocketed, causing, in turn, a dire need for secondary grammar school staff. So that, whereas in 1947 the non-graduates⁴⁷ still comprised 61 percent of the total teaching force, only 20 percent were trained with a teacher's diploma or certificate, and there were 55 percent of the combined staffs who were still untrained non-graduates.⁴⁸

The progression of the statistics of graduates and non-graduates, trained and untrained, given in Table VII on the subsequent page, shows clearly the movement towards the improvement in qualifications of grammar school personnel, reaching a high level of 56 percent in graduate teachers employed in the schools by 1960 while in 1940 the proportion of graduates was 37 percent.⁴⁹ Trained non-graduates rose from the 1947 level of 6 percent to 27 percent in 1960, while the percentage of untrained non-graduates fell from 55 percent in 1947 to only 17 percent in 1960.

47 The term 'graduate', in this context, refers to holders of university degrees.

48 Jamaica, Education Department, Annual Reports, 1946-1960, passim.

49 Idem, Annual Report, 1940, p. 2, para. 7.

Table VII.-- Trained and Untrained Graduates and Non-Graduates Teaching in Jamaican Secondary Schools, 1947-60.

| Year | Graduates | | Non-Graduates | | Total |
|------|------------------|-----------|---------------|-----------|-------|
| | Trained | Untrained | Trained | Untrained | |
| 1947 | 42 | 78 | 18 | 168 | 306 |
| 1948 | 47 | 71 | 13 | 200 | 331 |
| 1949 | 35 | 96 | 60 | 154 | 345 |
| 1951 | 46 | 108 | 71 | 139 | 364 |
| 1952 | 55 | 138 | 86 | 150 | 423 |
| 1954 | 70 | 145 | 106 | 167 | 488 |
| 1960 | 479 ^a | | 224 | 146 | 849 |

Jamaica, Education Department, Annual Reports, 1946-1960.

^a Total number of graduates in secondary grammar schools. Statistics for trained and untrained teachers were not available.

The significance of the statistics in Table VII is that, allowing for the increase of the grand total of teachers in secondary schools, there was more than four times the proportion of trained non-graduates in 1960 as there was in 1947. Similarly, the proportion of graduates had almost doubled in those thirteen years.

The cause of the trend is to be found in three important facts: First, the creation of the University College of the West Indies (later the University of the West Indies) had a tremendous impact, especially when, in 1953, the Faculty of Education was inaugurated. Second, the improved academic content of the curriculum at the regular teachers' colleges, and the specialist training for senior schools obtainable at the colleges and at such technical institutions as the Jamaica School of Agriculture, the Kingston Technical School, and the College of Arts, Science and Technology, became more and more suitable for teaching, of technical and non-academic subjects especially, at the grammar school level. Third, the status of teaching in a secondary grammar school undoubtedly had a great appeal to many Jamaican non-degreed teachers, in such a country where social tradition dies hard. Furthermore, the salaries were more attractive in secondary grammar schools.

With the experience of the previous decade of development since 1947, the Jamaican government was supremely aware of the close relationship between education and social and economic progress for the country. Secondary grammar school education was one of the main keys to that development. Plans for further expansion of the grammar schools envisaged an increase in enrolment from 10,000 in 1956 to 16,000 by the end of the plan's development period in 1967.⁵⁰ Hence, if the standards of the teaching personnel of the schools were to be met and maintained, new avenues of recruitment would have to be found.

The number of scholarships tenable at the grammar schools was increased from 120 to 325 in 1956.⁵¹ By 1959, training at all the teachers' colleges was provided free, from government expenditure. To meet the proposed expansion of the secondary grammar schools, the Ministry of Education devised two approaches to the problem. To serve the immediate and short-term needs, graduate teachers would be recruited in the United Kingdom and Canada to work in the schools; to meet the long-term needs of grammar school staff, fifty scholarships were awarded to the University

⁵⁰ United Kingdom, Central Office of Information, Jamaica, London, Swindon Press, 1958, p. 14.

⁵¹ Loc. Cit.

College of the West Indies (later the University of the West Indies) annually to enable those students who were willing to teach in the secondary schools to obtain their degrees and post-graduate Diplomas in Education.⁵² Moreover, there were 1,680 Jamaican students attending universities and colleges in the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States, in addition to over two hundred at the University College itself.⁵³ From those Jamaica scholars, the government also expected to recruit the grammar school teachers needed to staff the swelling volume of students attending the forty-one academically-oriented secondary schools of the island.

As a result of the Commonwealth Economic Conference at Montreal in 1958, the need for further co-operation among commonwealth countries was recognized. A Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Scheme was organized, from which Jamaica, up to 1962, received twenty-one awards --all for postgraduate work including education.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the Commonwealth Teacher Training Bursaries offered by the United Kingdom to 13 teacher training students in 1960 and 1961 were increased to 24 awards in 1962 to assist

52 Jamaica, Ministry of Development, Op. Cit., p. 40.

53 United Kingdom, Central Office of Information, Op. Cit., p. 15.

54 Jamaica Information Service, Op. Cit., p. 461.

in the development of expert Jamaican personnel in the various areas of teacher education.⁵⁵

As in the case of elementary teacher training, the training of skilled teachers for the grammar schools was approached in several ways. The university's Education faculty, however, was the main avenue of training and supply of secondary school staff and of potential administrators, while Commonwealth assistance and recruitment from abroad were the emergency measures to fill the gap resulting from the expansion and reform of the secondary grammar schools, which were still primarily involved in training potential business and government executives and professional workers of Jamaica. By 1960, there was slight evidence of a movement of grammar school graduates into the regular training colleges,⁵⁶ but it represented only a trickle.

The traditional separation of the two levels of schools remained. There was, by the increase in the number of trained non-graduates and the greatly expanded opportunities for poorer children to enter the schools as

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Bent, Memorandum on the Development of Teacher Training and Proposals to Meet the Needs of Jamaica up to 1967, (unpublished), Ministry of Education, Kingston, Jamaica, 1961, p. 1, para. 2.

scholarship winners, an increasing degree of integration between the two levels of schools. But as far as teacher education is concerned, the secondary grammar schools remained separate from the elementary system and from the teacher training institutions, except through the External Examiners and Subject Committees appointed from secondary school staff by the Board of Teacher Training. The fact is that, in 1960, the academic training of prospective teacher trainees was still largely unaffected by the work of the grant-aided secondary grammar schools.

4. Current and Future Trends.

The events in the development of teacher training since 1960 indicate two significant trends. First, in the attempt to reconcile the shortage of secondary grammar school recruits and to enlarge the proportion of under-qualified teachers with the goals set at the Regional Conference of Teacher Training in 1957, the Evans Committee for the Development of Teacher Training devised a number of new emergency measures to meet the challenge. Second, since 1963, the work of the Board of Teacher Training was being taken over by the Institute of Education⁵⁷ of the

⁵⁷ R. W. Meredith (Principal of Shortwood College), Personal Correspondence with the Author, letter dated May 1964.

University of the West Indies, headed by Hugh Springer, the former Registrar of the university.

The proposals of the Evans Committee for a special emergency college resulted from the inadequacy of potential supply of teachers from the colleges, estimates of which are given in Table VIII on page 178.

Table VIII.-Estimates of the Supply of Graduates from the Jamaican Teachers' Colleges: 1960-66.

| Year | College Graduates | | | | |
|-----------|-------------------|---------|---------|--------|-------|
| | Mico | Shortwd | St.Jos. | Bethm. | Total |
| 1960-1961 | 49 | 28 | 21 | 33 | 137 |
| 1961-1962 | 56 | 41 | 28 | 30 | 155 |
| 1962-1963 | 56 | 77 | 40 | 29 | 202 |
| 1963-1964 | 80 | 80 | 40 | 40 | 240 |
| 1964-1965 | 80 | 80 | 40 | 40 | 240 |
| 1965-1966 | 80 | 80 | 40 | 40 | 240 |
| 1966-1967 | 80 | 80 | 40 | 40 | 240 |

P. C. C. Evans (chairman) et al, Report of the Committee on the Development of Teacher Training in Jamaica, para. 74.

The pattern of development of the training colleges, illustrated in the estimates of Table VIII on page 178, was set in 1960 by the Evans Committee. Since that time, both Mico and Shortwood have gone far beyond the proposed enrolments, but the concept of retaining the two denominational colleges at a level of half or less than the inter-denominational colleges is clearly seen in the table and in the trend of events.

Those enrolment figures, however, were insufficient to achieve the ten-year goals. Of the 5,137 teachers serving in the elementary system of schools in 1960, there were 2,537 trained teachers, 447 second-class assistants, 517 third-class assistants, and 1229 probationers, in addition to 407 temporary teachers unclassified.⁵⁸ Estimates of the potential staff requirements by 1967, even on a pupil-teacher ratio of 1:50, indicated the need for 7,250 to cope with the increases in population of school aged children. Thus, a teaching force of 4,833 trained teachers would be required to meet the goals of the national ten-year plan. Therefore, on the basis of the existing facilities, an additional 1,280 teachers would be needed within the seven-year period till 1967.⁵⁹

58 Evans, Op. Cit., p. 39, para. 73.

59 Ibid., p. 39, para. 74.

On the basis of its forecasts, the Evans Committee recommended the establishment of a Special Emergency College to train the 1,280 additional teachers that would be needed. It suggested an innovation closely resembling the post-war emergency developments of teacher training in the United Kingdom. The new college should be limited to mature students of twenty-five years or older with sufficient academic background, at the minimum of the Cambridge School Certificate or higher, who would be capable of absorbing the concepts and skills of teacher training in a concentrated forty-week course followed by a correspondence course in service. The emergency college, which would accommodate 240 students annually, would run from 1962 until 1968. Thus, taking into account the normal wastage on such courses, the college would have a potential output of 1,275 graduates in the period of its existence.⁶⁰

In order to facilitate the flow of pre-trained teachers to the two-year course, the formation of a second Junior Training College was recommended. Believing as it did in the worth of keeping training institutions at a comparatively small size, the Evans Committee--instead of calling for an expansion of Caledonia--suggested that the new college should accommodate 250 students annually,

⁶⁰ Ibid., para. 78.

divided into groups of 125 in each of the two five-month probationary courses.

Whether these recommendations have been followed or not do not properly belong within the scope of this study. They were mentioned in this chapter to indicate the trends which Jamaican teacher training was following in 1960 and in order to facilitate a clearer overview of the stage of maturity of the teacher training system at the end of the period under review.

As this chapter has shown, two distinct trends or phases become apparent from an examination of the expansion of training facilities following the inquiries. The first post-war phase was mainly characterized by the lethargic rate of reforms, from the point of view of physical numbers as well as administrative change. The main advantage of that period ending in 1954 was the public awareness engendered by discussions, radio broadcasts, and periodical literature. Of the four regular colleges, only Bethlehem advanced remarkably because of the educational adviser's support. It seems to have been a time of uncertainty.

That uncertainty and indecision gave way to co-operative effort and a revision of the aims and concepts of the reform movement with the formation of the Board of Teacher Training. Because it included all the principals

of training institutions, as well as representatives from the Education faculty of the University of the West Indies and the Education Department, the board was able to coordinate and integrate the plans and syllabuses of the entire teacher training scheme. It was since that time that the regular colleges began to make real headway. From the first year of its operation in 1956, the board's influence was the most significant of all the agencies for training teachers. It organized emergency training schemes, and revamped the administrative and curricular organization of the whole training programme. Thus, in the second phase of the period, student teacher enrolment almost trebled and the reform movement surged ahead in all respects.

There is no doubt that the expansion of training facilities, in 1960, had reached a new level. The most promising of the trends was the development of the Institute of Education. The orientation to theory and practice of English teacher training was quite clear. Whether Jamaica had achieved the goals implied in the reports of inquiry of Hammond, Kandel, and Easter, the extent to which the developments of the twenty years of the reform movement followed the pattern suggested in those inquiries, and an evaluation of the teacher education system to serve the expanding number of children of school age in Jamaica are attempted in the Summary and Conclusions which follow.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In researching and reporting this investigation, the writer had two essential purposes. The first aim was to trace the developments in the academic and professional preparation of teachers in Jamaica throughout the period of reform, 1940 to 1960. The second aim was to estimate the progress of the reform of Jamaican teacher training in the light of the recommendations and concepts contained in a series of three expert reports of inquiry.

The research was based on the hypothesis that the teacher training system of Jamaica, up to 1960, had not attained a satisfactory or adequate level of achievement. The criteria for the term 'adequate' were extracted from the expert reports of Hammond, Kandel and Easter. The findings, reported in the body of the thesis, has led the writer to reject the hypothesis with two important reservations. A summary of the research, contained in the following pages, indicate the main reasons for the conclusions which are briefly discussed at the end of this chapter.

The statement that no historical event can exist in a vacuum has been so often repeated that it has almost become a truism or even, perhaps, a platitude. The significance of the concept is nevertheless of paramount

importance in a thesis such as this. Thus, at the very outset of the study, the writer attempted to set the recent events in teacher training within the framework of the larger history of Jamaican education itself.

The foundations of the dual system of schools, which characterized the educational system as a whole, were traced to two main sources. First, the trust schools, established mainly through the endowments of wealthy benefactors, followed the identical lines as their English counterpart since they were staffed, in the main, by teachers recruited in England. Second, Jamaican elementary schools began as missionary schools, initiated by various denominational groups especially at the time of the abolition of slavery in 1834-1838 and subsidised through the Imperial Negro Grant.

Those factors, growing out of the colonial system of government, the institution of slavery, and the island's sugar economy, were seen to be the main causes of the parallel layers of schools which persisted until very recent times and which tended to divide the Jamaican people into racial and socio-economic groups contributing to the fragmentation of the Jamaican society throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The beginnings of teacher education were traced to the attempts of denominational missionary groups and the

Mico Charity to provide a basic training for teachers which generally amounted to a sort of apprenticeship in the skills of routine instruction and management of large classes of elementary school children. However, the trust schools, which in time became fee-paying and catered to the wealthy classes, continued to follow their English orientation in staffing and curricular organization. Thus, there was no interchange between the parallel layers of schools, except through a few annual scholarships.

A central administration for elementary education and teacher training, under a Supervising Inspector and a government Education Department administered through a Code of Regulations, began, in 1866, when the island underwent constitutional changes to become a crown colony.

The Code, which tended to confirm and entrench the pupil-teacher system of teacher training, became the central feature of Jamaican education. But the attempts of the government to extend schemes for industrial education were frustrated by the resistance of Jamaican workers. It was only at the turn of the nineteenth century, when the Lumb Commission simplified and reformed the curriculum of elementary schools and training colleges, that mass education in Jamaica became relatively practical with a focus on a basic syllabus, consisting mainly of 'the three R's, manual crafts, and agriculture.

However, as a result of the Lumb Report, two of the remaining teacher training institutions were closed. Throughout the first four decades of the twentieth century, comparative stagnation in teacher training development ensued. Two small denominational colleges, operated by the Moravian and Roman Catholic congregations, assisted by government subsidies, accommodated 55 and 36 women trainees, respectively. Of the two inter-denominational colleges, the largest and oldest of all the institutions was owned by the Mico Charity and had a student roll of 55 men. The fourth college was government-owned with strong Anglican affiliation and enrolled 41 women. Thus, in 1940--the year to which these figures apply--the colleges had a total enrolment of 187 students in training.

The actual events of the period from 1940 to 1960, with which this study is primarily concerned, were outlined and discussed in the second, third, and fourth chapters. The second chapter, however, served a dual purpose. On the one hand, it gave an account of the economic and political events leading to the appointment of the Moyne Royal Commission, which called for the establishment of a Colonial Development and Welfare Fund and Organization and the appointment of an educational expert to advise the comptroller on the allocation of educational expenditure, of which teacher training should receive the major share.

On the other hand, the contents of the second chapter provide the measuring stick of the expansion and central issues of the reform movement in teacher training during those twenty years after 1940.

The report of S. A. Hammond, the educational adviser, was especially critical of the role of the secondary grant-aided grammar schools and illustrated the inadequacy of the four teacher training colleges existing in 1940 to cope with the proposed expansion of the general system which would, under the educational plan of reform, be divided into junior and senior schools. The Hammond Report called for an intensive investigation of post-primary education in the island with the focus on teacher training. Thus, the Kandel Committee of twelve and later, its successor--the Secondary Education Continuation Committee headed by Director of Education B. H. Easter--was formed to recommend appropriate changes which would modernize the system of teacher training and make it more consistent with the needs of the expanding enrolment of the general system of schools. The contents of the Kandel Report came to be regarded as the statement of policy while the Easter Report became the outline of plans for reform. It is in the light of the two documents that the progress and development of teacher education during the period of reform, 1940 to 1960, was assessed in this study.

The reports of investigation recommended changes in the administration and curriculum of teacher training, relocation and amalgamation of the training facilities, arrangements for the supply of secondary school teachers, and the reorganization of secondary grammar schools to allow for the pre-college preparation of prospective teachers.

The third chapter of the study, concerned with the developments in the administrative and curricular reforms of teacher training, revealed that the essential feature of the reform movement was integration of the previously fragmented agencies of teacher education in the island. But that mature level of integration did not occur until 1955. Consequently, the period of reform was seen as falling into two distinct phases of development.

The first phase, beginning at the end of the investigations, coincided with the achievement of partial self-government in 1944, was followed by ten years of gradual expansion and administrative reform. The ensuing decade saw the re-organization of the Education Department, and the formation of a Central Education Authority in 1950, later to become the Educational Advisory Council under a Minister of Education who assumed full authority in 1953.

The second phase, which represented the culmination of several factors, was triggered mainly by the formation

of a faculty of Education at the University College of the West Indies in 1953. The professor and his staff had a liberalizing effect upon the deliberations of training college faculty and Education Department officers for the reforms needed to make the teacher training system more suited to the needs of the general system and in keeping with modern Western developments in teacher education. The outcome of those discussions resulted in the appointment of a Board of Teacher Training at the latter part of 1955. Composed of all the agencies involved in teacher education in Jamaica, the board has had the most significant effect upon the course of teacher education since its first meeting in January, 1956.

The cause of the initial lethargy in teacher training reforms during the first phase was explained by two main factors. First, having been accustomed to minute direction of administration and curricular organization of the teacher training institutions, through the Code of Regulations, the four colleges lacked cohesion and harmony of purpose. Second, since the reports of inquiry envisaged the amalgamation of the four institutions into one single unit (in the case of the Eastern Committee, with a rural department), the resultant effect was uncertainty and indecision on the part of the administrators at the level of the Education Department and individual colleges.

Moreover, the memorandum of Mr. Hammond, which had sorted out Bethlehem for special mention and financial support to the exclusion of the other colleges, contributed to fragmentation and indecision.

Consequently, despite some early attempts to synthesize the administrative and curricular changes, noteworthy reforms in the curricular organization of the training colleges did not occur until after the first meeting of the Board of Teacher Training in January, 1956. From that time onwards, the march of events in Jamaican teacher education proceeded at an ever quickening pace.

The board's primary effect was to co-ordinate and restate the philosophy of Jamaican teacher education and outline the aims underlying the general and professional education of teachers in Jamaica. It established the goals for practical development, set the standards for training and certification, and stimulated the achievement of a new level of integrated enterprise in Jamaican teacher education.

Having accepted the English MacNair Report as one of its main guidelines, the stress was placed by the Board of Teacher Training on personal development through face-to-face contact of tutor and student, proper understanding of the social context and role of education, a thorough grounding in English Language and Literature, and

specialization in three areas--two academic and one practical. Hence, the programme called for all-round development of personality as opposed to the concept of a teacher's 'apprenticeship'.

Individual college syllabuses were organized through the auspices of Subject Committees appointed by the Board of Teacher Training from specialist lecturers within the four colleges. Examination questions were composed and marked through the Subject Committees, which, though allowing for some individuality from college to college, was responsible for maintaining the level and uniformity of standards in each area of specialization.

Throughout all the colleges, effective student government was conducted, especially in the latter phase under the Board of Teacher Training, and the extra-curricular activities of college life was greatly extended by social and cultural clubs, visits, and discussions. Co-education was successfully introduced and experimentation encouraged in all the institutions. In the second phase of reform, teacher training enterprise flourished.

The Code of Regulations became literally redundant when a new elementary school manual, Suggestions for Teachers in Primary Schools, was published in 1959 resulting from the agitation and co-operative enterprise of head teachers, Education Department officers, specialist

lecturers of the University of the West Indies' Faculty of Education, and training college tutors. Like its English counterpart, the Suggestions implied greater freedom for teachers within the classroom, but, at the same time, it emphasized the need for proper professional preparation for all teachers freed from the restrictions of the Code.

The slow growth of training facilities during the first phase of development resulted in the need to employ probationary pre-trained teachers to reconcile the difference between the demand and supply of trained personnel for the expanding general system of schools. Consequently, in 1956, when the Board of Teacher Training began its operations, it had to cope with the problem of more than half of the total school staff who were either untrained or under qualified.

Chapter IV, which discussed the developments and expansion of training facilities within each individual college, illustrated the spectacular increases in enrolment after 1957. The surge in teacher training registration at the four regular colleges followed the decision to retain the traditional institutions as entities within the guidance and plans of the Board of Teacher Training. The development pattern that emerged after 1957 clearly indicated the decision to by-pass the proposals of the reports of inquiry calling for amalgamation of the

colleges, and to build upon each one.

By 1960-61, the inter-denominational colleges had been expanded to accommodate 240 students each, while the denominational colleges were kept to half that enrolment, at 120 students each. Later developments after 1961 show the greatly increased registration of the inter-denominational colleges, especially Mico, which had become co-educational during the latter phase of the reform.

Deficiencies in the elementary school staff, from the point of view of certification, began to be corrected in 1956, when Moneague Emergency College was established to provide a concentrated one-year course for second and third class assistants leading to upgrading of qualification and, eventually, full certification through in-service correspondence courses and vacation courses.

The decision of the Jamaican government to accept the goals set by the Regional Conference on Teacher Training at Trinidad in 1957 led to the establishment of a Junior Training College in Kingston to provide a five-month pre-college course of training for probationary teachers in two batches of 150 each year. When followed up by the successful completion of a correspondence programme of courses, the probationary student teacher was eligible to enter the two-year integrated training course of any one of the four colleges. Thus, the probationary

training scheme was inaugurated to reconcile the lack of movement of grammar school graduates into the training colleges.

Despite the vastly increased number of scholars attending secondary academic schools and the increase in the number of schools, the grammar school organization was still not contributing, in any significant degree, to the training of teachers for the elementary schools. This remained as one of the major weaknesses in the educational system of Jamaica--an aspect which had been drastically criticized by all three of the reports of inquiry.

Evidence of the continuous movement of training college staff, education officers, and teachers to study at the University of the West Indies or at universities and colleges abroad was cited from departmental reports. Through these means, the entire system was enriched by a cross-fertilization of ideas. Teachers and administrators were brought into contact with fresh concepts and practices in teacher training, returning to the island to instigate new changes.

Secondary grammar school staffing and training came principally under the aegis of the University of the West Indies, especially after 1953, when the courses for the Diploma in Education and Professional Certificate were instituted. Under the government's ten-year plan, 1957-67,

fifty scholarships tenable at the University of the West Indies were made available for those students willing to teach in secondary schools. Despite the great improvement in the qualifications of secondary school staff, the decision was made in 1957 to recruit additional qualified teachers from Canada and the United Kingdom to upgrade the general qualifications of the secondary grammar school faculties.

Examination of the statistics of grammar school teachers' certification indicated the trend, from 1954 onwards, of teachers trained in the regular colleges to move towards certain areas of specialization in the grammar schools. This constituted a drain on the supply of graduates from the colleges to the grammar school system, but it represented a welcome interchange between the two levels of schools.

The trends and future plans for the advanced stage of the reform movement included two promising features. The duties and enterprises of the Board of Teacher Training were slated to be taken over by a newly created Institute of Education of the University of the West Indies under Hugh Springer, former Registrar of the university. The institute, designed along the lines of its English parallel, would spread its influence throughout all of the spheres covered by the University of the West Indies, and

would become the main integrating influence for research, the maintenance of uniform standards, and the training of expert personnel. However, the influence of the Institute would reach throughout the whole area of the 'British' West Indies.

The second feature indicated in the future plans was the initiation of a second Emergency Training College along the lines of the post-war emergency institutions for training teachers in England. The plans called for the recruitment of older, and better educated candidates with the minimum of the School Certificate or its equivalent to undertake compact 40-week courses followed by correspondence courses leading to full qualification. Through such means, the government of Jamaica sought to achieve its teacher training goal--to have at least two thirds of all teachers in-service trained by 1967.

On the basis of those developments summarized in the preceding pages, the writer must reject the hypothesis. Stated positively, the findings of this researcher show that the teacher education pattern of Jamaica, in the period 1940 to 1960, did follow the recommendations of the experts in the three reports of inquiry.

The general conclusions to be gleaned from a study such as this are that, throughout the period of twenty years, the teacher education organization of Jamaica had been

completely overhauled; that comparatively the system was unquestionably superior, having shed the concepts of the nineteenth century with which it was plagued throughout the pre-reform era of the twentieth century; that the fragmentation of that early era had given way to a thoroughly integrated system of training through the significance of the Board of Teacher Training, and the new programme of development in the government's ten-year plan.

But the hypothesis can only be rejected in part. In two major respects, the realized reforms of the period had not followed the recommendations and lines of development suggested in the reports of Kandel and Easter. The colleges had not been amalgamated. Instead, the ideal solution had been found, the ideal alternative which achieved unity of purpose yet retaining the traditional links of Jamaican teacher training with the past and with the essential principle of education in the island--that the school should operate as a partner with the home and the Church for the growth of the child within the social context of his environment. The solution found by the Board of Teacher Training, therefore, represented a triumph of the democratic processes of education in Jamaica, and was, indeed a tribute to the collective enterprise of Church, State, and charitable institutions in the advance of teacher training in the country.

The second unrealized reform concerned the remaining separation of the secondary grammar schools from the teacher training system. The eleven plus examination does not remedy the problem of separation of the two kinds of schools. The traditional differences persist, and tend to divide the population into social layers. They perpetuate the class structure, merely exchanging cultural-educational barriers for racial and socio-economic divisions. But the problem, in the foreseeable future, offers no quick or easy solution. It is one which the Jamaican educators must find an answer to if the final stage in democratic reforms is to be achieved. In twenty years, and a little more, Jamaica has already achieved the transformation of a nineteenth century teacher training system into a modern progressive and effective social force. That the final stage of integration will be attained is hardly in any doubt.

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Phillippo, James M., Jamaica: Its Past and Present State, London, John Snow, 1843, x-487 p.

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Regatz, Lowell Joseph, The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean: 1763-1833, New York, Century, 1928, x-520 p.

An expansion of a University of Wisconsin doctoral dissertation. A study of social and economic conditions in Jamaica during seventy years of slavery, just prior to emancipation.

Seel, Sir George, Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1950, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 114 p.

Another commentary on the facets of development in the Caribbean, with incidental reference to education.

Sherlock, P. M., "British Caribbean", in The Year-book of Education, London, Evans Bros., 1952, p. 596-606.

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Simey, T., Welfare and Planning in the West Indies, Oxford University Press, 1946.

The commentary of an expert adviser on the staff of the Comptroller to the Development and Welfare Fund.

United Kingdom, Central Office of Information, Jamaica, London, Swindon Press, 1958, 26 p. (No. R.3966).

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Walters, Elsa H., Teacher Training Colleges in the West Indies, London, Oxford University Press, 1960, viii-149 p.

Written by the Senior Lecturer at the University of the West Indies Faculty of Education. A statement of the philosophy and methods employed in planning and implementing courses at four teacher training colleges in Jamaica.

Wright, Ouida, The Development of Education in Jamaica, unpublished Master's thesis presented to the Department of Education of McGill University, 1956, v-128 p.

An attempt is made in this thesis to survey the whole system of educational provisions in Jamaica. Includes useful information, but too general to be of great importance for a work on teacher education.

APPENDIX

The Development of Teacher Education in Jamaica: 1940-1960.¹

This was a study of the causes of the development of teacher education in Jamaica during the period of its reform from 1940 to 1960. The writer estimated the progress of the system in the light of three expert reports of inquiry.

The historical background of twentieth century Jamaican teacher training was followed to the missionary, charitable and government enterprise following the abolition of slavery, 1834 to 1838. The writer showed that the stagnation of the first four decades were due to the stultifying effects of the Lumb Commission which checked the advances of the nineteenth century and established a simplified training curriculum through the rigid Code of Regulations.

The series of three expert reports, which formed the criteria for evaluating the progress of reform, were summarized and appraised in the second chapter.

The significant events in the expansion and reform of Jamaican teacher education, outlined in the final two chapters of the study, illustrated the two characteristic

¹ Ronald J. Samuda, doctoral thesis presented to the Faculty of Psychology and Education of the University of Ottawa, Ontario, July, 1966, vi-210.

phases of growth. It was seen that, despite the slow pace of change in the first phase, 1940 to 1954, a central administration was established under a full ministerial system which co-ordinated the movement towards modernization of the system. The significant factor, however, in quickening the pace of the reform movement was traced to the Board of Teacher Training initiated in 1955.

In the final two chapters, the integrating influence of the board was described. It established, through collective effort, the philosophy and aims of teacher education, revamped the training curriculum, and made practical plans for expansion.

The rapid increases in building at the four regular colleges and the introduction of new specialist equipment were matched by innovations in student government, a programme of extra-curricular activities, co-education, and responsibility within each college for the organization of its own syllabus, subject to the oversight of the board.

Thus, on the basis of the findings, the writer rejected the hypothesis that the system was inadequate with two important reservations. Secondary grammar schools were still not contributing to the pre-college training of teachers to any significant degree. However, the fact that the colleges had not been amalgamated was offset by the integrative influence of the Board of Teacher Training.