The Contributions Of Bethlehem Teachers' College To Education In Jamaica, 1861-1980.

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THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF BETHLEHEM TEACHERS' COLLEGE TO EDUCATION IN JAMAICA 1861-1980

by

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Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Education

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ABSTRACT

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF BETHLEHEM TEACHERS' COLLEGE TO EDUCATION IN JAMAICA

The system of popular education in Jamaica began after the abolition of slavery when different religious denominations began to accelerate their efforts to Christianize and to educate the newly-emancipated people. Accompanying the increase in the number of schools was a need for an adequate supply of teachers. The Moravian Church in Jamaica, early on the educational scene, established two teacher training colleges to help meet this need. One of them, Bethlehem Teachers' College, was envisioned as an institution with the potential to render valuable services by training female teachers.

This thesis traced the development of the Jamaican educational system at the elementary, secondary and teachers' college levels, showing some of the forces that impeded their growth as well as those that contributed favorably. The thesis emphasized the influence of the Bethlehem Teachers' College on the Jamaican education system through innovations such as emphasizing education for women contrary to the conventions, teacher training for women, introducing

infant or pre-school education, making a determined effort to staff rural schools, and playing a positive role in nation building.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Bethlehem Teachers' College is one of eight institutions that provide teacher education on a full-time basis in Jamaica, West Indies. This college has the distinction of being the first surviving institution in the island and the West Indies to offer local women the opportunity to be trained as teachers and thereby enter the teaching profession.

Despite the age of the institution, a century and a quarter years, having been founded on June 3, 1861, its history has not been written. On the commemoration of its hundredth anniversary, a centennial magazine was published. Reference to the college appeared in different educational reports of the Moravian Church in Jamaica and also in some articles by scholars writing on the history of education in Jamaica. There are, also, newspaper reports of specific events at the college. Besides these, there have been no serious attempts to research and report on the history of Bethlehem Teachers' College.

The institution was founded at the period when a new society was emerging and has continued to function through years of colonial rule and then in years as an

independent nation. Such an institution should have its history researched and documented. This study focused on the history of the Bethlehem Teachers' College emphasizing its contributions to education in Jamaica.

The Background of the Study

Jamaica, a Caribbean island of 4,400 square miles and a population of two and a quarter million, became independent on August 6, 1962. Prior to the period, the island was dominated by two colonial powers: first by the Spanish during the period 1494 to 1655, then by the British from 1655 to 1962 (Mau, 1968; Phillips, 1976). Under the British, the island became a sugar producing society of African slaves and English masters (King, 1979). The slaves soon formed the bulk of the population but their status afforded them no privileges. However, by 1835 the trend was unmistakable that this predominantly black population of 335,000 would soon be emancipated (D'Oyley, 1979).

Since slavery and the formal education of slaves were incompatible, the abolition of slavery in the islands provided the first opportunity for a mass provision of day school for the black children of the country (Campbell, 1970). The Emancipation Act of 1834 provided for an apprentice system, a type of transition

from slavery. It set the parameters for the sort of society that would replace the slave society and how that would be done. The force for popular education came from protestant missionary zeal and British philanthropy (Campbell, 1970; D'Oyley, 1979). Different missionary societies and the non-denominational Mico Charity (see Appendix C) all submitted annual plans for the development of education for the masses in the West Indies. British women's groups were also among those whose fund-raising efforts financed many educational programs of the West Indian Societies (D'Oyley, 1979). The Ladies Negro Educational Society, founded in 1825, supported Moravian Missions in Jamaica (Periodical Accounts, Vol. XXI, 1853). Additional provision for schooling was made possible through an agreement in which the British Government met two-thirds of the cost of new school buildings and half the cost of staff salaries while the missionary societies provided the remaining cost (D'Oyley).

A crucial need for teachers existed at that time. Campbell (1970) noted that both the British Government and the missionaries realized that local teachers would have to be trained. For this purpose, a special grant of 5000 pounds sterling was made available by the British

Government for the establishment of teacher training colleges (Campbell, 1970).

The Mico Charity, the chief recipient of that grant, established a training college in Kingston as a matter of priority (Campbell, 1970). For the majority of missionary groups the short term answer was to recruit European teachers to staff the schools. However, the Baptists and the Moravians had fewer European teachers because they were committed to use local teachers (D'Oyley). Added expense was involved in bringing European teachers to Jamaica, so that by the early 1840's they were recruited only for special positions. Campbell (1970) wrote: "It was commonplace for a missionary at his school to take under his wing one or two promising boys to whom extra instruction and special attention would be given with a view to their becoming teachers" (p. 53). Not only was there the need for a large teaching force but there was also the need for teachers who could contribute to an education of some quality for the predominantly black population. It was within this framework that the Bethlehem Teachers' College was founded in 1861.

The Need for the Study

There is much oral tradition related to the college. At public functions, at addresses to new students or to graduating students, reference is often made to the college's "long and respected traditions" or to the "outstanding quality of the graduates." However, there was little published from documented evidence to substantiate these sentiments.

The idea for the founding of the college grew out of the missionary commitment of the Moravian Church in Jamaica not only to Christianize the freed slaves, but to provide education for the development of a literate society. In the post-emancipation period (after 1838) the provision of education for the newly freed people necessitated the creation of a system for training teachers. From the beginning the Moravian Church was pledged to train local teachers in preference to recruiting teachers from abroad (Campbell, 1976). The details of this pioneering work in education had not been highlighted. This study placed the development and the contributions of the college to education in Jamaica within the context of the contributions of the Moravian Church to education in Jamaica.

Scholars of education in Jamaica need to have credible information on different aspects of the education of the island. Murray (1979) observed that since 1948 the University of the West Indies had been instrumental in researching and publishing local history, sociology and economics. Increasingly, local writers are producing different types of literary materials. Despite this reported increase, there is still much reliance on imported written materials to meet the demands of our schools and the general reading public. Additional publications by Jamaicans, including teachers, could complement the imported literature, thereby adding materials with a local flavor and background. This study will ultimately become a source for the published history of Bethlehem Teachers' College and will help to satisfy a need for those interested in written history.

The Research Question

The study sought to document from a variety of archival materials authentic information on the college. The major research question was: "What contributions has Bethlehem Teachers' College made to education in Jamaica?"

Subsidiary Questions

A number of subsidiary questions had to be considered. These included the following:

1. Why was the establishing of the college regarded a priority by the founders?
2. What was the significance of emphasizing the training of female teachers at that time?
3. What impact, if any, did the education of women have on the system of public education?
4. What, if any, significant contributions were made during each administrative period of the college?

THE PROCEDURE

Sources of Data

There was a considerable body of stored materials related to the college in the Moravian Archives which has become a substantial part of the Jamaican National Archives in Spanish Town, Jamaica. Among those documents are the early log books, kept by the different administrators. These provided detailed reports on the college. Daily events, records of students, staffing, results of examinations and details of curriculum were available and were used extensively for this study.

Other documents such as inspectors' reports to the Department of Education (now Ministry of Education) and principals' reports to the governing board of the college and to the synods of the Moravian Church in Jamaica were used. Clippings of newspaper reports on specific events at the college, copies of the annual college magazines and the Centennial magazine, found in the Archives in Spanish Town, were also used.

The Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania were a rich source of data for this study. The reports from sections of the world where the Moravian missionaries worked were coordinated into the Periodical Accounts. A complete set of these Periodical Accounts was available and was utilized in the Bethlehem Moravian Archives. The Archives at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania had the early copies that were missing from the Jamaican Archives. There were also the West Indian Diaries which were written by different Moravian workers in the West Indies.

Data on the college for the period after 1972 were found in the college records stored at the college in Malvern, Jamaica. These included the recording of the daily events, various reports to the governing board of the college and to the synods of the Moravian Church in Jamaica, and the correspondence of the period. The

records of the curriculum, the blueprints related to the expansion of the college and the minutes of the Board of Management were available at Bethlehem College.

Another valuable source of data was a series of interviews held with persons affiliated with Bethlehem Teachers' College. The questions were submitted previously to the interviewees and the interviews were recorded on tapes. The following questions were used in the interviews:

1. Would you briefly describe your association with Bethlehem Teachers' College?
2. In what ways to you think the college has influenced or contributed to education in Jamaica?
3. What, in your opinion, is its most notable contribution to education?
4. What contribution(s) has/have been important during your association with the college?
5. What changes do you envision in the role of the college for the future?

Definition of Terms

Contributions: The word "contributions" is used to suggest positive influence(s) resulting in improvement in the system of education or on the persons benefiting from the institution.

Teachers' College: This is an institution that prepares teachers for work in the elementary or in the secondary school system. These same institutions were designated "teacher training colleges" prior to the late 1960's. They could be equated to teachers' colleges in the United States.

Training Institution: The original designation of an institution offering teacher training.

All Age School: This type of school provides an education for children ranging in ages from six to 16 years. Grades one to six concentrate on the curriculum that would be offered in a primary school. Grades seven and eight are the lower grades of the secondary school. All age schools provide post-primary education for children who do not attend secondary school.

Infant School: This is a school that offers pre-primary education for children between the ages of four and six years.

Mission Station: The term describes the main church in a circuit of churches. The residence of the minister was located here. The other churches without a minister's residence were called "out-stations."

Open Day: On this day an institution was open to the public. Important features of the day were demonstrations by the students and displays of students' work.

Practicing School: This was an elementary school in close proximity to a teacher training college, generally on the same compound. Students from the Teachers' College practiced or taught under the supervision of the tutors of the Teachers' College in a practicing school.

Tertiary Institution: An institution at the tertiary level provides an education for students who have successfully completed high school. Students in these institutions are preparing for a profession or a vocation with specialized skills. Teachers' colleges, community colleges and universities fall within the category of tertiary institutions.

SUMMARY

The study was divided into five chapters. Chapter I examined the need for the study and described the sources of the data. Chapter II traced the development of the system of education in Jamaica. Chapter III examined the growth of Bethlehem Teachers' College during the different periods of administration. Chapter IV emphasized the contributions of the college to

education in Jamaica. Chapter V summarized the research findings and made recommendations for the future of the college.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE JAMAICAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The Spanish Occupation of Jamaica

Jamaica, a Caribbean island of 4,400 square miles and a population of two and one quarter million people, marked the end of years of colonial rule, first under the Spaniards and then under the British, in 1962 when it became an independent nation. Columbus had claimed the island for Spain in 1494 at a time when it was inhabited by a pre-literate people, the Arawak Indians (Mau, 1968; Black, 1983). Black noted that the story of that period was almost unknown until this century for no Spanish records appear to have survived in Jamaica. However, information on the island is available in the Spanish archives in Spain. Research there by Cundall and Pietersz, Jamaica Under the Spaniards, 1919, and Jamaica Espanola by Padron, 1952, (Black) has given a clearer picture of life in Jamaica during the period of Spanish rule. The evidence showed that in Jamaica, as in the other islands, the aboriginal inhabitants were totally exterminated. Whyte (1983) suggested that the Spaniards were from a society technologically more advanced than that of the Arawak society, hence the destruction of the Arawaks and their culture instead of their assimilation.

A system of Spanish imperialism was intended to create facsimiles of Spanish towns in the colonies for the welfare of the colonists and at the same time to Christianize the natives (Whyte, 1983).

Large grants of land were made to Spanish settlers who had the right to compel the native Indians to work for them. Black (1983) noted that the system was "shockingly abused" (p. 26); the Indians were "overworked, ill-treated and ill-fed" (p. 26). Consequently, large numbers succumbed and thousands more committed suicide. Mothers destroyed their own children. Others died from European diseases, especially smallpox, to which they had little resistance and in 1520 there was a general pestilence among the Indians (Black).

In 1598, Melgarejo, the Governor, alarmed at the rapidity with which the native population was diminishing, proposed special areas of reservation for them (Black, 1983) but the colonists objected on the grounds that they would lose their services. Thus, the effort to save the first Jamaicans was aborted so that, by the time the English captured the island in 1655, the Arawak Indians had been completely eradicated.

The Spaniards had imported slaves to replace the Arawaks. When the English arrived the Spaniards were driven out or fled from Jamaica and many of their slaves

found shelter in the mountains. These runaway slaves were known as Maroons. At the onset their previous masters used their aid to harass the English invaders, but one band, under Juan-de-Bolas, later turned against the Spanish and helped in their final defeat (Black, 1983).

The British Colonial System in Jamaica

Neither the Spanish nor their slaves intermingled with the British as seen from the reason given above. However, the English did perpetuate a slave society. The years of British rule witnessed the establishment of a plantation economy based on sugar production and African slavery (Kuper, 1976). It was a society dominated by an oligarchy of white planters and merchants and the traffic in slaves from Africa resulted in a large slave population. Offers of free land, mining rights and the privilege to retain their British citizenship lured many English to Jamaica during the periods of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Whyte, 1983). This number was increased by white indentured laborers, who later remained as permanent settlers. Kuper (1976) noted that by 1820 the population of the island consisted of 340,000 slaves, 35,000 whites and 30,000 "free colored" manumitted slaves. By emancipation in 1838 the island's

population consisted mainly of imported slaves and white immigrants (Phillips, 1976). Thus two ethnic groups, African and European, were brought into close contact but in situations which meted out to them differentiated positions in the social setting.

The white population enjoyed a position at the apex of the social ladder being owners of the land and wealth. Among these were the governor and his legislators, the civil servants, planters, estate overseers, and soldiers (Whyte, 1983). This small group was representative of political, economic and social power. At the base of the social triangle were the Negroes who formed the largest portion of the population. Phillips (1976) pointed out that they were hardly a part of the social structure. Whyte (1983) noted that their status was so low that they were counted with the stock of the estates.

Not many white female migrants entered Jamaica during slavery and the ambition of most planters was not to remain in Jamaica, but to be absentee proprietors (Black, 1973). The planters would live in Europe on the profits from the plantations and leave the management to paid attorneys and overseers. Many white male residents on the island found companionship with female slaves. The result of their union was a colored population which, although for a time was deprived of the privileges of the

population, were freed from the degradation of slavery (Whyte, 1983). Many of these coloreds acquired an education and wealth and became the chief source of a growing middle class. The other element of the population was a significant number of Chinese immigrants who established a near monopoly of the distributive trade (Kuper, 1976). Peoples of the Middle East also entered the island as immigrants and became absorbed in its commercial life. As a group they, too, found a place above those who came as slaves. Indians came as indentured laborers and like the Negroes, were at the bottom of the social ladder.

As a result of the above, a three-tiered society was established in the island and is still a dominant feature of the social pattern in Jamaica. Phillips (1976) stated that although there was free upward mobility in the society via education, marriage or wealth, the social structure remains almost as in the pre-emancipation period. King (1979) averred that to a significant degree the society after emancipation was as much a product of slavery as it had been in the eighteenth century since the same social groups were carried into the free society. After emancipation the white minority retained political supremacy - a pattern which was perpetuated for nearly a century and a quarter up to the period of the country's independence in 1962.

Education in Pre-Emancipation Jamaica

The history of education in Jamaica began with the English occupation since the Spaniards all left the island. Because of the structure of the society under the British, there was no well-established system of popular education. Slavery and education are incompatible so it is no surprise that provision for education in pre-emancipation Jamaica was for the white top class and the colored middle class children. The children of the elite were educated at home in Jamaica by tutors and later sent to England to complete their education (Campbell, 1967). A few private endowed schools existed. These depended upon charity and/or a fee and were financially and legally unavailable to the children of slaves. Generally, they catered to the children of colored persons (Campbell).

Whyte (1983) noted that some accounts show that although benefactions were made for education, the authorities made no effort to utilize such grants. Whyte mentioned an early bequest of one hundred pounds by Sir Henry Morgan in 1688. That amount was intended to supplement another bequest by Joachin Hane to establish a school in St. Mary but the donations remained unused. Gordon (1963) referred to the importance of keeping the

slave workers ignorant. If they did not receive instruction in any skill other than those necessary for their work, they would be less able to plan alternatives and so resist their masters. The occasional support of education for slaves meant instruction in the Christian religion. This, noted Gordon (1963), with its teaching of the equality of all men in the sight of God, was regarded as dangerous by the planters who feared for their own safety if those ideas were circulated among the slaves. This remained the argument of the majority of planters until emancipation.

The establishment of British rule in Jamaica meant the establishment of the Anglican Church as the established church (Black, 1983). Anglican Ministers received cure' in Jamaica and received stipends from the Jamaican treasury (Whyte, 1983). Some of these clergymen kept schools to supplement their salary but these schools were not available to slaves. Even if they could afford the fees, which was unlikely, they could not legally avail themselves of the facility. When the Protestant missionaries came to Jamaica they, too, set up schools which were patronized by those whites who could not afford to send their children to England for an education. Gordon (1963) stated that the missionary efforts from the middle of the eighteenth century were

stubbornly resisted by legal and illegal methods. The British Government made futile efforts up to 1823 to have religious education for the slaves.

In 1831 the Christmas Rebellion took place (Gordon, 1963; Black, 1983) and had far-reaching effects on any provision for slave education. The slaves, under their leaders, planned to stir up a general uprising during the Christmas holidays, a period when they were allowed more freedom of movement as the masters relaxed some of the usual watchfulness and caution. However, the rebellion got off to a false start a month earlier due to the eagerness of one of the leaders with the result that it was unsuccessful (Black, 1983). Gordon (1963) noted that after the revolt the planter dominated House of Assembly attributed the cause of the rebellion to the effects of the religious teaching by the missionaries: the Wesleyan Methodists, and Baptists but especially to the Baptists

> which had the effect of producing in the minds of the slaves a belief that they could serve both a spiritual and a temporal master; thereby occasioning them to resist the lawful authority of their temporal master under the delusion of rendering themselves more acceptable to a spiritual master (p. 10).

Gordon (1963) continued to point out that only in exceptional circumstances were slave children educated in any way. Those born here were usually put in the care of

an elderly slave woman, quite early, to release the mother for work. They were cared for rather than taught. By age six they worked with the old women collecting food for animals and weeding "to preserve them from habits of idleness" (p. 10). They then moved to the cane fields to start the work which would occupy them for the remainder of their lives. A prerequisite for compliance was keeping the slaves busy, a principle initiated early in the life of a slave child. Schooling would, therefore, be contradictory to this principle (Gordon, 1963; Black, 1983).

Black elaborated by stating that the training the slaves received was such that it would increase or improve their labor. The majority learned the craft of cane cultivation in the field; a few learned carpentry and cabinet making. But Gordon noted that there were exceptional planters whose own religious outlook made them willing to have their slaves receive religious instruction on their estates, and some of them later accepted the Protestant missionaries on their estates to work among their slaves.

The Moravians were the first among these, arriving in Jamaica in 1754 and working along with the slaves to support themselves by manual work. Sometimes a sympathetic owner allowed them to set up a station on his

estate enabling them to create a Moravian community there (Hastings and MacLeavy, 1978).

The Moravians instructed the children by every means available. Gordon (1963) commented on a report by James Light who, in 1819, stated:

> I endeavor to use every opportunity of instructing the boys and girls as often as they are permitted to attend me. I hope that they will soon have more time allowed them to come to me for instruction, not only the little children, but the boys and girls 13 to 15 years of age (p. 11).

Sunday schools and night schools were reported to the Moravian Missionary Society which was required to send alphabets, children's hymn books and manuals of Christian doctrine. As may be expected under the circumstances, only modest success was achieved under slavery. In 1834 there were 800 Jamaican children in Moravian schools. The other protestant missionaries came later and intensified their efforts after 1835. Gordon (1963) asserted that many did most of their work before emancipation with adult classes and congregations despite the laws making it difficult to assemble. Where schools were established the pupils were drawn from poor free colored children who were more available for education, than from slave children who were not spared for schooling (Gordon).

The Wesleyan Methodists were reported to be particularly successful in attracting free colored children to school and developed some town schools before emancipation (Gordon). However, despite the effort by the missionaries, popular education did not begin during slavery.

To meet the demands for grammar school education, bequests were made by planters and merchants for the benefit of less wealthy white boys and colored boys. Town schools drew many pupils but those in the country never attracted enough pupils to flourish (Gordon, 1963).

Society in pre-emancipation Jamaica was in no way an educated one. For those white and colored pupils with the financial means, education was sought in England or the best available here at home. Any instruction to the slaves was religious instruction provided by the different religious bodies. It would, therefore, be inaccurate to speak of a system of education in pre-emancipation Jamaica that was available to the majority of the Jamaican population.

The Establishment of Popular Education in Jamaica 1835-1865

The events suggesting the establishing of this time frame were the Emancipation Act and the Morant Bay Rebellion. By 1835 it had become clear that the abolition of slavery would soon take place and in 1865 the Morant Bay Rebellion, resulting from protests, witnessed the introduction of the Crown government whereby the entire legislature was nominated by the Crown. This form of government saw reforms with important implications for the system of education.

Gordon (1963) pointed out that the emancipation of the slaves offered the first opportunity to provide schooling for the masses. D'Oyley (1979) noted that it was an "overseas bureaucracy" (p. 5) that set the framework for the society of apprenticeship, that is, the mode of transition from slavery. Not only did the British government provide English magistrates to intervene in the disputes between the black people and the Europeans who had to establish new relations, the government also established the Negro Education Grant in 1835 (D'Oyley). Thus in its plan to make the Negro literate as well as Christian, the British Parliament voted the sum of 30,000 pounds sterling per year for five years (Gordon; D'Oyley; Campbell, 1970), but the grant decreased each year until it ended in 1845.

Campbell (1970) further explained that the force for popular education in Jamaica resulted not only from a "conscience aroused British government" (p. 57) but also from Protestant missionary enthusiasm and the growth of British philanthropy. Thus the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the agent distributing the Negro Education Grant, was able to capitalize on this missionary and philanthropic zeal. The plan worked out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was for the British government to meet two-thirds of the cost of erecting new school buildings and a half of the cost of staff salaries if the missionary societies would meet the remaining costs (D'Oyley, 1979). Gordon (1963) stated that the religious bodies readily accepted the invitation to extend their schools and proposed ambitious programs of education. For the first two years the grants were only for school buildings (Gordon).

However, according to Campbell (1970) control of schools and finance were two areas which gave the missionaries some concern. But by December 1835, it became evident that the British Government had no intention of equating aid and control. Although the British government intended to meet the initial two-thirds of the building costs, inspection would be perfunctory; government inspectors would have no control

over the teachers or their curricula (Campbell). Inspectors would make general comments on the work of the schools and make particular note about the statistics of school life. This plan of inspection resulted in a single such visit by only one officer, Latrobe, who visited the West Indies, including Jamaica, in 1835 - 1839 (Campbell, Gordon, D'Oyley). His visit was to report on the results of the first two years of work under the Negro Education Grant and to consult with those who administered the churches and the schools. Latrobe noted that achievement varied greatly between territories and that although a system was established the most ambitious schemes would not be fulfilled (Gordon, 1963).

The Missionary Societies were in full control of their schools and were the exclusive owners of the school buildings erected in partnership with the British government. This system of public education, started in 1835, aimed to establish a system that was religious and moral (Campbell, 1970). Public education was seen as the adhesive force that would ensure that the society maintained a harmonious relationship. At that time the Jamaican Assembly had little, if any, input into the system of education. The missionaries: Moravians, Baptists, Wesleyans, Anglicans and Presbyterians became

the agents for establishing schools, where the conditions were favorable. The Jamaican legislature was dominated by economic interests and was not particularly sympathetic toward an education program for ex-slaves and their children whom they would prefer to keep on their estates as paid laborers (Gordon, 1968).

When the Rev. John Stirling, who had worked in St. Kitts, was asked by the British Government to evaluate the educational provision in the British West Indies, he did this from returns sent to him by the religious denominations. Stirling reported on the poor provisions of the buildings, large classes, poor and untrained teachers, senseless methods of rote learning and "little in the general attitude to education to increase the self-respect of the young ex-slaves" (Gordon, 1968, p. 12). To counteract the prevailing unsatisfactory situation, payments were made to the religious bodies and the missionary societies to subsidize the erection of new schools and the payment of teachers. The motivation behind this move by the British Government was to establish firmly a system of education that would enable it to withdraw after ten years, leaving the local Assembly to pay for its own system of education.

With this assistance, the religious bodies continued to lay the foundation, primarily of a system of elementary education for the masses. Meanwhile, throughout the initial 10 years the British Government urged the local legislature to develop the system adequately, to formulate laws for compulsory education and to supplement the finances of education from colonial taxation (Gordon, 1968).

The curriculum consisted of Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and the Catechism and other instruction in the Principles of Religion. White (1983) noted that there were schools that included Needlework and Grammar. When the Jamaican Assembly entered the field of education, for a time it offered special grants to the schools attempting agriculture. For five years the Jamaican Assembly conducted a Normal School of industry to train teachers (Gordon, 1983). Gordon further reported that the Assembly's effort was much criticized particularly by the Baptists on the premise that it was an effort to keep the people on the estates as hired laborers in conditions little removed from slavery. Gordon made reference also to attempts by the Moravians and Mico, the non-denominational college, to offer some form of practical training, but because of a lack of suitable instructors, that form of training remained rudimentary. The absence

of popular support and the lack of teachers equipped to instruct in agriculture were factors which helped to confine schooling to the three R's.

In general, the quality of education offered was poor because among other things the provision for training of teachers was inadequate (Gordon). In the post-emancipation period the provision of education required that a teaching service be initiated. At the onset, the parent missionary societies sent teachers from England. There were also residing white persons who taught in the schools and some colored persons were sufficiently literate to teach. There was a decided need for local teachers and a supplementary Negro Education grant of five thousand pounds aided the preparation of teachers for the formal system of education (D'Oyley, 1979). It was at that time also that the Mico Charity, through a bequest from Lady Mico, established a Normal School in 1836 Mico/Kingston, 1836-1837 Mico/Comfort Hall and Mico/Somerton. It should be noted that as early as 1832 the Refuge for women was started by the Moravians. This institution functioned until 1848 (D'Oyley, 1979); Periodical Accounts Vol. xx). Various institutions for teacher training were established by different organizations in a time of educational beginnings, but of the early ones only Mico/Kingston and Bethlehem 1861

survive to the present time. The following table lists the different teacher training institutions.

TABLE I

NINETEENTH CENTURY TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTIONS

Dates	Name	Type	How Sponsored
1832-1848	Refuge	women	Moravian
1835-1847	Airy Mount; to Villa de Medici (1836); to the Grove (1837)	men	Anglican (C.M.S.); Anglican/Mico (1842); Anglican (1844)
1836-present	Mico/Kingston	men, women	Mico Charity
1836-1837	Mico/Comfort Hall		
1836-1837	Mico/Somerton		
1836-1849	Kingston Central	men, women	Anglican
1836-c.1840	Jamaica Metropolitan	men, women	Baptist
1839-1900	Fairfield	men	Moravian
1840-1900	Calabar	men	Baptist
1841-1877	Bonham Spring; to Montego Bay Academy (1844); to Ebenezer (1871)	men	Presbyterian
1841-1843	Kettering	women	Baptist
1842-1843	Auld's school	men, women	Wesleyan
1847-1851	Villa; to Croydon Lodge (1850)		
1959-1861	Brownsville	women	Presbyterian
1861-present	Bethabara; to Salem (1889); to Bethlehem (1891)		
1868-1871	Falmouth Model School	men, women	Board of Education
1868-1876	Bath		
1869-1870	Montego Bay		

TABLE I (Cont'd.)

Dates	Name	Type	How Sponsored
1869	Port Maria		
1870-1874	Port Antonio		
1872-1875	Charlestown		
1870-1890	Stony Hill; to East Branch, Kingston to Spanish Town	men	Government
1870-1980	St. Mary's	women	Anglican/Society for promoting Christian Knowledge
1885-present	Shortwood	women	Government
1897-present	St. Joseph's	women	Roman Catholic

(D'Oyley, 1979, p. 10)

The Jamaican Assembly played a part in education only when it became clear that the British Government was lessening the Negro Education Grant and would end it by 1845. By that time there was a core of teachers with some training (D'Oyley) and "an established church which recognized that through its schools and teacher education schemes it could maintain a firm hold on the allegiance of a large segment of the newly freed people" (D'Oyley, 1979, p. 6). The Anglican Church, from its established position, used public funds to out-distance the other religious groups (D'Oyley, 1979).

From the table shown on pages 33 and 34, it can be seen that there was a rise and fall of individual institutions. The stronger Protestant groups, the Baptists and the Moravians, identified formal education as an integral part of village development (D'Oyley). This pattern gave rise to many small, cottage type training centers which maintained a close community spirit. Community labor was often used for the building of the normal and day schools and, in turn, educated the neighbors to better methods of carpentry and agriculture. The following report by J. J. Seiler (1856) noted:

> In looking back on the past school year, we speak confidently of progress made, and of blessings that have flowed on pupils, parents and community at large, through the instrumentality of the

> Country-schools. The tendency has been to raise the tone of morals and the state of the peasantry generally. And we are deliberately of the opinion that the benefits thus conferred upon Jamaica by distant benefactors have been incalculably great. But for the influence of the schools, many of the little ones whose parents are leading ungodly lives, would in all probability have been debarred from religious instruction. . . .Our annual examinations are yearly improving in quality, so that we may soon hope to compare favorably with the same class in schools in Europe. The existence of Country-schools simultaneously with the Station-schools tends to keep up a healthy emulation and a striving for increased proficiency on all sides. (p. 131)

After 1845 the Jamaican Assembly offered "most of its aid to the church of England" (D'Oyley, 1979, p. 59). An aspect of the administering of education by the denominations was the fact that the schools became a vital means of recruiting church members (Campbell, 1970). However, this factor did not detract from the valuable services rendered by these religious bodies. The figures given indicated that in 1834 there were seven day schools for public education; in 1837, 183 schools; and in 1846, 178 public education schools (D'Oyley). The Periodical Accounts of 1856 listed the following statistics for the Moravian schools between 1853 and 1856. In 1853, 30 schools had an enrollment of 1,375; 1854, 1,478 children; 1855, 1865 children; and in 1856, 34 schools had 2,130 children" (Periodical Account, 1856, p. 129).

In 1855 Buchner wrote in his report to the Missionary headquarters of the improvement in the quality of the schools as a result of the effect of the increased number of teachers leaving Normal School:

> It is more and more apparent that the parents are becoming alive to the importance of education, and learning to value its benefits. . . . The assertion that the intellect and capacity of the colored race is much inferior to the whites gives place in the minds of all teachers to the conviction that this inferiority is mainly attributable to their condition and gradually disappears as that condition changes. . . .The time is not far distant when the people of this land will be fully alive to all the benefits derived from education, so as to put their shoulders to the wheel in good earnest, and prosecute the work which others have begun and continued for so long a time (p. 480).

The British government as well as the missionaries conceived of popular education in terms of moral reforms and not necessarily for its utility as a force for upward social mobility. For example, the Moravians and the Baptists identified formal education as an integral part of village development (D'Oyley; Gordon, 1963) which formed the nucleus of cottage-type training centers resulting in a close community spirit, and improved methods of planting and carpentry.

Whyte (1983) noted that at that period the British West Indies were still lacking in the basic social services. It was a period when the awareness of the importance of education had to compete with other

social services for the limited funds available. The major effort by the Jamaican Assembly was related to providing an education for white children or children of racially mixed parents who could not afford to pay for their education (Campbell, 1970); D'Oyley, 1979; King, 1979). A number of wealthy plantation owners had bequeathed money to endow schools for these children and the Assembly passed the legislation implementing the bequests.

In addition to the denominational schools, there were Vestry schools maintained by grants from the Vestry. Vestries were noncentralized local legislatures which administered local government up to 1865 when they were replaced by Parish Councils. Campbell (1970) stated that some Vestries provided land for school sites, money toward building and a commitment to meet a part of the teachers' salaries. These arrangements were made by the Anglican Bishop of Jamaica, and only in so far as these arrangements were made was there any integration between the use of the British subsidy and any organ of the government of Jamaica (Campbell). The Vestries took the lead in financing education from public funds. However, they were in no position to deal with the large scale provision of public education.

The change in the attitude of the Jamaican Assembly toward mass education came from a political force. Emancipation was followed by enfranchisement of men of color who by then had outnumbered the white population (Campbell, 1970; King, 1979). In 1835 two colored persons were elected to the Assembly (Campbell). This trend continued and a growing number of colored men and a few Jews formed a political party, The Town Party (Campbell). They had a broader and more generous conception of the island's needs and in the field of popular education became an advocacy group for an increased government grant for education. As a result of pressure from this group, the first Board of Education was established in 1844 (Campbell), an event significant for popular education in Jamaica. In 1855 an Education Bill was introduced for the first time and the Assembly seriously discussed an education tax. Unfortunately, as a result of outcry by the rate payers against such a tax, the education tax was not implemented, resulting in a setback for education at that time. Campbell summarized the cause of this obstacle as follows:

> The social and economic divisions in Jamaica were deep. . . .The majority of the upper class did not see the Jamaican community as a whole; they saw rather its parts and were too quick to identify their own good as the good of the entire community. . . .The schools reflected the social chasm of the colony. If the denominational schools

> which the Executive Committee wished to support out of the house tax were for the children of all races and classes, it would be more difficult to represent a graduated tax for education. . . .as a social injustice (p. 82).

Paradoxically, the link of education to the denominations was a factor which also frustrated the establishment of a system of public education in the post-emancipation period. D'Oyley (1979) noted that most clerical managers did not believe that education was the business of government. The clergy of the Church of England, the Methodists, and the Moravians who took grants from the Assembly were not anxious to see a strong government initiative in education as this could threaten control of their own schools. Support for this idea is also given by Campbell (1970) who noted that the denominations depended on their influence on the schools for new recruits. At the same time the Baptists and the Presbyterians, who accepted British grants, refused any grant from the Jamaican Assembly. Their rationale was that Christians should support their own churches. Since schools were extensions of the churches, the ban was extended to them. The Baptists' concepts were that they were protecting the Negroes against a corrupt Assembly and a corrupt Church of England, "twin arms of the white ruling class" (Campbell, p. 85). Thus the clergy, who were essential agents in the provision of public

education, did not have the inclination to form a single system of education out of the scatter of self-governing denominational schools, yet they did not command the funds to provide effective schooling throughout the nation.

By the 1850s British philanthropy turned away from the West Indies. Widespread hardships in the 1850s and 1860s indicated that the masses were not in a position to finance an efficient system of public education. From 1845 to 1865 the island experienced great economic strain (Black, 1983; Whyte, 1983). Jamaica, like the other British islands, lost preferential treatment for sugar in the British market. The result of the reduction of the financial returns from sugar, the mainstay of the economy, was a parallel reduction in the already small funds allotted to education. The economy was further weakened by droughts and epidemics of cholera and smallpox (Whyte). The peasants were affected by low wages and unemployment resulting in irregular and poor attendance of the children to the schools. The denominations found themselves with little funds to run the schools. In the face of dire hardships, the attention of the masses was turned to concentrating on how to alleviate their privations. The Morant Bay riots resulted from this. Up

to that period, 1865, access to any education, above elementary level, was highly dependent on wealth, class and color.

The Development of Secondary Education in Jamaica

Those who made bequests for secondary education in Jamaica in the early years were concerned with educating a free people. Consequently, most of these early endowments benefitted the white population who lacked the financial means of receiving an education in England (Gordon, 1963). The socio-political situation insured that in the early years blacks were deprived of a secondary education. King (1979) reiterated that despite the decline in fortunes, the white minority maintained political supremacy. Thus, to a large extent, the society after emancipation was as much the product of slavery as it had been prior to emancipation. The social groups evident before were the same social groups in the free society (King):

> The blacks still remained at the bottom of the social ladder. The colored groups, who represented the middle classes of the society, were beginning to vie with the whites for economic and political power. They were to be increasingly successful in gaining this objective as more and more white planters were forced to abandon their estates and return home (p. 41).

The black masses were almost unrepresented in the government while the whites and the colored were over

represented (King; Campbell, 1975). Consequently, political power was effectively concentrated in the hands of the minority. This situation evidently frustrated any movement for the social or economic advancement of the black population. It was only after the Morant Bay riots of 1865 that there was any attempt to improve this situation.

Thus the years following the Morant Bay riots were the formative period of the secondary system of education. Prior to that period the provisions made were for elementary education. The Negro Education Grant, as was noted previously, aided the churches in their provision of elementary and teacher education but no assistance was given to the churches for implementing a system of second cycle education. Whyte (1983) and Gordon (1968) referred to the increasing provision of elementary school places resulting in increased demand for secondary schools. As a result, the churches, attempting to meet that demand, started to establish a limited number of secondary schools. In the end the support for secondary education, like elementary education, came from the churches. As early as 1835, John Stirling, in his comments on the missionary proposal for the education of the freed slaves, contended that he could see no progress being made unless "a higher and

more mature education than that of primary and infants' school was provided" (Gordon, p. 64). Stirling continued:

> The object of these schools ought to be to educate boys of all classes and color between 10 and 18 years whose parents can afford to pay (say) one shilling per week for each, but cannot find the means to send them to Europe. This would include the children of all classes between the mere field laborer and lowest Artisans, and the wealthier Planters, Merchants, and members of the Professions (Stirling Report in Gordon (1969) A Century of West Indian Education, pp. 64-65).

Stirling suggested day schools with boarding facilities. However, the missionaries, with the limited funds, endeavored to meet the more urgent needs, elementary education for the masses and teacher training, to provide for the needs of the elementary schools (King, 1979).

In 1837 the need for secondary schooling was again stressed by Latrobe. However, unlike Stirling, he suggested "Private schools of a superior order in which the highest classes of the island could meet with liberal education" (Latrobe, Report on Education in Jamaica, 1837 in Gordon (1983) A Century of West Indian Education, p. 226). This suggestion was a forecast for the future of secondary education on the island. It was not until 1879 that any long term program made funds available for secondary education from public funds (King, 1979). During that interim, private secondary schools for the

middle and upperclass were sponsored by the religious groups and by private endowment.

In 1850 the Roman Catholics founded St. George's College for boys and in 1858 the Immaculate Conception High School for girls (Whyte, 1983). King reported that by the 1840's the Protestant missionary clergy started to be concerned about the education of their own children whom they were reluctant to send to the Roman Catholic schools. Consequently, motivated by their own personal needs, they started to establish secondary schools. The desire to recruit and train local clergymen, according to D'Oyley (1979), was a further incentive. The Baptists had started to train local ministers in 1843; the Presbyterians opened a Collegiate school in Montego Bay in 1864 and in 1876 the Methodists started York Castle in St. Ann and Barbican High School for girls in St. Andrew (Gordon, 1963; D'Oyley, 1979).

The first sustained attempt by the government, as opposed to the religious bodies, to contribute to a system of secondary education was in 1879 under the administration of Musgrave, then Governor (King, 1979). The Law of 1879 provided for the Jamaica Schools' Commission, a body responsible for providing secondary education until 1950 (King, 1979). The term of reference was that the Commission should provide education of a

"higher" grade for those classes who would value it, if it was made available to them, but whose means did not enable them to send their children to Europe (Cundall, 1911).

Those in professions like teaching, the ministry, the less successful lawyers and doctors, and the more successful small farmers were the persons whose children benefitted from secondary education (King, 1979). Like the missionary bodies, the government's concept of secondary education was that it should be for the middle class (D'Oyley, 1979; Campbell, 1975). King (1979) wrote, "Merely to have been to a secondary school had been enough to place a person squarely in the middle class" (p. 43). This system of secondary education was founded upon existing trusts, that is, endowments which had been provided for the education of poor white children by the benefactors of the eighteenth century (Whyte, 1983; Campbell, 1985; King). A system was established for the middle class while the elementary school catered to the lower class with the result that there was no continuity from one type of school to the other, a situation that still exists, though to a lesser degree.

The first act of the Jamaica Schools' Commission was the taking over of funds and the property of the

Walton Free School in St. Ann (Whyte, 1983; King) and the establishment of the Jamaica High School. That school was conceived to form the apex of the secondary system, to provide a liberal education and to promote higher education (Whyte). The Curriculum included: Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Natural Science, and Modern Languages. The school was to provide free education for a limited number of students and, in principle, was to be opened to all denominations under the conscience clause. Private students were also allowed (Gordon; King). In the case of other endowed schools, new boards of trustees were established to constitute intermediate bodies (King). Of these old trust schools, Munro, of the Munro and Dickenson Trust, was developing as a rival to the Jamaica High School (Gordon). By 1890, Mannings, Titchfield, Rusea's, Manchester and Vere Schools had been recognized and, except for Vere, provided middle grade education. Gordon pointed out that some trusts did not maintain schools but used the funds for scholarships to other schools. In 1882 the government started to award six scholarships annually under the new secondary education code so the winners could receive a free education (King). This step, though insignificant in relation to the demands, was significant for the trend

which it established. By 1890, the secondary system began to take shape.

Although the education provided through the secondary school was designed specifically for the middle class, and the elementary school for the laboring class, the possibility of receiving advanced education existed. Entry to the Jamaica High School was possible, though limited, and provided the opportunity of upward mobility for the middle class. Authorities writing about secondary education noted that there was a definite bias toward secondary education for boys. Gordon pointed out that where secondary education was provided for girls the denominations were responsible. They received limited assistance by way of exemption from land tax if their schools were reported efficient by the Jamaica Schools' Commission.

In summarizing, we note that two systems of education were established. The elementary system catered to the children of the working class. These children could take the pupil teachers' examination and continue at a Normal School if possible. Those children could only hope for a secondary education if they obtained a scholarship. But these were few in number. In general, the children from this group who got into the secondary school did so after their fourteenth birthday

when they had difficulty coping with new subjects (Gordon). This situation extended well into the twentieth century. On the other hand, children of the middle and upper classes had the benefit of secondary schooling either as fee-paying students or as scholarship holders.

The Development of Teacher Training Programs in Jamaica

The effort to establish a system of popular education at the elementary and at the secondary levels was not possible without a constant supply of teachers. Walters (1960) stated that the demand for trained teachers is as old as the struggle to establish the system of popular education:

> They share together phases of new endeavor and the difficult times of setback and inadequacy. Current efforts by the British Caribbean to produce universal systems equivalent to others in the Western world are again accompanied by a lively concern for the quantity and quality of teacher training to assist their growth. This has been the case since the condition of an emancipated people first created an effective demand for general literacy and some development in standards of living (p. 1).

Schools established in Jamaica prior to emancipation were, as we have seen, operated mainly by the missionaries or by teachers from England. However, as pointed out by Campbell, in the post-emancipation period the provision for education for the newly freed people

necessitated the development of a teaching service. As early as 1832, wrote Hastings and MacLeavy (1979), the Moravians saw the need for locally trained teachers and established a school, the Refuge, where destitute girls who achieved a sufficiently high level of literacy, served as teachers in Moravian schools. The British government also recognized this need (Campbell; Gordon, 1968) and for this purpose a special grant of 5,000 pounds sterling was made toward the establishment of teacher training colleges.

The Mico Charity, the chief recipient of the grant, started a training school in Kingston (Campbell; D'Oyley, 1979; Whyte, 1983) as a matter of priority. Campbell noted, however, that the short term answer for the majority of the missionary groups was to recruit teachers from overseas to staff the schools which were established from 1834. He continued to point out that the degree to which that policy was pursued by each missionary group depended upon the peculiar circumstance of the group. For example, the Mico Charity and the London Missionary Society were forced to employ overseas teachers in their initial efforts. Groups like the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Scottish Missionary Society found it necessary to recruit from overseas

because of the size of their plans for the expansion of schools (Campbell, 1975). Fewer European teachers were recruited by the Baptists and the Moravians (Campbell; Whyte 1983) because these groups made early efforts to train local persons. In some cases the parent missionary society did not undertake the responsibility of financing teacher training (Gordon, 1968). By 1840 European teachers were being recruited only to fill special positions where the expense could be justified (Walters, 1960; Campbell, 1975). Campbell also stated that in any case the London societies were disregarding the calls of their local societies for European teachers, thereby necessitating the development of the trend to train local agents for the local schools.

The efforts seemed to have produced teachers who were far from being competent. In 1838, Latrobe, a visiting British inspector commented on the poor quality of the teachers. He wrote in his report:

> . . . whether owing to the defectiveness of the education of most of the adults, or the haste with which necessity obliged the teacher to be transported from the bench of the scholar to the desk of the teacher, there are but few of the number whose capacity for the discharge of their duty extends sufficiently far. . . . Here and there are certainly exceptions. . .but of the number employed at the present time hardly a quarter are fitted to conduct a school of any description beyond the mere rudiments (pp. 13-14).

The missionaries were forced by the urgency of the situation to employ any facility at their disposal. Campbell referred to Armstrong, the General Superintendent of Methodist schools bemoaning the quality of the teachers they were forced to employ.

To alleviate the general problem a decided effort was made to improve not only the number of training institutions but the quality of the graduates. Campbell reported that in 1840 a number of additional training schools were established not only to meet local needs but with the intention of exporting to West Africa. The London Missionary Society's Seminary at Ridgemont, the Moravians' at Fairfield, the Baptists' at Calabar and the Presbyterians' at Montego Bay were started to train local teachers and preachers for Jamaica and West Africa (Campbell, 1975).

The missionaries experienced great difficulties not only in getting recruits with an adequate background for training but with providing adequate funds for financing these institutions. Clemens (1859) referred to a donation from a London women's group as an "act of God." The Mico and the Presbyterian Academy were financed from external sources, the former by the Lady Mico Trust (Campbell). The Methodists and the Baptists attached a classical department to their training schools and were

consequently able to attract paying students not intended for teaching. The Taylor Charity provided funds for a doubling of the numbers at the Moravian college for male students at Fairfield and freeing the school from the practice of charging a fee (Periodical Accounts Vol. XXIII, 1854). The Anglicans, as the Established Church, commanded funds from the Board of Education after 1846 (Campbell, 1975). Prior to that period the Anglican Church attached an orphan institution to the central training school in Kingston, with the intention of getting the entire school endowed as a charity (Campbell).

As might be expected, the number of trainees was small. No college contained 50 students (Campbell). Thus they could not meet the island's need for teachers. After 25 years of primary education, Savage reported that two-thirds of the teachers had received no training, and that most of the remainder had had only limited training (Gordon, 1968; Campbell). The churches could not provide enough training colleges to meet the needs of the island.

The government's entry into teacher training after the termination of the Negro Education Grant, a British grant, saw an attempt to promote the teaching of industrial subjects (Whyte, 1983). A Normal School of Industry was established in Spanish Town in 1847 with the

original aim to provide teachers of agriculture for the elementary school (Whyte). Instead, the Normal School of Industry gave its attention to a classical curriculum, failed, and was closed in 1852 (Whyte, 1983). In 1870 a second government training college was started for industrial subjects but it, too, proved ineffective (Campbell, 1975) and closed in 1890.

Although the government of the period of Crown Colony (that is the period after the Morant Bay Rebellion) became concerned about the poor quality of teachers, it did not effectively influence the system. The failure of the Normal Schools to produce enough teachers, for whatever reason, fostered the growth of a pupil teacher system which began in 1877 (Whyte). A pupil teacher assisted in teaching and at the same time was provided teaching to improve his or her academic skills. The training could take place in any school which had "a registered and efficient headmaster" (D'Oyley, 1979, p.23). A pupil teacher was allowed for every 40 pupils in average attendance. The only requirements for being a pupil teacher were "good-health, a good character and an aptitude for teaching" (D'Oyley, p. 23). Grants were made to pupil teachers according to their progress and years of teaching service and their success in the annual examination conducted by the Inspector of

Schools. D'Oyley stated that in some areas greater attention was paid to the pupil teacher instruction resulting in outstanding examination success:

> The cluster of Moravian schools in Manchester deserves special mention because of the excellent performance of their pupil teachers over prolonged periods. By 1885 one of that group of schools, Bethany, earned the education department's special commendation for the continued high attainment. But we should be mindful of the fact that Moravian missionaries were diligent managers for their day schools. They visited often, helped in practical ways, and encouraged their teachers. Without the managers' influence and cheering help, school teaching there might have degenerated into a dreary and uninspiring pursuit, and the pupil teachers' results in Moravian schools in Manchester might have been as poor as in so many parts of the country (D'Oyley, p. 27).

By 1889 there were 590 pupil teachers in the island's schools, although the system could not be regarded as an alternative for teachers trained in a college. More and better prepared graduates of training colleges were needed, particularly in the rural areas, and the pupil teacher system could not effectively make up the deficit. D'Oyley pointed out that the pupil teacher system suffered from an inadequate curriculum and consequently the system:

> remained a narrow apprenticeship scheme with its quality trapped within the limits of the capability and willingness of individual masters and within

> the opportunities for further education available to these aspiring apprentices (p. 28).

Despite the failings, the system of pupil teacher continued until well into the 1930's.

An inquiry into the system of education by the Lumb Commission in 1898 criticized adversely the training of teachers. The Commission recommended that Shortwood College, built by the government in 1885, be expanded as a means of increasing the teacher training facilities, that emphasis be placed on basic skills, domestic science, manual and agricultural skills and school management (Lumb Report, 1898). Following the recommendations, the Board of Education implemented vacation agricultural training for teachers at Mico, Bethlehem, and the Jamaica High School (D'Oyley, 1979). The Board implemented the recommendations of the Lumb Commission rigorously and colleges which could not comply lost their grants (D'Oyley). Such was the fate of the Calabar Baptist College and Fairfield, the Moravian men's college. At the beginning of the 1900's, government funding for male teachers was concentrated at the non-denominational Mico College. At the same time there were Bethlehem, founded in 1861, Shortwood, 1885, and St. Joseph's in 1897 for the training of women. With the exception of Bethlehem, with its rural setting, all the

institutions were situated in Kingston with the result that, after 1900, regional needs were served less than previously. All these institutions received additional government funds and were thus subjected to official standards and examination.

Murray (1979) stated that the main attributes of teacher training in Jamaica were fixed by 1900, and served with minor variations for nearly 40 years. Fundamental changes were made in 1956 with the formation of the Board of Teacher Education to deal with curriculum and examinations. By the early 1960's fees for boarding and tuition were curtailed, yet the number of applicants continued to decrease. In 1956, Moneague, a one-year emergency college, was opened for the training of older untrained teachers. Church, Sam Sharpe and Passley Gardens Teachers Colleges were established later. Despite the number of teacher training institutions, Jamaica continues to experience a shortage of teachers particularly in the sciences and the practical areas.

The founding of the Board of Teacher Education paved the way for closer relationship between the government system of teacher training (Murray, 1979) and the University of the West Indies. The Ministry of Education, the University of the West Indies, through the School of Education, and the teachers through their

professional organization are now associated in the task of teacher training. The denominational bodies, which were the pioneers in teacher education still maintain a foothold, since they are still owners of the properties, and consequently have a voice in the administration of the colleges. Teacher education is still inadequate but it is now accepted by government that educational progress can only be achieved with an adequate supply of well trained teachers.

CHAPTER III

THE BETHLEHEM TEACHERS' COLLEGE

The Founding of the Training Institution for Women

In an earlier section of this study, it was noted that in order to provide a system of education for the masses and to promote literacy in the post-emancipation society, it was paramount that a teaching service be developed. The Occasional Papers of "The London Association" No. 8 in Vol. XXII of the Periodical Accounts, 1856, reported a total of 3,622 students in Moravian schools in 1855 and an increase to 4,198 by 1886. As early as 1839, just a year after the Emancipation, the Moravians had established a training school for men at Fairfield, Manchester (Buchner, 1853). Buchner (1856) reported on the constant endeavor to improve the quality of the graduates. He remarked on "slow but steady progress" (p. 181) and that annually a number of "educated young men" (p. 181) left the training school at Fairfield.

The earliest attempt by the Moravians to train women was in 1832 (Retrospect of the History of the Missions of the Brethren Church in Jamaica for the Past 100 Years Periodical Accounts, Vol. XXII, 1856). The Ladies' Negro Education Society, founded in 1825, gave

support to the Moravians (Clemens, 1856). Through that society, funds were made available for the establishment of a school called the Female Refuge (Clemens). This institution was "intended as a place of shelter for a number of orphans and other destitute girls in which they might be educated and gradually prepared for usefulness as teachers or household servants of superior class" (Clemens, p. 344). Support for the Female Refuge was also given by the Earl of Mulgrave and his appointment as Governor of Jamaica in 1833 was hailed with satisfaction by the "friends of the negroes" (p. 344):

> To the mission of the Brethren Church he was a steady friend and took an interest in the prosperity of the institution recently established at Fairfield and placed by a Society of Christian Ladies under the management of the Brethren (p. 344).

The Refuge functioned until 1845 when it was discontinued "chiefly for want of the needed pecuniary support" (Clemens, 1856, p. 345). Only one member of the staff was available as a teacher educator at the Refuge (D'Oyley, 1979). "Gifted Refugites, about two annually, were sent to the non-denominational training center operated in Kingston by the Mico Charity" (D'Oyley). Although the available data does not allow one to comment on the quality of the graduates of the Refuge, there is evidence that they made a contribution to the needs for

women as Sunday School teachers as well as classroom teachers and domestic servants. Clemens (1856) reported on one graduate, Catherine Mulgrave who married George Thompson, Assistant in the Mission of the Basel Society at Danish Accra on the Gold Coast where "she conducted herself with much propriety in the capacity of school mistress" (p. 345).

Serious consideration was given to the idea of starting a training school for women teachers by the Moravians toward the end of the 1850s. In his report in 1859, Clemens wrote of the positive attempt to start a training school for women teachers. The British Missions had been offered 200 pounds sterling for the endowment of a school. The Moravians regarded the offer as a divine indication that the time had come for the establishment of a female training school. Clemens wrote:

> This important question was under discussion at our last conference held a week ago, but we could not arrive at a satisfactory conclusion and the question was postponed for further consideration. We are unanimous in our conviction of the necessity of such an institution; yet we cannot but perceive the difficulties connected with its establishment. One proof of this necessity is the fact that we cannot have really efficient infant-schools unless we have well trained female teachers. I firmly believe that no human instrumentality would be more effectual for raising the moral character of the female portion of our colored population than the well-regulated infant schools under the care of pious, properly education female teachers. . . . The influence for good of a female training school would probably be even greater than that of the

> training school for youths. And it would certainly be more permanent as such an institution would directly train good mothers. . . who would be fellow workers with Ministers and teachers. . . . (p. 264).

The education of women as teachers was envisioned to have a sobering effect on the emerging society. The training of women as teachers would not only provide a much needed teaching force but would be important for the social growth of the new society. At the general conference of the Church on February 8, 1860, the question of the establishment of the female training school was again deliberated and a resolution for its founding was passed (Clemens, 1860). A committee consisting of the Reverends Seiler, Lind, Sonderman and Clemens was appointed by the conference to "draw up further propositions, as to the station at which the school shall be established, a teacher and the internal management of the institution" (p. 385). The Assembly felt that only a "regularly established institution" (p. 385) would suffice. They, therefore, sought support beyond what was initially promised by the benefactors. Clemens reported on the cautious attitude of the committee: "To avoid great expense, and to incur less risk of disappointment, we desire to commence on a small scale" (p. 385). From the onset an appeal was made to

the government through the Inspector of Schools for the support of the venture (Clemens, 1860).

The House of Assembly, through its Executive Committee, was already making an annual grant to the elementary schools (Campbell, 1968). On May 16, 1860, the resolution relating to the establishing of the Female Training School was adopted by the mission conference. Clemens reported as follows:

> Bethabara has been preliminarily fixed on as the locality best adapted for the new institution and Brother and Sister Seiler, who were considered the most suitable to have charge of it, have declared themselves willing to enter on that arduous duty. . . .It has not yet been settled who is to be matron or teacher. . . .I believe that pecuniary means will not be wanting if we keep the institution on an humble footing; and if our kind friends of the Ladies' Education Society for the West Indies will extend their aid to our undertaking, instead of assisting the schools generally. As regarding the Female Training School, we shall not in our present crippled state be able to attempt great things at first but shall commence on a very humble scale more especially as Sr. Seiler's health is not strong. I was glad to hear that the proposed institution has been commended to the notice of the Ladies' Society. . . .It would afford those esteemed friends satisfaction to know that they were helping in the great and good work of training those of their own sex for spheres of labor, which females are best qualified to occupy (pp. 444-445, 519).

The next report by Clemens, April 22, 1861, showed the completion of the premises, including a new tank and a bathroom. "The building fixed upon," Clemens reported, "answers the purpose very well" (p. 74). According to

that report the training school would be opened the following month but that opening took place on June 3, 1861. By July 22, Clemens wrote: "The Female Training School at Bethabara pursues its quiet course with but three pupils as yet. . .under the care of Sr. Lind for many years a teacher in the New Hope Day School" (p. 220). In December of that same year, 1861, there was an increase by two students and one entered January of the following year, bringing the total number to six, the boarding capacity of the institution (Clemens).

The administration consisted of a Governing Board with the Reverend Augustus Clemens as Chairman and the Reverend John Jacob Seiler as the first Director of the Female Training School (Clemens, 1861). The course of study was planned to last three years and Clemens felt that six graduates per year would "suffice to supply our present wants" (p. 248). Simultaneously with the Training School, an infant school was started. The Board of Governors hoped that by the time the Training School was fully established the Moravian Church would be "prepared to open an Infant School at every station. The 'little ones' at this place (Bethabara) of whom about 50 come every day, give us much pleasure by their regular attendance, their cheerful conduct and their aptitude to learn" (Clemens, pp. 247-248). Clemens did not state the

reason, but by 1866 the Ladies' Education Society withdrew its grant. Clemens still hoped "that these kind benefactresses may be induced to make an annual grant toward the institution which I can assure them deserves and needs their aid" (p. 290).

The number of students kept fluctuating. In the latter part of 1863 it was reduced to four. One student returned home because of illness and one "had been led to sin in the vacation" (Clemens, p. 47). However, the belief of the missionaries that through Christian education it was possible to improve the society helped them to persevere with the venture at Bethabara. A. Hamilton (1863) supported this claim when he wrote: ". . .Christian education is the only means under Divine blessing of inculcating good principles and forming good habits" (p. 7). He, therefore, hoped that the friends of the Missions would not cease to aid the congregations in their efforts "particularly as regards the provision of education of the young" (p. 17).

For the first few years the students of the Training School were under the direction of the minister of Bethabara and his wife. The number of students being so small, it was possible to develop a family atmosphere. The combination of duties by the principal meant a strong religious influence in the college, with opportunities

for the students to assist in the work of the church and to identify with the community and its needs.

In 1867 the health of the Reverend Seiler was broken down and there was a succession of short-term principals (Zorn, 1868). The Reverends E. Weiss, J.T. Zorn and F. Moderau served in the capacity of Principals or Directors, but the work during those years was carried out chiefly by female teachers from overseas. Miss Weiss was among these (Walder - Hicks n.d.). Zorn (1868) reported that under her management the number of students increased and the scope of the institution enlarged. During that period the experiment to admit boarders who were not necessarily students in the training school was extended since it proved successful. Zorn noted that it became an acceptable means of financial support as an adjunct to the missionary effort. He reiterated the belief that the training of women would be an important factor in the development of the country:

> In fact, whoever has any practical knowledge of the social want of the people of Jamaica must perceive that any measure tending to the education and refinement of women will be substantially conducive to the ends of the mission (p. 171).

The report on the Training School in 1868 referred to two graduates of the previous year who had taken charge of schools and of one who was awaiting employment (Zorn, 1868). During the eight years of the

existence of the Training School, 10 young women had graduated and received appointments in Moravian schools (Zorn, 1868). The year 1869, the year of Miss Weiss' retirement, closed with six student teachers in residence and two day students. The school remained closed throughout the year 1873 because a suitable replacement of the teachers could not be secured. At the time of the report, 1873, a tutor was recruited and Zorn hoped that the institution would be reopened and "once more brought into flourishing condition" (p. 100). On April 2, 1874, Miss Susette Walder, the sister of a pioneering missionary, arrived from Switzerland to take charge of the institution and reopened it with six students. Zorn (1874) noted:

> A good spirit has hitherto prevailed but the progress of the students has been slow owing to the necessarily defective preparatory training of most of them. Want of room is at present a great drawback. A new building is, however, to to be erected in the course of the present year, which will afford much needed accommodation (p. 367).

The general impression taken from the account of that particular period of the institution was that Miss Walder's contributions to and influence on the growth of the institution were outstanding. MacLeavy (1961) stated that it was impossible to know how up-to-date her methods were but many of those she trained made their names well known in Jamaican elementary schools as excellent

teachers. F. Moderau (1876) stated that the object for which the institution was established had steadily been kept in view. "Not only have they endeavored to impart the necessary instruction to our pupils but also afforded them ample opportunity for acquiring a practical knowledge of the work for which they are trained" (pp. 197-198). The infant school was put in the charge of the senior students of the training school while the others acted as monitors twice daily under the supervision of the director.

Moderau (1876) recorded that at the examination of the infant school by the government Inspector, the Inspector "expressed himself favorably impressed with regard to the arrangement and the results" (p. 198). He also recorded that two students graduated to take charge of schools where "we trust they will do well" (p. 198). The harmonious working relationship between the Reverend Moderau and Miss Walder resulted in the satisfactory progress of the institution. Moderau's report of 1878 commented on the Inspector's report which:

> . . .bears pleasing testimony to the usefulness of the institution and even the Chief Inspector has at length been convinced of this fact, for in his quarterly report to the government, he suggests among means for the improvement of schools in the island the formation of a "class of well trained female teachers. To provide these, female training colleges are generally needed. At present there

> is only one of this kind in the island under the management of the Moravians at Bethabara, in the parish of Manchester" (pp. 132-133).

The Training School for Women, founded at Bethabara, became the pioneer for other such institutions. Twenty-four years were to elapse before the first government female college of Shortwood was founded in 1885 (D'Oyley, 1979) and 36 years later the Roman Catholics founded St. Joseph's.

The Ladies' Society renewed its interest in the institution and reviewed its decision to discontinue its support. In 1878 Moderau wrote to thank Miss A.M. Barney and "the Ladies' Society for Education of the Children of the West Indies for their help," assuring them that the institution "is doing good work and worthy of their sympathy and assistance" (Moderau, p. 133). The college began to make steady progress and Moderau remarked that the services of the students "have been valuable in the infant school which has been much improved both in numbers and efficiency" (p. 351). The students worked assiduously toward completion of their course of study which included Euclid, Latin, Natural History, Music and Free Composition, in addition to the other subjects of importance for the classroom (Moderau). By 1881 the number of graduates was six annually (Moderau).

Moderau, as Director, had a marked influence on the administration and the curriculum. Much of the practical experience provided for the students was initiated under his guidance, in concert with Miss Susette Walder. Willinger (1887) recorded, however, that by the time he retired in 1883, the buildings were in "defective condition" (p. 382). There was not adequate room on the same site to erect a larger building and a decision was, therefore, taken to relocate and erect new buildings at Bethlehem, located in Malvern, St. Elizabeth. The students, 10 in number, were temporarily accommodated at Salem under the directorate of the Reverend Negus and Reverend and Mrs. Lund while the work at Bethlehem commenced. "The year 1889," writes Walder-Hicks, "saw the dawn of a new era when the training college (as it was then called) at Bethabara was brought to Bethlehem under the Reverend Negus. This was the beginning of the Bethlehem Training College for Women" (Walder-Hicks, n.d., p. 1).

The period at Salem recorded the success of the 10 students presented for the government examinations. Toward the close of 1888 the Sisters Klesel and Boyd arrived from Europe to be responsible for the scholastic and the domestic departments when the training started at Bethlehem (Periodical Accounts, Vol. XXXIV, 1889).

The school at Bethabara lasted 27 years. The pioneering work there should not be underestimated because of the precedence and the foundation established for the involvement of women in the education of the new nation. Although other religious groups, Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists, had established training institutions, none of these concentrated solely on the training of women and none of them endured. The Female Training College at Bethabara was the first such institution for women in Jamaica and the British West Indies. That the Moravian Church considered training women when they had an unimportant social status is meritorious and also set the precedent for the establishment of other female institutions and, as such, had an inestimable contribution to education in Jamaica.

The Relocation of the Training School 1888-1898

The foundation stone for the new building at Bethlehem was laid on February 21, 1888 (Periodical Report, 1889; MacLeavy, 1961), and the students relocated into the new buildings in 1889. Since 1885 the Jamaican Assembly (the elected government) had recognized the training school as a Voluntary Training College (Moderau, 1887). Thus a maintenance grant was provided by the

government for each resident student and a bonus added for everyone who passed the government examinations (Harvey, 1890). Most of the expenses were defrayed by these grants but additional boarders who paid 25 pounds sterling annually were accommodated to provide added funds for the institution (Harvey). The student intake increased from 10 to 20 and by 1889 to 30. Of these the government met the expenses of 26 (Harvey).

The Bethlehem College was by then firmly established and was attracting the attention of other Moravian communities abroad. In 1891 the Reverend Romig visited the Bethlehem College. The report of his visit appeared in the Second Century Periodical Accounts, Vol. I, 1890-1892, and sections are quoted at length:

> Bethlehem is finely situated 2,300 feet above the sea with a beautiful view in every direction. The climate is said to be not only the best in Jamaica, but one enthusiast declared "the finest in the world". . . .The district is something of an educational center. We have the Female Training School and seven day schools, six of which I visited. There is also a superior school for young ladies in the neighborhood called the Dickenson Trust School and one for boys at Potsdam partly supported by government and partly by fund.
>
> . . . the classes were kept by a young candidate of the Training School. Though plainly dressed and barefooted, this girl showed power in keeping order, and her questions on the lessons were well arranged. I could not help feeling that with such material the Training School ought to turn out a superior staff of Teachers (p. 256).

Romig noted that the college buildings "were plain but comfortable and well adapted to the purpose" (p. 569). The dining and school rooms and the teachers' apartments were on the ground floor and the students' above.

> Good and thorough work is being done both in teaching and training; all the time is well employed. There were 13 students at the time of my visit in the institution. They were expected to attend to their rooms and such domestic work as does not interfere with their time for study and recitation. They give lessons to the day school children in the presence of their teachers and fellow students. These lessons are afterwards thoroughly criticized by both students and teachers (P. 569).

At that time the staff had increased to three (Harvey, 1892). Consequently the expenses of the institution increased but Romig observed that the government allowance was 23 pounds sterling for each student annually and an additional bonus of 15 pounds sterling for each student who passed the government examinations. Harvey, the Director, hoped to meet the expenses without heavier demands upon the Mission Board (Harvey). An entry in Harvey's diary in 1891 highlighted the impact of the institution on the students through the experiences it provided for them. Harvey wrote:

> The work of this school has been carried on during the year with very little interruption, the chief being in every way a great advantage to us. This was our attendance at the Teachers' Institution held in Kingston in February and March. With this

> was also combined a visit to the Jamaica Exhibition. To country girls who had never seen ice, a railway train, or electric light, and who were preparing to be teachers, the advantage offered by those institutions together were worth months of ordinary teaching. During our stay in Kingston the results of the Christmas 1890 examinations were published and we were gratified to find the names of all the students we had presented (p. 569).

However, during the last four years of the decade the college had its difficulties. The principal, because of ill health, had to relinquish his position and was succeeded by the Reverend H. E. Seiler in 1896. The diary of 1896 recorded 18 passes out of 21 in 1895. In 1898 the college population had increased to 30 students, 26 of whom where receiving government grants. However, in 1898 the government engaged in a policy of retrenchment (D'Oyley, 1979; MacLeavy, 1961), closing the men's college at Fairfield and many primary schools. The number of students at Bethlehem was reduced to 17. That same year, 1898, Seiler died and was succeeded by the Reverend Samuel Clayton Ashton who arrived at the college in 1899.

During this period the college was having its major impact through its supply of teachers to the rural schools. Hastings and Campbell, in different interviews (1987), referred to the importance of the provision of a steady supply of teachers to the rural schools. Although by the end of the century there were four teacher

training colleges, only Bethlehem had a rural setting and was influencing its students to accept employment in rural schools, far removed from any available social amenities.

Consolidation Under Principal Ashton 1899-1929

The sudden death of H. Edmund Seiler created difficulty for the Board of Governors with regard to finding a suitable replacement for the director of the college (Hastings and MacLeavy, 1979). At that time the college population had been reduced to only 17 (Long Book, Bethlehem College, 1898). Without a director the college staff divided the responsibilities among themselves (Hastings and MacLeavy). However, the examination result at the end of 1898 was discouraging with far-reaching consequences for the economic viability of the institution since the government's grants were, to a large extent, based upon the number of passes obtained. This was at the same time that the government was engaged in its policy of retrenchment (D'Oyley, 1979; Hastings and MacLeavy, 1979; MacLeavy, 1961). Because of the substantial curtailment of the maintenance grants the student enrollment could, therefore, only be maintained at the reduced number.

At a time of difficulty for the college at the end of 1897, Samuel Clayton Ashton was offered the position of Director by the Board of Government. At that time Ashton was the Minister of the Carmel congregation at Westmoreland, Jamaica, having served there since 1888 (Hark and Westphal, 1904; MacLeavy, 1961). Ashton had passed his boyhood in the Moravian settlement of Wellhouse, Mirfield, Yorkshire and on leaving school had attended the Moravian Theological College at Fairfield, Manchester, England (MacLeavy). There he benefitted from the close relationship with Owens College, later Manchester University (MacLeavy). After graduating from Fairfield, he taught in a number of Moravian boarding schools at Neuwied on the Rhine, Germany; at Ockbrook, Derbyshire, England and Fulneck, Yorkshire, England (MacLeavy).

Ashton accepted the position as principal of the college and minister of the Bethlehem congregation in January 1899. Accompanying him was his wife Emma who, as Miss Boyd, was on her way to filling a teaching position at the Bethlehem College, but met Ashton on board ship to Jamaica. Bethlehem, thus, lost her services for a time, but when Ashton became principal she served with him until his retirement in 1929 (Hastings and MacLeavy, 1961).

Ashton's range of activities was varied. Besides being principal of the college and minister of the Bethlehem Church, he was for years the Secretary or the Treasurer of the Provincial Elders Council, a Justice of the Peace, and an Acting Inspector of Schools when vacancies in the Department of Education necessitated this (Hastings and MacLeavy, 1979). Hastings and MacLeavy commented that he carried out his work with: "a never-failing cheerfulness and competence based on strong Christian faith. . . which he was able to pass on to many of his students" (p. 179).

His correspondence to students revealed that he must have developed a warm relationship with them and to them he became "Daddy" Ashton and later "Grandpa" (Fraser-Davis, 1987). He, himself, referred to the students as his children (Fraser-Davis).

At the beginning of his incumbency the staff consisted of three female members, Misses Walder and McDaniel, and Mrs. Weiss (Ashton, 1899). The log listed the examination subjects as Reading, Euclid, Drawing, Arithmetic, Science, Grammar, Scripture, Geography, Sewing. During his first two years Ashton managed to reverse the unsatisfactory results of 1898. In the log book of 1902 Ashton wrote as follows in Table II.

TABLE II

RESULTS OF EXAMINATIONS OF TEACHERS - DECEMBER 1901

	Presented	Passed	Honors	First Class	Second Class	Third Class
First Year	7	6	-	4	2	-
Second Year	5	4	-	1	3	-
Third Year	5	4	-	1	3	-
	17	14	-	6	8	-

(p. 30)

By 1909 the improved performance was established and the Jamaica Gazette of March, 1910 recorded the results of the Training College Examinations of December 1909 as listed in Table III.

Based on the examination results then, the Bethlehem college was performing as well as any other teachers' college and more satisfactorily than some. The number of externally examined subjects was increased and the Jamaica Gazette of 1910 listed the subjects of the curriculum to be examined as Reading, English, Writing, Arithmetic, School Management, Science, Scripture, Geography, Geometry, Vocal Music, Domestic Economy. In 1910 the number of students was again increased, this time to 20 and the successes in examinations continued. Of the 20 students in 1910, one failed the final examinations. The breakdown of the results as they were reported in the Jamaica Gazette of 1911 is shown in Tables IV and V.

TABLE III

RESULTS OF TRAINING COLLEGE EXAMINATIONS IN PERCENTAGE - DECEMBER 1909

	Presented	Passed	Honors	First Class	Second Class	Third Class
Bethlehem	21	100.0%	14.3%	42.9%	33.3%	9.5%
St. Joseph's	6	50.0%	-	-	33.3%	16.7%
Shortwood	34	85.3%	11.8%	5.9%	52.9%	14.6%
Mico	61	95.1%	41.0%	26.2%	16.4%	11.5%
Average		90.9%	26.2%	22.1%	30.3%	12.3%

TABLE IV
RESULTS OF 1910 EXAMINATIONS

	Honors	First Class	Second Class	Third Class	Fail	Total
Bethlehem	6	8	3	2	1	20
Mico	24	25	16	-	4	69
Shortwood	8	5	15	1	5	34
St. Joseph's	-	1	3	-	2	6

TABLE V
RESULTS OF 1910 EXAMINATION IN PERCENTAGE

	Honors	First Class	Second Class	Third Class	Fail
Bethlehem	30%	40.0%	15.0%	10.0%	5.0%
Mico	34%	36.2%	23.2%	-	5.8%
Shortwood	23.5%	14.7%	44.2%	2.9%	14.7%
St. Joseph's	-	16.6%	50.0%	-	33.4%

Despite the evident academic improvement and stability, one of the major problems of the first eight years of Ashton's administration was that of securing suitable staff for the college. There were supposed to be three members of staff besides the principal but frequent vacancies often resulted in his having to teach any subject for which there was not an available teacher. In the log book of 1899 note was made that he had to teach for a full day. Although there was no indication whatever that one of the subjects was sewing, the log book entry gave the inspector's comments on the sewing examination and was reported in full:

> Very good except in the bracing of the buttonholes. Buttonholes in the front of such garments as blouses, shirts, nightshirts or night dresses should be braced at both ends; while those on the neck and waist - bands or bands, generally or any tight fitting garments - should be braced at the inner end only, the other being rounded to receive the shape and bear the strain of the button. In the case of shirts or blouses where studs are to be worn, the buttonholes on the under side of the front should be made on the cross and braced at the inner end only. In all cases the braces should be made into the material and not free like a loop intended to receive a hook.
>
> Exam work very good
> II Year Excellent buttonholes
> I Year Excellent (p. 38)

The problem of finding suitable staff had been an acute one. In 1905 Ashton recorded in the college's log:

> Miss Hanan applied in September for Miss Hay's vacant post. Was accepted (where was our Guardian Angel that day?) and came in on 7th October. Commenced work on the 9th. Taught for a few days then got ill with boils and was in bed for two weeks (p. 41).

And in the log book of 1907 Ashton wrote:

> Miss Molunder came down from the States, but was a complete failure and left at the end of the half year. Mrs. Ashton left for England. While in England she succeeded in getting Miss Land of Fulneck School as a teacher at the college - to come out in January. One teacher short. Principal Ashton has full hours each day (p. 85).

The same unsatisfactory staff situation continued into 1908 as another entry reported on Mr. and Mrs. Wortley who came but "after four days' work Mr. Wortley was taken ill with fever and did no more work and left on Tuesday, 1st September."

Eventually, with the arrival of Misses Land and Morin who came "directly after the earthquake" (Ashton, 1907), the staff problem subsided. Both remained at the college for many years, a situation which resulted in the much need stability in the staffing. MacLeavy (1961) stated that Miss Land eventually went to Shortwood Teachers' College as principal while Miss Morin joined the staff of Hampton High School for Girls. The records of the remaining years show that after the initial eight years the difficulty of obtaining reliable staff no longer persisted. MacLeavy wrote of staff who became

well-known in educational circles, among them Miss Ruby Mornan who, as Mrs. Meredith, became a principal of Shortwood College.

We note that at that time there were no local teachers on the college staff. Thus, there was total dependence on overseas personnel, a situation which persisted for many decades.

In 1914, there was a reverse decision by the government regarding the decrease in the number of graduates from the teachers' colleges. There was an average attendance of 60,900 students in elementary schools in 1912-13 (Education Department Report, March, 1914), and therefore, a need for additional teachers. There was, consequently, an increase of intake in the three women's teacher training colleges resulting from the increased grants. The Education Department's report specified the need for an increased number of women teachers. Bethlehem's numbers increased by five.

> There is an addition to the estimates for 1914-15 which will permit of an increase of five students at Bethlehem, of three at St. Joseph's and three at Shortwood, all of them training colleges for women. . . the demand for more trained women teachers both as principals and assistants continues to increase and is an excellent indication of their efficiency. The demand for assistants particularly will be stimulated with the increase in the number of large schools (p. 1).

At that time the college's administration felt that the physical plant needed to be improved. Ashton started a building program. During the period an Assembly Hall, classrooms for science and domestic science, and domestic quarters including a kitchen were built (Ashton, 1918). MacLeavy (1961) pointed out that these buildings were erected without benefit of any special grants or funds earmarked for the purpose. However, Ashton managed to secure funds and by supervising the construction himself effected savings and made the building possible.

The idea of providing domestic training as part of the Bethlehem Curriculum set a precedent for the other women's colleges. The Lumb Report of 1898 recommended that women should be trained in domestic duties and that Bethlehem's example should be followed:

> We desire to emphasize our opinion that the training of women teachers should be combined with subjects of a practical nature and we think this will be attained if they (Shortwood students) take part and receive instruction in cooking, laundry work and domestic arrangements as is done at Bethlehem College. This will. . . be of great benefit to the students and to others when they leave the college, for it must not be forgotten that female teachers by their example to others may be of incalculable good or evil (p. 22).

Bethlehem Teachers' College was located on the borders of the arid Pedro Plains and the rainfall was

often inadequate, particularly during the summer months. The college depended on rainfall for its supply of water for domestic purposes. During Ashton's administration an inadequate supply of water sometimes disrupted the smooth running of the institution. An adequate or an inadequate supply sometimes became the deciding factor with regard to closing or opening the college. One such time occurred in the summer of 1907. Ashton's letter to his students supported this:

Bethlehem
23rd July, 1907

My dear

We have had no rain yet and there is so little water in the tanks that I dare not re-open College until we have a more adequate supply of water, especially as the washer women are not able to get water for washing clothes.

I am therefore sending the preliminary notice to inform you that unless we get rain this week you are not to return Saturday, 3rd August. I will write you all next Monday stating definitely whether you are to come on the 3rd or not so be sure to send to the Post Office next Tuesday or Wednesday.

With kind regards,

Yours faithfully,

S. C. Ashton

To alleviate that uncertain water situation and its consequences, Ashton constructed a storage tank

between the college and the Bethlehem church. The tank now provides water for the college's laundry.

Even today there are many villages in Jamaica which do not have the benefit of lighting by electricity. An important milestone in the life of the institution occurred in 1919 or 1920 when the college, through the administrator, acquired the first electric generating plant. MacLeavy (1961) believed that the college "was certainly the first country institution to be electrically wired and probably one of the first in Jamaica" (p. 11). Soon after the 1914-1918 World War, a representative of the firm of Delco visited Jamaica with the intent of capturing the Jamaican market for electric lighting plants. He visited Bethlehem making a special offer to install a Delco plant and wiring the college free of charge, if the principal would buy the plant (Ashton, 1919; MacLeavy). The wiring remained untouched until the late fifties when they were replaced by modern ones (MacLeavy).

Throughout the period of Ashton's principalship Mrs. Ashton had responsibility for the domestic affairs of the college. Hastings and MacLeavy (1979) reported that she gave direction to much of the social life of the institution. She constantly entertained many visitors who, in those days, visited Malvern as a health resort.

Much publicity was given to the institution which became noted as a social, cultural and educational center (Hastings and MacLeavy).

The Reverend and Mrs. Ashton retired in 1929 but continued to live at Windsor, adjoining the college property and now acquired by the college. The most outstanding feature of the period was the level of stability that was brought to the institution. The modest building projects were important but more so the fact that the constant shortage in the staff was eased so that eventually there was a level of improvement in the performance of the students and the possibility of executing the teacher training goals set for the college.

Innovations Under Principal Fleming 1930-1947

Ashton's retirement created a brief interregnum during which the Rev. James Black supervised the college. But Roderick J. Fleming arrived as principal by mid January, 1930 (Fleming, 1930). According to MacLeavy (1961) Fleming was being prepared for missionary work in East Africa when the position at Bethlehem became vacant. Fleming had worked in England and in Germany both as a teacher and a minister. He was past middle age when he arrived at Bethlehem and came with a wealth of experiences (Hastings and MacLeavy, 1979).

His teaching career started in 1895 as a pupil teacher in the Birmingham elementary school. Later he earned the London Diploma in Theology, then served in World War I (MacLeavy, 1961). After the war he worked in various positions in Germany where he learned of the Moravian Church and met and married Marie Schoener in Leipzig. MacLeavy believed that Fleming and his wife were well-fitted for service at Bethlehem. He was an ordained minister, and had educational and medical training, while Mrs. Fleming was a chartered accountant from a middle class German family.

The log book of the college kept by Fleming detailed the changes and innovations he carried out at the institution. The entry of 6th February, 1930 reported that a house system was introduced. The student population was divided into three houses, Ashton in honor of his immediate predecessor, Aggrey of Achimota fame and Washington for Booker T. Social events, sports and domestic chores were all carried out on a house basis. That innovation remained a feature of the organization of the student body up to the present.

In the next month the Student Christian Movement was also initiated. Through this movement the students learned to be involved in social research as well as in programs for their own social and moral growth. This was

the forerunner of the present University and Colleges Christian Fellowship.

The Literary Circle began soon after and aimed at providing scope for the practice of literary skills. It included an annual elocution contest, a Shakespeare Festival, which became the forerunner of the present Jamaica Night.

By 1932 Fleming reported on an improved agricultural program. "It is proposed to make the college, as far as possible, a self-supporting institution" (Fleming, 1932). He proceeded with plans for the gradual extension of the area under cultivation consisting of four acres in the immediate vicinity of the college buildings. Fleming recorded in the diary of that period: "Useful crops are grown, poultry reared and a few cows kept for domestic purposes" (p. 51).

Another aim of the agricultural project was to give the students first hand practical knowledge of agriculture to prepare them for work in their schools (Fleming). When O. P. Martin, the inspector, visited on November 5, 1935, he wrote in the log book as follows:

> Visited Bethlehem today. . . .The Agricultural side of the work is being carried out in a very creditable manner. It would be useful for the inhabitants of the surrounding districts to visit this centre and see what is being done there. The crops grown here can be grown to advantage in

> the area. Very impressive work is being done and reflects the great insight of the Rev. Fleming who is the organizer (p. 51).

Through all these innovations the college aimed to equip the students for social services as well as for the teaching service. In his report dated September 16, 1932, Fleming wrote:

> The religious or spiritual life of the college is carefully fostered, for example, by special services for the students and the idea of service as the essence of true Christian life emphasized throughout. The possibilities in this respect open to teachers in a small country school are almost unlimited. Ex-students of the college have been found more willing to accept E and D grade schools in isolated districts as much for missionary motive as any other. In our opinion, that should tend to a more desirable stability in the staff of such schools and considerably greater value in the work done there and their influence in the district (Log Book, 1932, p. 144).

At that time the library facilities were grossly inadequate so a decided effort was also made for its improvement in order that "additional benefits could accrue to the students' development" (Fleming, p. 48). The library of "three hundred suitable books" was kept in the students' common room.

> The librarianship is at present shared by several students but the principal contemplates a change in this respect in order to obtain some supervision of spare time reading. . . .The principal's own large library containing representative fiction, psychological, religious and other books is always open to students (p. 48).

At the same time, to augment the resource of the library, he sought donations of books from abroad. A contributor to the Christian World (London) wrote as follows in August 1934:

> Most of you, I will imagine, remember the large and successful appeal made in these columns nearly two years ago for the Moravian Missions and Training College for Women at Bethlehem, Malvern, Jamaica. Rev. R. J. Fleming, the principal, and indefatigable worker, writes me that up to quite recently he has been getting books from readers that have been suitable to use in the college (Clipping in the Archives).

The students made their contributions by each paying an annual fee of two shillings with the college contributing an equal amount "to provide regular additions" (Fleming, p. 154).

Prior to Fleming's principalship, there were accommodations at the college for 30 students but there were always fluctuations in the numbers which never exceeded 25. When Fleming became principal he took steps to increase the number of students by implementing a system of day students and accepting six such students in 1931 (Fleming, 1931). These day students had all the rights and privileges of residential students but lived in approved lodgings in the Malvern and Hampton neighborhoods (Fleming), and returned to college each day for morning worship. Through this system the enrollment was

effectively enlarged and the Log Book entry of 1934 recorded:

First Year	18
Second Year	20
Third Year	8
Total	46

By the following year there were an additional eight students bringing the number to 54 (Fleming, 1935). When new staff accommodations were provided in 1931, their former rooms were made available for students, thus making it possible to accommodate 38 residential students. In subsequent years, additional day students were accepted and a few more residential students so that by 1941 the total enrollment was 72, consisting of 40 residential students receiving government aid, seven residential students paying full fees, 17 day students and eight unofficial students receiving tuition for external examinations.

During the period, enlargement of the college buildings took place to meet the growing demands of the student body. Fleming's report of September 19, 1931, showed that not only were the immediate college buildings enlarged, but also the practicing school on the same compound as the college. The extension to the practicing school, in 1932, took the form of added classrooms and a verandah (Fleming).

In 1936 Dr. and Mrs. Walter Jessup of the Carnegie Foundation visited the Bethlehem College on the invitation of the then Director of Education, B. H. Easter. They were impressed with the work at the college and were instrumental in having the college become the recipient of a grant of 250 pounds toward the extension of the Domestic Science quarters (Fleming). Those extensions were carried out in 1939.

Another visit that had important implications for the expansion initiated during the period was that of a former Director of Education, S. A. Hammond. He visited in 1941 when he was Educational Advisor to Sir Frank Stockdale of Colonial Development and Welfare. As a result of his recommendations, 3000 pounds were granted from Colonial Development and Welfare funds for the expansion of the college facilities. The Hammond report (1941) to Sir Arthur Richards, Governor of Jamaica, over the signature of Sir Frank Stockdale states:

> In college training, where new ideas, new attitudes and new practices ought to take rise, the principal need of the system is for teachers for senior schools trained to base their teaching on practical occupations and necessities. Here experiment is necessary before any wholesale reform is attempted, in a college adaptable for it and prepared to undertake it. Such a college is Bethlehem Training College. It is in a suitable rural environment, exhibiting the common features of poverty-stricken husbandry, in which nevertheless the principal has shown that soil conservation and

> cultivation are possible. . . .The college is at present for women only and it is proposed to extend it for men. The scheme is under the consideration of the government:
>
> a) improvements in the existing accommodation costing 1,905 pounds.
>
> b) improvements in the practicing school costing 375 pounds.
>
> c) the provision for a hotel for 18 men students costing with furniture and lighting plant 2,209 pounds.
>
> If the government approves these proposals and is able to make the extra grant for the increased number of students (810 pounds per annum), I would recommend grants for the capital expenditure - approximate 4,500 pounds (p. 10).

Although the full recommendation was not accepted the 3,000 pounds granted in 1946 made possible the erecting of an assembly hall block, and a new dormitory to house an additional 16 students. MacLeavy (1961) noted, however, that the new dormitory could not be fully used for a whole year as a further grant of 600 pounds was required to furnish them.

Fleming saw the need for a continuing relationship between the college and its graduates. He inaugurated an Old Students' Association in 1931 and this association became important for organizing the annual retreats which began before summer courses became available. These retreats were a means through which elementary school teachers could update their knowledge

and skills (MacLeavy, 1961). An advertisement in The Daily Gleaner of August 1, 1937 and pasted in the Log Book runs as follows:

> Refresher Course at Bethlehem Training College
>
> The Bethlehem Moravian Training College at Malvern, St. Elizabeth, will conduct a retreat for teachers beginning on Thursday, August 6 and and ending Saturday, August 15.
>
> The course will comprise handwork of all types in relation to work in the schools. There will be lectures in psychology, music and drawing. It is felt that there will be inestimable value to teachers to have this refresher course, and that applications will likely be many. These should be made as early as possible to the Rev. R. J. Fleming, Dip. Theo., Principal, Bethlehem, Malvern P. O. (pp. 273-275).

The Old Students' Association and these summer courses resulted in a close relationship between the college and its past students. MacLeavy (1961) regretted that "there has never since been such a close association with the Old Students and Bethlehem is not quite the Mecca it was then" (p. 18).

This period was one of stable staff despite the reported differences between the principal and at least two members of staff. The Log Book entry of 13th November, 1930, recorded a report that the inspector was informed that Miss James "was encouraging color prejudice and teaching the tenets of Rosicrucianism" (p. 80). On November 14, Principal Fleming wrote to Mrs. Brown about

"the propagation of the Theosophical Literature in the college," forbidding the same (p. 83).

Despite these, he was well served by his assistants who are reported to have carried out "able work" (p. 129). Fleming's report of September 1932 gave the qualifications, salary and areas of teaching of the staff.

> 1. Miss Dora Kember, B.A. Bristol
> Taught School Management, Geography, Old Testament Scripture, Class singing.
> One hundred twenty pounds per annum with board and lodging.
>
> 2. Mr. Eric Vincent Brown, B.A. London.
> Taught English, History, New Testament Scripture.
> One Hundred pounds per annum with board and lodging.
>
> 3. Miss Marjorie Millicent Knight (Inter B.A. London). Taught Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Drills, Games. Salary 60 pounds per annum with board and lodging.
>
> 4. Miss Willith Oldfield R.P. grade "d", 3rd Year Honors. Taught Mental Arithmetic, Scale Drawing, History, Music Theory, Psychology and Hygiene Science. Sixty pounds with board and lodging.
>
> 5. Miss Ivy Hill, R.P. grade "d", 3rd Year Honors. Taught drawing (Model, Decorative, Memory, Blackboard) Kindergarten. Any other handiwork, Writing. Student teacher under supervision of principal. Forty pounds per annum.
>
> 6. Miss Elsie Blake grade "d" Head Teacher, Bethlehem Practicing School. Taught Gardening, Handiwork, Code of Regulations. One hundred fifty pounds for Head Teacher, for services at the college board and lodging (p. 130).

Notable on the staff during the administration of Principal Fleming were Misses Millicent Knight and Beryl Loftman. Miss Knight was among the first local teachers at the college and was appointed in July 1930 (MacLeavy, 1961). She came to Bethlehem from Hampton High School and served as lecturer for 11 years before she left for St. Hilda's Girls' School and the University of Toronto (MacLeavy). She returned to Bethlehem as Vice-Principal in 1949.

Miss Loftman was described by MacLeavy as one of the most promising students of her time. She returned to the college as tutor a year after graduating from it. She later became Dr. Loftman-Bailey and taught at the University College of the West Indies and Later Teachers' College, Columbia (Citation, 1980).

This period was marked by the introduction of a number of innovations, many of which still form an integral part of student activities. The college was organized by Fleming on the assumption that:

> . . . all teachers should be missionaries of the social programs in the various phases. (a) Outside activities of a school as they touch the community; for example, clubs, choirs, etc. (b) Religion (c) Health (d) The demeanor and deportment especially as to the defects of dress, speech and behavior (p. 4).

Special endeavor was made to prepare the students for teaching in rural Jamaica and Kathleen B. Cook, inspector

of schools in West Africa, who visited in 1937 commented that the college "appears to be filling a unique position in the training of teachers for the rural areas" (p. 51). A Daily Gleaner Report of the late thirties captioned "Mr. Easter Sees Good in Bethlehem College" told of the positive impressions by the Director of Education of the work of the college. Under Principal Fleming's direction, the college continued its useful work and became firmly established as a teacher training institution. Fleming's administration was outstanding as a period of unusual innovations. His work assured the survival of the institution despite moves in the forties to close Bethlehem as a training institution (Hastings, 1987). Fleming's work, aided by Colonial and Welfare grants, removed that threat permanently. In July 1947, he retired to Newcastle, Newport and died there in 1950.

Continued Expansion Under Principal MacLeavy 1947-1972

Basil Latrobe MacLeavy, a student at the Fairfield Theological College, England, was contacted as early as 1939 to succeed Fleming to carry on the work at Bethlehem (MacLeavy, 1986). He arrived in Jamaica in April, 1947 and assumed the position of principal in August, 1947 (MacLeavy). MacLeavy expressed that his first concern was to continue the improvement and

extension of the buildings. "There were so many cares and anxieties associated with the buildings" (p. 27). This was so since up to 1949 the students were still fetching water from open tanks since there was no facility for running water. "Sanitation was still more primitive and successive reports had urged reconstruction of the college bathrooms" (p. 27). A decided effort was therefore made to implement the much-needed improvements. By 1948, the new bathrooms and running water were in place (MacLeavy, 1961). To ensure the availability of an adequate supply of water, five additional storage tanks were erected, thereby providing an extra 275,000 gallons of water. Separate bathrooms were also provided for each member of the staff thus effecting more satisfactory sanitary conveniences (MacLeavy, 1961).

Lighting by electricity was also a source of concern. A generating plant had been acquired during Ashton's administration some 25 years previously. However, this proved inadequate for the expanded physical plant. MacLeavy, therefore, acquired three generators prior to the mid-fifties when a public supply of electricity became available to the Malvern community (Campbell, 1987).

A building project, extensive for that period, was also undertaken. MacLeavy stated that almost every

building was remodeled and a number of new ones added. The vice principal's cottage was extended and the existing open dormitories divided into study bedrooms, thereby providing a greater sense of privacy for the individual student. New additions included a hostel to house 54 students, a principal's residence, staff flats for four persons, and a library (MacLeavy).

Funds for the new buildngs, excluding the library, were provided by a 23,000 pounds sterling grant from Colonial Development and Welfare (MacLeavy). The hostel nicknamed the Bulge (Knight, 1987) and later named in honor of Fleming, was opened in 1960 by the Minister of Education. The additional space provided by this hostel made it possible to accommodate all students in the residences on the college campus. This brought an end to the system of day students implemented by Fleming to enlarge the college population. In addition, a large house, Deepdene, was acquired to house 30 students and a warden (MacLeavy, 1961). These additions to the living accommodations made it possible to increase the college enrollment from 72 in 1947 to 165 in 1972 when MacLeavy demitted office.

An important addition to the college at this time was the bicentennial library erected in 1954 to commemorate 200 years of Moravian work in Jamaica (MacLeavy).

Up to that time there was no structure devoted solely to a library. Thus the construction of the bicentennial library was a much needed progressive step. A grant of 2,500 pounds was provided for this library by the Jamaican government on the recommendation of a Member of the House of Representatives, the Honorable D. B. Sangster, representative of South St. Elizabeth (MacLeavy). The library was for many years sponsored by the Jamaican Library Service and also served as a book center for the Malvern community (MacLeavy). Under the direction of Vera MacLeavy, who assumed the position of Librarian, it soon acquired several hundreds of books and contributed immensely to the needs of the students of the college in particular and the Malvern community in general. Hastings and MacLeavy (1961) stated that for many years this library was "the envy of other colleges" (p. 182).

Although not a college building, but because of the integral role it played in the life of the college, mention must also be made of the new infant department which was added to the practicing school and opened in September 1954. It must be remembered that from its inception at Bethabara in 1861, the college had always emphasized infant education. An improved infant center

on the college compound was important for the practice of education by the students.

The final thrust for the college's expansion came in 1966. The then Minister of Education, the Honorable E. L. Allen, had petitioned the Boards of Governor of the teachers' colleges to give whatever help they could to assist in providing additional facilities for teacher training with a minimum of expenses (Hastings, 1987). Deepdene, the hostel off the main campus, had been recently acquired (Hastings, MacLeavy, 1965). The Board of Bethlehem accepted the challenge to work with the government to help to meet the educational needs of the country. Campbell (1987) stated that during the period of the forties and the fifties, 78 percent of the teachers in the rural schools were untrained. Thus the need for trained teachers could not be over-emphasized.

Paradoxically, however, shortly after the meeting with the Minister of Education, a committee from Bethlehem's Board of Management met with Cousins, Senior Education Officer and Germanacos, a UNESCO advisor to the Ministry of Education, and was told of a proposal to close the Bethlehem college (Hastings, 1987, Minutes of the Board, 1967). The reason given was that the college did not have the facilities for off-campus students, Malvern being a rural community (Hastings). In a

metropolitan area more students could be trained because more homes would be available for boarding (Hastings, 1987). In addition, they stated that Bethlehem had an inadequate water supply. Hastings, in an interview, stated that despite the "vehement counter arguments" the meeting ended with the assumption that Bethlehem was going to be closed. By that time the college was totally government aided. So the withdrawal of aid would of necessity close it as the Moravian church could not provide the necessary fund for its support. The seriousness of this proposal must also be seen against the fact that Fairfield, the Moravian men's college, was closed in 1900 (D'Oyley, 1979) because of the cessation of the government's aid.

Understandably, the Bethlehem Board of Governors was uneasy, but Hastings stated that a determined stand was taken to save the institution. The immediate action was to convene a meeting consisting of Hastings, MacLeavy and a group of architects to prepare an expansion program for Bethlehem. Hastings (1986) stated that the leadership was: "determined to enter into a relentless but diplomatic struggle to save Bethlehem college, not forgetting that prayer, above all, changes things" (Interview, 1976).

The Moravian Church in Jamaica was informed by Bishop John Foy of the British Province, of an agency in Bonn, the Evangelische Zentralstelle fur Entwicklug-shilfe, that could be approached for funding (Hastings and MacLeavy, 1979). In August of 1967, Bishop Hastings and the Rev. Neville S. Neil, now Bishop Neil, on their way from a Unity Synod in Czechoslovakia, presented the expansion plan to the Foundation in Bonn. According to Hastings (1986), the agency sent one of their professional representatives to Jamaica. After protracted negotiations with the Ministry of Education and the Moravian Church, the agreement was reached that the Ministry of Education would provide 25 percent of the cost of the projected expansion (Hastings, 1986). The expansion would take place in two phases.

In 1968 the German Funding Agency granted 950,000 Deutch Marks for Bethlehem's expansion program (Hastings, 1986; Hastings and MacLeavy, 1979). The hope that the work would start soon after was a vain one. Hastings said that "in spite of the government's apparent commitment and its written undertaking" the work did not start as anticipated. A Ministry of Education Report on Teacher Education in 1970 stated:

> The planned development program which should have been started a few months ago had to be postponed but it is expected to get underway

> by July this year. The revised time schedule anticipated an increase in student accommodation from the present 150 to 240 by September 1972 and 350 by September 1973. Approximately 75% of the capital required for this project will be provided by the Moravian Church in Jamaica with the support of the Moravian Church in the Federal Republic of Germany while the remaining 25% will be met by the government (p. 3).

This plan made provision for two new hostels, two classroom blocks, a science laboratory, an expanded library, accommodation for staff, a playing field and road through the campus, a cafeteria and kitchen, administrative offices, and an auditorium. Despite the report of 1970, five years were to elapse before the buildings of the first phase were completed in 1975 (Hastings, Minutes of Board, 1975). Thus, although the plans were formulated during the MacLeavy administration, he had already retired for three years before the buildings of the first phase of the expansion were put into service. Appropriately, a classroom block has been named in his honor.

MacLeavy continued the innovations of Fleming. The college's "open days" attracted many Bethlehem graduates and other visitors to the college. Knight (1987) said that many teachers regarded them as periods for refresher courses since there were always extensive displays and demonstrations in art and crafts, needlework, home economics and visual aids. "They came

armed with note paper to get ideas for their classroom" stated Knight in an interview.

During this period the student council was introduced and aimed "to encourage self-government and a sense of responsibility among our students" (MacLeavy, 1961, p. 39). The house system, the clubs and societies and a system of tutorials fostered the interpersonal relationship among the students.

In 1967 the college's program was changed from three years of intra-mural work to two years of intra-mural plus one year of internship. Conforming to change was not strange to Bethlehem since its administration had always been willing to adjust to meet the changes implemented by the Ministry of Education. The academic work of the college compared favorably with that of similar institutions so that when MacLeavy retired in 1972 the future of the college was again assured. The improved facilities which MacLeavy and the Board, led by Bishop Hastings, managed to get in place, stand as testimony to the effective work carried out during the period.

A Period of Continuing Expansion Under Principal Grant 1972-1980

Mrs. Gwendolyn Gbedemah had joined the college staff in 1967 as a lecturer and was appointed Vice Principal in 1968. When MacLeavy applied for

pre-retirement leave, Gbedemah, who was on study leave at Teachers' College, Columbia, indicated that she would return to Bethlehem for the month of June, 1972, to be briefed in the role of Acting Principal (Minutes of the Meeting of Board of Governors, February 14, 1972). When MacLeavy finally vacated the post in August 1972, Gbedemah accepted the position with some hesitation, largely for health reasons, and resigned at the end of December 1973 (Minutes of Meeting of the Board of Governors, October 1973).

Gbedemah's appointment brought to an end the era of the principal being the Minister of the Moravian Church. During her brief period as principal the emphasis was on staff development for more effective preparation of students for the island's schools. Workshops for staff development, particularly in the use of audio-visual equipment, were procured for the college at that time through the United Nations Educational and Scientific Organization (Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Governors, February 14, 1973). The principal organized the workshops for effective use of the equipment. Also at that time, workshops in Reading and Family Life Education were carried out as a part of the process of staff development and ultimately student growth (Gbedemah, 1973).

The Jamaica Library Service had housed a collection of books for the use of the public in the college's library during the MacLeavy administration. During the 1973 period, the Library Service removed its collection from the college to a building in the community (Gbedemah, 1973). Their collection had provided most of the books suitable for use with children. The removal, therefore, created a need for the college students. Thus the principal secured a number of such books to fill the needs of the students in the knowledge of literature suitable for children of the primary grades (Gbedemah, 1973).

Up to that period Bethlehem had been preparing teachers for the pre-primary, primary and new secondary schools. In 1973, however, the Ministry of Education had earmarked Bethlehem for the training of pre-primary and primary teachers only (Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Governors, October, 1973) because of the acute need in those areas (Campbell, 1987).

The expansion program planned during the administration of MacLeavy became a reality on December 9, 1973 when the ground-breaking ceremony took place (Powell, 1973). Gbedemach demitted office around that time, effective the end of December 1973.

Reynolds Earl Powell acted as principal from January to March, 1974 when Ewart Grant who was appointed principal took office. Grant's appointment came at the time when the expanded college facilities would soon be available. At that time the student body numbered 160 but an additional 194 were recruited for the academic year beginning September, 1975 (Grant, 1975). This was to mark the first phase of the college expansion.

In the previous academic year, 1974, the college had been requested by the Ministry of Education to supervise the interns graduating from the Bethlehem College (Grant, 1974). This was not peculiar to Bethlehem. Other colleges were also required to take on this added responsibility. To ease the acute shortage of teachers in the school system, the decision had been made by the Ministry of Education, in 1969, to implement a teacher training program of two years of intra-mural studies and one year of extra-mural study, and an internship year (Report of the Ministry of Education, 1969; Campbell, 1987). Up to August, 1974, the supervision of the interns was the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry officers carried out that task.

When Bethlehem took on the added responsibility of supervising the interns in the parishes of St.

Elizabeth and Westmoreland, the student body increased to over 300 students, the largest in the history of the institution (Grant, 1974). This increase meant the need for additional staff and created a problem for the administration. Grant, in his report to the Governing Board, commented on the "slow response" (p. 2) to the advertisements for additional staff. This was particularly so in the areas of Science, Mathematics, and the Practicals. Thus the academic year 1974 to 1975 began with a number of staff vacancies. Grant summarized the situation as follows in a November, 1974 report to the Board of Governors:

> We began the new academic year with a number of staff vacancies due to the great difficulty of obtaining suitable staff, plus the fact that the approval of employing staff under the Third Year Program came very late. . . .With respect to the main college program, our problem is to fill vacancies in the practical subjects of Music, Physical Education and Home Economics. The Ministry's embargo in imported staff for these areas makes it even more difficult to recruit teachers, plus the fact that employment policy in the teachers' colleges requires that such staff should at least have additional professional qualification (p. 2).

To alleviate the situation the college managed to secure the service of a Peace Corps volunteer in Physical Education and a tutor of Science from the Mennonite Central Committee (Grant).

During the period 1972 to 1973, the staff had started in-service training through the sponsorship of UNESCO. This practice was continued and extended to the staff of the library. The librarian returned to Canada for a refresher course in library development so she could have the knowledge to implement the changes and expansion necessary to meet the increased number of students (Grant, 1974). A section with books and materials for the Practice of Education as well as a Children's Literature section was established (Grant, 1974). When the Canadian volunteer returned home at the end of her contract, a replacement was found through a German Volunteer Agency in 1975 (Grant).

By October 1975 all the buildings in the planned program of expansion in the first phase were completed. Two hundred and eleven first year students were recruited. This number, with the students on internship, brought the number to over 400. "The large majority of the staff needed both for the extension and from original shortages have been recruited" (Grant, 1975). Twenty-six of the 29 staff members were recruited and made it possible to have a smooth start of the expanded college.

Reverend S. U. Hastings, then Chairman of the Board of Management, and Reverend B. L. MacLeavy, the past-principal, had worked untiringly to make the

expansion of a college possible. Hastings, as was previously noted, had been the force responsible for securing the funds for the new buildings. Thus at the request of Grant to the Board of Management a block of classrooms was named in honor of MacLeavy and a hostel in honor of Hastings (Grant, 1975).

Not only was there expansion to the physical plant but effort was made, within the limits of the available funds, to provide facilities in the classrooms and to bring about meaningful teaching in the curriculum areas. Subject classrooms were established as the main organizational trend to enable these areas to be used as classrooms as well as resource centers for the different subjects. Such an organization, it was hoped, would make it possible for the outstanding concepts and methodology relating to each subject to be taught without undue disruptions.

A science laboratory was equipped and centers established for Early Childhood, Music, Mathematics, Reading, and Educational Technology. The Departments of English and Education were established and other subjects were grouped to form subject sections, each with its own section head. The administration aimed at an integration of work within departments and sections as well as for inter-disciplinary integration. Toward this end a

standing committee was established for planning and evaluation under the direction of the vice principal. Out of this emerged the Curriculum Development Committee and the Development Fund Committee, the latter being concerned with identifying areas of need and raising funds for the purpose (Grant, 1976).

Subjects for the students' personal development were also emphasized. Thus, Family Life Education, Library Science and Guidance and Counseling became an integral part of the scheduled courses. During past administrations, particularly during that of Fleming, emphasis was placed on the social life of the students as another means of preparing them for their roles in the society. Grant's administration witnessed an increase in the clubs and societies operating on the campus. The principal's report of November 1975, listed the following clubs: Music, Drama, Current Affairs, Literary and Debating, Garden, Camera and Inter-College Christian Fellowship (Grant, 1975). Students were also involved in various church activities such as teaching in the Sunday School and singing in a separate choir in the Moravian church on the campus. The students and staff were provided opportunities through these social activities to interact in informal situations and students were provided valuable leadership training.

On March 20, 1976, the official opening of the expanded college took place. At the end of that academic year the 10 expatriate volunteer staff returned home. The principal, based on his belief that "only a stable Jamaican staff can prevent the annual exodus of foreign staff which must affect the momentum of teaching in the college" (Grant, 1976, p. 1), started to make a decided effort to attract local staff and to recommend those suitable for promotions to positions of responsibility. His efforts must have been effective for at the beginning of the academic year 1976 to 1977 the number of overseas staff was reduced to four and by 1980 to two. The principal's concern for a stable staff was reasonable yet it was to be regretted that the variety in teaching ideas and cultural diversity had to be sacrificed.

In 1979 the building activity for the second phase of the expansion was proceeding at an even pace. The completed hostel meant the end of the era of the Bethlehem Teachers' College as an institution for the training of female teachers. September 1980 witnessed the entrance of 16 male students in residence (Grant, 1980), thus bringing to an end 119 years of female training at this institution. The eight years 1972 to 1980 marked a period of emphasis on physical growth and

improved facilities and an effort to effect staff improvement and development.

CHAPTER IV

BETHLEHEM TEACHERS' COLLEGE'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO EDUCATION

Introduction

A challenge facing all developing countries is the need to provide effective formal education for its people. This need is even greater if the developing country began its history with a population of displaced people who were illiterate and had a background of slavery. This was the case with Jamaica which had to make the initial start to educate the populace to supply its human resource needs to move the nation along the path of development. In this effort of nation building, the teacher training colleges played a vital role as they, more than any other type of educational institution, provided higher education for Jamaicans of low and moderate incomes. Their graduates, in return, contributed to the masses of Jamaicans by providing professional services in the elementary and secondary schools. Bethlehem Teachers' College, because of its goal for the education of women and the training of teachers, has made its contribution to education in the country in a number of ways. This chapter will address these contributions.

Pioneering Work in Teacher Education

The first Moravian missionaries arrived in Jamaica in December, 1754 (Hark and Westphal, 1904). They had been committed to Christianize the black populace in Jamaica through education since they believed that "religion and education are twin sisters" (Hastings and MacLeavy 1979, p. 39). Hastings and MacLeavy stated that as soon as the opportunity presented itself, the Moravians initiated a system of education for "the under-privileged and dispossessed" (p. 39). In 1826, the Fairfield Diary recorded that four children of from 10 to 12 years were baptized and that the wives of the missionaries were instructing them in reading and other useful skills. In that same year the Moravians started the system of establishing Sunday Schools in all their mission stations and day schools (Hastings and MacLeavy).

In 1834 there was an enrollment of 800 pupils and in 1836, 1,043 pupils in Moravian schools. Twelve years after the emancipation, the Moravians found it necessary to establish station schools located at the mission stations, and at country schools in areas far removed from the mission stations (Periodical Accounts, Vol. XXI, 1853). The increase in the number of pupils between 1853 and 1856 rose from 3,622 to 4,199. This total included

the numbers from 30 country schools and 17 mission station schools (Periodical Accounts, Vol. XXII, 1856).

Up to that period, different denominational groups and the non-denominational Mico were attempting to meet the teaching needs of the island's schools. However, as shown by Table I summarizing the nineteenth century teacher training institutions by D'Oyley (1979), the early efforts were tentative attempts and could not meet the manpower needs of the schools. As early as 1832 the Moravians had started the Refuge for the training of women for domestic duties and as teachers (D'Oyley, 1979; Hastings and MacLeavy, 1979), but with only one staff member at the Refuge as a teacher trainer, the number of graduates was understandably limited.

To meet the need for male teachers, Jacob Zorn, the Moravian Superintendent at Fairfield, resolved quite early to train his own teachers. As a result, Fairfield men's college was started in 1839 (Zorn, 1839; Hark and Westphal, 1901) and functioned for 64 years until 1900 when the government's withdrawal of aid necessitated its closure (D'Oyley, 1979; Hastings and MacLeavy, 1979).

The teachers available from the Refuge, Mico and Fairfield, did not satisfy the needs of the Moravians for their own schools. In the early 1850's, the Moravians began to consider seriously the starting of a training

school for female teachers (Clemens, 1859). When the Bethlehem Training College was started in 1861 as the Moravian Training School for Women at Bethabara, a unique step in teacher education began in Jamaica. This step was unparalleled, not for the teacher training effort, but for devoting the institution to the training of female teachers.

Education was seen as a means of nation building. A degree of stability and the provision of skills was given through this medium to the emerging society. Without teachers to staff the schools, it was not possible to inculcate the habits and skills, to Christianize, and eventually to effect national growth and development.

In those pioneering days a number of institutions for teacher education were founded but functioned for some years and then closed. That Bethlehem grew from those early years and continued to produce teachers for this society is creditable. Hastings (1987) stated that even in the early days the Bethlehem College "produced a core of dedicated teachers for the schools throughout Jamaica." In the first eight years of its founding, the college graduated 10 students (Zorn, 1869). This number though small, was far from being insignificant. This early work in teacher education set the precedent for

other female institutions and in 1885 the government college of Shortwood for women was started and St. Joseph's by the Roman Catholics in 1897. Any other women's college started before Bethlehem had lasted only a brief period. The Baptists' effort at Kettering endured from 1841 to 1843 and the Presbyterians' School at Brownsville from 1859 to 1861 (D'Oyley, 1979).

Knight (1987) remarked that through the years Bethlehem has produced thousands of teachers who have served not only as classroom teachers but as principals. Knight further stated that it was impossible to estimate the work of this "band of dedicated workers who had learned early that service and dedication were the keys to nation building." Falconer, in an interview (1986), noted:

> The contributions made by Bethlehem Training College, under the auspices of the Moravian Brethren, in the field of Early Childhood and Primary Education, which brought popular education to the underprivileged and dispossessed masses in the early years after emancipation, must never be underestimated.

The Moravians were the first in the field of popular education in Jamaica and through the Bethlehem Teachers' College ensured that teachers were available, not only for the schools they founded, but for other schools. This was an early goal set by the founders and Bethlehem College still identifies the educational needs

of the nation and seeks the means of meeting them. The large number of its graduates who have staffed the island's schools give fitting testimony to the contributions of this institution to education in Jamaica. Neil (1987) summed up this contribution when he said, in an interview:

> By training teachers for elementary schools, Bethlehem brought primary education within the reach of the masses and contributed in no small measure to the onslaught on illiteracy of people removed one generation from slavery.

The pioneering work of Bethlehem College set a precedent and established the foundation for the involvement of women in teacher education and has had a lasting impact on the growth of primary and later secondary education in Jamaica.

Pioneering Work in Education of Women

A summary of the education system as we have seen in the study of the history of education in Jamaica was a part of the British educational system transmitted to the island. The image of the male as the head of the home and as the breadwinner with economic responsibility for the family, of the "ideal woman" as a housewife, mother and intellectually inferior person, were values of a British middle class which ignored the plight of the

working-class woman (Ellis, 1986). These values were passed on to Jamaica.

Understandably, there was no provision for popular education before the emancipation in 1838 (Gordon, 1963; D'Oyley, 1979; King, 1973; Falconer, 1987). Those who benefitted from a secondary education were upper and middle class white and colored. King (1979) and Ellis (1986) emphasized that there were clear distinctions based on color, sex and class, and these distinctions were reinforced by the curriculum. Ellis stated:

> Upper class white boys were trained for professions and for senior posts in the colonial administration, middle class boys received a "second-grade" education which prepared them for commercial life and for the civil service, while middle and upper class girls were being trained to be good mothers, wives and companions worthy of educated husbands. It is significant to note that although upper and middle class girls had access to higher education, both the content - needlework and domestic subjects - and the purpose of their education was similar to that of their black sisters in the lower class (p. 92).

The history of the development of education in this country showed that apart from the efforts of the religious denominations, notably the Moravians, Methodists and Baptists, no effort was made to provide popular education. Those who made bequests for secondary education were concerned with educating a free people. After emancipation the social and political structures

succeeded in depriving the black population of a secondary education (King, 1979). When the demand for secondary education became acute, the churches, in an effort to meet the demands, started to establish a number of secondary schools (Gordon, 1968). However, based on the premise that women did not have the capacity to benefit from the academic education, those institutions catered mostly for middle and upper class boys. The teachers' training colleges or normal schools were the institutions that bridged the gap between primary and secondary education for those students from the lower socio-economic group and for women. Miller (1984) referred to the teachers' colleges as "the poor man's secondary schools." This was particularly so for women since their sex further restricted them from the available limited number of secondary schools.

When the founders of the Bethlehem Teachers' College decided to train only females at the institution they instituted a change in the prevailing concept of the role of women, and this had far reaching implications for the society. The founders demonstrated their belief that women as professionals, particularly as teachers, had an essential role to play. Clemens (1859) saw women in education as instruments for "raising the moral character of the female portion of the colored population" (p. 264)

as they worked as professionals in the classroom. The Bethlehem endeavor was years ahead of any other significant effort that was made for the education of women in this country. Thus the importance of this step cannot be over-emphasized.

By providing this level of training for women, Bethlehem College became the first Jamaican institution to provide an education for women at the tertiary level. Falconer (1987) believed that Bethlehem's pioneering work in training "lady teachers" was a significant contribution. In training women the college exposed "dark-skinned women to higher education and did much to raise the status of women at the time when they had to keep a low profile in this society."

Davis (1987) noted, too, that up to 1980 the students were recruited to the college directly from the elementary schools but were able to receive the secondary education they lacked, at the same time learning the principles of education which they needed to become professionals for the classroom.

Bethlehem, through the many clubs and societies, provided its women teachers with training in acceptable social behavior in addition to academic training. The emphasis on this aspect of their development was evident, particularly during the administration of Principal

Fleming. Stewart (1987) referred to Bethlehem as the institution which made it possible for her to join the ranks of the professional and "to grow in the understanding that she is a person of worth who developed the confidence to make a positive contribution to the nation." Ellis (1986) noted that the education of women as professionals helped to raise their status as they played important roles in the community in which they labored. The women who graduated from Bethlehem over the years have been able to attain high levels of achievement and to hold positions of influence and responsibility not only in education but in other sectors. For 119 of its 126 years, Bethlehem Teachers' College concentrated on the education of women, fostering their development as whole persons. Hastings (1987) declared that Bethlehem's pioneering work in the education of women and in educating women as teachers resulted in "better homes and a better society; hence the growth of the whole nation at the same time elevating the place of women in society."

In providing an education for women at a time when this was almost a radical concept, the Bethlehem College was rendering an inestimable service. The work of the college paved the way for women to enter the professions in Jamaica, and to enable them to take their places as leaders and shapers of the nation's future.

Education for women by Bethlehem was a first step in "removing the barrier set up by color and wealth" Neil (1987) said, and set the pattern for later institutions to emulate.

Special Contribution to Elementary Education in Rural Jamaica

As late as 1965, Bethlehem Teachers' College was the only one of the four teachers' colleges situated in the rural area. The other institutions - Mico, Shortwood and St. Joseph's - were all sited in Kingston. Falconer (1987) stated that the location of the college in rural Jamaica "and the unavailability of modern facilities in the early history of the college developed in its graduates the skill to be innovative and to be contented with working in remote areas." Most of the early graduates were prepared for work in the rural areas. The college aimed to instill that commitment in its graduates. Principal Fleming (1932) referred to the special effort of the college to foster the idea of service as the important essence of Christian living in the students. Fleming recorded that graduates of the college had been willing to accept schools of the lowest grades in isolated districts. The missionary motive played a part in their selecting to go to the rural area but we must remember that the Moravians did not divorce

education from religion. Principal Fleming was of the opinion that the students going into the rural schools created a level of stability in the staff of those schools with the resulting greater value of the work and influence in the districts. Kathlene B. Cooke, who visited from West Africa in 1937, commented that the college seemed to be performing a unique role in the training of teachers for the rural areas. An examination of the list of Moravian schools highlighted the fact that these were all located in inaccessible areas (see Appendix A). We must also realize that the country schools, 30 in number in 1854, were even more remote than the mission schools.

Knight (1937) stated emphatically that the Bethlehem graduates did not go into rural schools because the college was in a rural setting, but because "the stress was on service." The greatest areas of need were in the rural areas; therefore, the Bethlehem graduates were prepared to go there. Knight emphasized that the Moravian Church was the center of the education of the college. As a result of this close relationship, the students caught the missionary zeal and were committed to service in the schools and community development, important aspects of nation building for social, educational and economic growth.

There was consensus among the interviewees that the provision of teachers for the rural school could be one of the most outstanding contributions of the college. MacLeavy (1986) saw this as the college's major contribution. Bethlehem, he stated, has provided a large number of dedicated women teachers "who have not often sought the highest positions but have gone into rural country schools and devoted long years of service." These graduates had gone for the sake of the people. MacLeavy used the remote village of Accompong, a famous Maroon settlement, to illustrate his concept of remote areas. Bethlehem graduates had gone to this school when it was closed, because of the unavailability of teachers, and had reopened it and served there for many years.

Davis (1987) spoke, too, of Bethlehem graduates volunteering to go to the most remote parts of the country to open closed schools without any other incentive, but to render service. Quickstep and Maroon Town in St. Elizabeth were schools she recalled being reopened during the period of her service. The log of June 1973 recorded by Gbedemah noted that three students were selected to reopen the closed school at Maroon Town. One of these has remained there since that time and still serves as principal.

Powell (1987) averred that Bethlehem has a special place for primary education and made a special contribution to primary rural education as the Bethlehem graduates were not afraid to penetrate deep rural areas. The training at Bethlehem fitted them for life in rural Jamaica. Many graduates spent their entire life building up rural communities, encouraging and training students from these remote areas. Other colleges, at a later date, may have done this, but Powell noted:

> Bethlehem had a long leap ahead. The Bethlehem students, trained in their rural setting, received a special type of training in terms of loyalty, dedication and selflessness which fitted them for the rural areas. For years, particularly in western Jamaica, most of the schools were manned by a majority of Bethlehem graduates. They found a special place in the hearts of people because of their insistence on high standards, their loyalty and their dignity.

Powell stated that they had a significant impact on the social and economic growth of some communities. "They were actually responsible for getting some places on the map" (Powell, 1987). Areas in Jamaica which were hardly known became communities which moved into the forefront because of the educational impact made possible by graduates of this college.

During the period 1967 to 1980 when teachers did an internship year, many of Bethlehem's interns reopened a number of closed schools in western and central

Jamaica. Powell believed that the college instilled in them the idea that they ought to give back to Jamaica a small portion of what it had done for them educationally. They were made to realize that there were taxpayers in the rural areas, and there were children there who needed assistance. With this motivation, Bethlehem graduates were able to make a significant contribution to rural primary education.

Knight (1987) referred to Marjorie Prentice Saunders who toiled at Hopeton, St. Elizabeth, for many years and Mrs. Young who for many years labored "in the bush." Knight elaborated that as late as the early 1950's the teacher was the center of the village and was respected and regarded as a model. The students who left Bethlehem were "young ladies" who in the country areas became "role teachers, role persons, and role citizens." They gave real service to the country. Their dedication had a "snowball" effect because children from their school eventually entered Bethlehem and continued the tradition (Knight, 1987).

Campbell (1987) reflected on the inequality of rural versus urban education and of the vast number of pre-trained teachers, 78 percent in rural schools up to 1940. He stated that by making a decided effort to train teachers for the rural setting, Bethlehem did much to

shift the imbalance between the rural and urban education. The trained teacher provided a level of competence and training not available to the pre-trained teacher. Thus, through its students, Bethlehem "brought improved education, improved cultural standards, and general improvement to many rural communities." This emphasis on rural elementary education "saw the beginning of the end of the pre-trained teacher," said Campbell. Knight (1987) saw this as Bethlehem's outstanding contribution to Jamaica. "Bethlehem graduates," she stated "did not set a borderline 26 miles west of Kingston, at May Pen, Clarendon, but went where they were called to serve." She asserted that they went with high academic and moral standards, with a sense of dedication and devotion. "They were not looking for the spectacular. They were just doing an excellent job."

Training teachers for the education of a nation was a noble task, but instilling in teachers a selflessness that motivated them to serve where they were needed was outstanding. The interviewees' comments and the records of the college showed that Bethlehem made a contribution to education in Jamaica. This was one of the motives of the founders.

Bethlehem Helped to Bridge the Gap to other Professions

Study of the development of education in Jamaica revealed that two systems of education were established. Gordon (1968), D'Oyley (1979), King (1979) and Neil (1987) noted that the elementary system provided for children from the working class who did not have the opportunity to move on to the secondary school, but who were eligible for the pupil teacher's examination and continue their education at a normal school, if possible. This situation continued up to 1958 (Whyte, 1977) when the Common Entrance Examination, taken at the ages of 11 and 12, was introduced to screen students for secondary schools. Despite this move on the part of the government, secondary education was still not available to the masses. The result was that there are no institutions preparing personnel to pursue careers in such fields as insurance, government, essential services and politics. Thompson (1987) wrote that, over a time, a significant number of teachers' college graduates in Jamaica have entered and excelled in other areas of work.

Bethlehem, too, has made its contribution by having some of its graduates move into other careers. Alexander (1987), in a graduation address at Bethlehem, commented "the recruits from the teachers' colleges

evidently were receiving the type of education that is preparing them for training in other professions and careers." He stated that the banking industry, for example, welcomed persons who were graduates of colleges.

One would feel that this situation means a loss to the classroom, but since there are no institutions offering certain types of middle management manpower training, and since the service is not lost to the nation, it must be seen that the colleges are rendering a useful service.

Bethlehem is not unique in this service. Over the years Bethlehem graduates have changed professions and their training has helped to bridge the gap for entry to these other professions or careers. In January, 1987, the college honored a number of past graduates, engaged in varying careers, as a part of its 125th anniversary. The full record appeared in the Anniversary Magazine (1987) and was compiled from information submitted by the awardees. A brief resume of some of those who change careers is submitted here.

Rhoda Daley is actively engaged in farming concentrating on food crops and cattle rearing. Eda Swaby is Principal Scientific Officer at the Scientific Research Center. Alice Rodd is an Education Officer for the School Broadcasting Station. Marjorie Prentice-

Saunders became the second Jamaican woman to be ordained as a Minister of Religion of the Presbyterian Church in Jamaica. Thelma King entered the Civil Service and was a Labor Officer and then Senior Labor Officer in the Ministry of Labor. Gertrude Ryan became an Attorney-at-Law in Kingston, Jamaica. Ethlyn Gillings changed from librarian to Probation Officer in the Correctional Service and is currently a Personnel Officer in the Ministry of the Public Service. Amy Miller is Secretary of the Joint Board of Teacher Education, the certifying body for teacher education in Jamaica.

The trend to move on to other careers continues. Bethlehem, like other teachers' colleges, is making another type of contribution through the training it offers, providing the background that enables some of its graduates to fit into other careers (125th Anniversary Souvenir Magazine, 1986).

An examination of the educational background of all the students up to 1980 revealed that they were products of the elementary schools of the island without benefit of a second cycle education prior to entry to teachers' college. The college provided them a level of education not available elsewhere and made it possible for them to find a place in the employment arena where

they are making their contributions to the developing nation.

Bethlehem Demonstrates the Commitment of the Moravian Church to Education

The Moravian Church has been devoted to the education of the young since its inception. John Amos Comenius (1592-1670), whose bust graces the entrances to many Moravian institutions, is one of the best-known Moravian teachers whose concept of education has influenced the Moravian Church world wide (Hastings and MacLeavy, 1979). Price (1965) wrote:

> Comenius spent much time working out a theory of education to be applied to the schools of a Protestant country together with a philosophical justification of it (p. 178).

Moravian missions throughout the world have made education an important feature of their work. This was no less so in Jamaica, and the teacher training that takes place at Bethlehem Teachers' College has been a notable contribution to education in Jamaica by the Moravian Church. When the Moravians started a number of infant schools and elementary schools in the island, they realized that they would have to produce their own local teachers if their schools were to attain the goals set for them and if they were to survive. Walters (1960) noted that the demand for trained teachers was as old as

the struggle to establish a system of popular education and Hastings and MacLeavy (1979) wrote of the Moravians' desire to train its own teachers for its own schools. Initially they lacked the financial means to start the institution and carry on the work but this did not prevent them from seeking to implement their plans. Clemens (1856) reported on the unanimous conviction of the need for the institution and the positive influence resulting from it.

Motivated by the belief that Bethlehem would make a positive impact on the growth of the nation, the Moravians strove to keep the college open despite many odds. Among these was the difficulty of finding funding to maintain the institution. From the report of Clemens (1859), we learned that the initial start was made possible by "divine intervention" (p. 264) in the form of 200 pounds sterling from the British Missions. When the Ladies' Education Society withdrew its grant in 1866, Clemens again appealed for their help because the institution "deserves and needs their aid" (p. 264). A. Hamilton (1863) added his support to Clemens' appeal, outlining the unique role of Christian education in the society and expressing the desire that the Friends of the Mission would not withdraw their help, particularly with regard to the provisions of education for the young.

Whenever there was a need for added funds, the Moravian Church made a decided effort to acquire those funds, for they determined to keep the institution functioning to carry out their set educational goals.

When the premises at Bethabara became defective, the college was relocated at Bethlehem in 1889 (Walder-Hicks) and from time to time additions and extensions were carried out to meet new demands or new challenges. But never did they accede to closing it. During the early years of the MacLeavy's administration extensive building took place as old buildings were remodeled or new ones erected. Hastings (1987) and Neil (1987) spoke of attempts to close the college and of the effort of the church to keep it open. Hastings felt that the closure of the Fairfield Men's College was a loss to education in Jamaica and the church could not allow the Bethlehem Women's College to suffer the same fate. Out of the avowed support for education Hastings, as leader of the Moravian Church in Jamaica, sought funds in Germany for the expansion of Bethlehem. The expansion came to fruition between 1975 and 1980, after tireless work to secure grants and win the approval of the government.

Every obstacle to frustrate the church's effort in participating in teacher education in Bethlehem has been faced by the Moravian Church: a shortage of

teachers, a shortage of funds, and non-cooperation by the authorities. Yet the church continued to participate in education. That it continued to do so is a demonstration of its belief in the efficacy of education, and Bethlehem Teachers' College is the tangible proof of this.

Bethlehem Initiates Infant Education in Jamaica

One of the goals of the founders of the Bethlehem Teachers' College was to prepare teachers who would be able to provide infant, as well as elementary, education in the island. As soon as the college was established in 1861, an infant school was also started on the same premises (Clemens, 1861). The governing body hoped that as soon as the college was started an infant school would be opened at every station throughout the communities where the Moravians had started religious work. According to Clemens 50 children attended the Bethabara Infant School every day. This infant school continues to function today, under government grant, on the same premises. The Infant School served a dual purpose, providing practical classroom opportunities for the college students and early education for the infants of the village. Moderau (1876) stated that senior students of the college had charge of the infant school while the

other students performed the role of monitors under the director of the college.

The college continued to emphasize the education of infants throughout its existence. When the college relocated at Malvern, St. Elizabeth, in 1888, provision was made for an infant department as an important feature of the practicing school on the campus. This was necessary since the college was emphasizing infant education beginning at age four and elementary education beginning at age seven. MacLeavy (1961) stated that the infant school on the college campus "has been invaluable for the children of the neighborhood between four and seven years of age" (p. 31). More important, however, was the fact that the college continued to prepare some of its graduates to teach in the infant schools established as a part of the school system started by the religious denominations. The founders of the college realized the importance of education, not only at the elementary level but at the infant level, continuing the spirit of Comenius who, according to MacLeavy, "has always been at inspiration at Bethlehem" (p. 39).

There is still no organized system of public infant education in Jamaica. Some of these infant schools are found attached to elementary schools started by the Moravians. Examples in this parish are: at

Bethlehem All Age School, at Lititz, Ballards Valley, Schoolfield, Santa Cruz, to name a few; all within a radius of 12 miles from the college. The Bethlehem Teachers' College continues to train teachers for these infant schools. Other colleges now carry out this service, but Bethlehem was the forerunner, setting the pace for others to follow. The college was a trail blazer in the provision of infant education for the Moravian schools and it continues to offer Early Childhood Education as an important aspect of its teacher training program.

Bethlehem's Emphasis on Values Influences a Whole Society

The history of education in Jamaica showed that the religious bodies were the initiators of education. The Moravian Church, noted Knight (1987), "was the center of the education it offered. Thus its system of values became an important feature of the education it provided." Hastings (1986) noted that the close association between the church and its schools resulted in an influence on values, moral and ethical which, in turn, had a multiplying effect on the community. The college not only emphasized sound academic and social development but moral and ethical values. Consequently, character building, stressing satisfactory attitudes

toward work, devotion to duty, self-discipline, caring and sharing became important features of the training at Bethlehem. Fleming (1932) recorded that "the religious and spiritual life of the college is carefully fostered . . .and service as the essence of true Christian life emphasized" (p. 144). Knight (1987) and Davis (1987) expressed the idea that this type of training was peculiar to Bethlehem, thus the students graduated with high academic, moral and ethical standards. Hastings (1986) said this feature of the training was so satisfactory that Bethlehem graduates had no difficulty competing with graduates from other colleges where there was a scarcity of places. Hastings stated that the Reverend Henry Ward, a Presbyterian and a member of the Board of Education once stated that if a Bethlehem graduate applied for a position in any of the schools of which he was Chairman, he would unhesitatingly select the Bethlehem graduate over all other applicants because of their dedication and commitment resulting from the high ideals imparted to them by the college.

Davis felt that the strong religious influence, in turn, resulted in devoted teachers and mothers; thus the graduates of Bethlehem have passed on the values imparted at the college to the children and young adults with whom they labor, thereby helping in transmitting

values deemed important. "Bethlehem" said Neil (1987), "shared with its students its missionary zeal, its devotion, its values and ideals, and they, in turn, influenced whole communities in particular and Jamaica generally."

Knight (1987), Hastings (1986), Campbell (1987), and Powell (1987) agreed that it was no idle talk that Bethlehem has a tradition of high ideals and worthy values that it should strive to maintain and pass on to its students. Powell maintained that this is even more important since many of the old values are breaking down and are being replaced by that which cannot stand the test of time. Bethlehem Teachers' College makes its contribution to education in a variety of ways.

Neil summed up this aspect of the college's contribution when he stated:

> Bethlehem is church based and has made the training of the whole person its emphasis and policy from its inception. Believing a teacher has a wider influence than the importation of information or the training of minds, Bethlehem has stressed the all around development with particular emphasis on moral character. Its missionary orientation was strong and it has sent out teachers with a strong Christian commitment to go beyond the call of duty. In this regard, Bethlehem became a household name throughout the teaching profession, and its graduates stand tall in the mind of all Jamaica for devotion and commitment. It is

> little wonder, therefore, that Bethlehem graduates are renowned for their impact on whole communities as they labor assiduously in the classroom and in community out-reach.

Bethlehem Teachers' College has been performing a dynamic role in teacher education for over a century and a quarter. As a teacher training institution its contributions have been outstanding, not only because it was early in the field of teacher education, but also because of its unique role in the education of women, its emphasis on elementary education for rural Jamaica, its devotion to infant education and its emphasis on the whole person, stressing values for community development and Christian living.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary and Conclusions

In researching this study on the contributions of the Bethlehem Teachers' College to education in Jamaica, the log books of the college, the minutes of the Board of Management, the principals' reports, available diaries and the many periodical accounts proved to be rich sources of primary data. So, too, were the interviews carried out over a period of seven months. In some cases details not found in the written records and clarifications were made possible by the interviews which were taped. The data examined gave evidence that the Bethlehem College has played an essential role in education in Jamaica.

Prior to the establishment of the college during the pre-emancipation period, the population was generally illiterate. A small group of upper and middle class white persons and colored, mainly boys who were financially able, received their education in Britain or the best that was available in Jamaica. The majority of the population, Negro slaves, was pre-literate. Education for slaves was religious instruction provided

by the missionary groups in night schools or in Sunday schools.

Emancipation took place in August 1834 and this event heralded the first attempt at popular education for the nation. The impetus for this came from different Protestant groups working in conjunction with the British government. Obviously the Jamaican legislature had little or no input in the early efforts so groups like the Moravians, Baptists, Wesleyans, Presbyterians and later, Anglicans, became the agents for erecting schools.

The education offered was moral and religious aiming at ensuring a harmonious relationship between the different social groups. However, groups like the Moravians and the Baptists identified schooling as important for village development. This concept found expression in the growth of cottage industries with a close community spirit. The Moravians' records showed community work being used to erect schools and, in return, the villagers being educated in better methods of carpentry and agriculture.

A system of secondary education was not formulated until after the Morant Bay Rebellion, 27 years after emancipation. This initiative also came from the churches. Secondary education, unlike elementary

education, was not available to all, and students had to undergo a rigid screening process. Color, economic status and being male were factors which ensured entry to these schools.

The government's entry into popular education resulted from political pressure by the Town Party. As a result, the first Board of Education was founded in 1844 with responsibility to formulate a plan of education for the island. In 1879 the government started to take an interest in secondary education, when the Jamaica Schools' Commission, with responsibility for secondary education, was established. After that date a number of secondary schools came into being but were still not meeting the needs of the country and the screening process continues today, using different criteria.

In the early years there was a definite bias for boys, and children of working class parents had little chance of attending these schools. Two systems of education therefore emerged: the elementary school for children of working class parents and the secondary for upper and middle class children.

There was no doubt that the denominations provided a vital service. Ironically, however, the link of the denominations to education helped to frustrate the establishment of the system of public education. Most of

the clerical managers of schools were of the opinion that government had no business with education. Those accepting government grants did not really want a strong government involvement in education for that would erode the control they exercised over their own schools. Consequently, the religious denominations, essential agents in the provision of popular education, preferred a dispersed system of self-governing denominational schools in preference to a single system of education.

An urgent need, accompanying the start of education for the masses, was a teaching service to meet the manpower needs of the schools. The denominations determined to satisfy this need by starting a number of normal schools for both males and females. The British government, recognizing the need, made available a special grant for teacher education while the Mico Charity started a number of Mico institutions. The Moravians established Fairfield for men and Bethlehem for women.

The government founded Shortwood and the Roman Catholics, St. Joseph's. All these institutions eventually received government funds and were subjected to official standards and examinations. As a result the denominations and the government became partners in education and that pattern continues. Of the early

normal schools, only Mico and Bethlehem have survived to the present.

Establishing Bethlehem Teachers' College at the time when a new nation and an educational system were emerging became a priority for the Moravian brethren. In the first place Bethlehem helped to provide a teaching force to staff the Moravian schools located chiefly in the parishes of Manchester, St. Elizabeth and Westmoreland. This contribution became special since these were female teachers whom the founders felt would have a positive influence on the young as well as on the community. The interviewees and the different written records attest to the fact that the founders were right in their judgment. The entry of these female teachers in the school system did have a positive impact. There is little doubt that the administrators were always conscious of the influence that the college should have in the development of the country. As a result, its formal as well as its extra-curricular activities were greatly influenced by the societal needs and the training its students would require for effective work.

The agricultural program at Bethlehem College was designed not only to produce some of the college's food, but to be a demonstration project for the village and a means of providing practical experiences for the

students. In their own schools they had to teach effective agricultural practices. A similar observation can be made in relation to the needlework which formed an important part of the curriculum. The various clubs and societies and the domestic chores formed an integral part of the preparation for school and community work by the Bethlehem graduates.

Bethlehem Teachers' College was the first successful attempt to devote an institution to the training of women teachers. The premise that they would be instrumental in effectively influencing the values of the society was supported by the interviewees who were unanimous in their statements that the graduates possessed commendable qualities of devotion to duties, laudable attitudes toward work and unquestionable moral values which, in turn, influenced whole villages and, by extension, the nation.

The Bethlehem effort resulted in many female teachers filling positions as staff members and principals of schools not only in Moravian schools but eventually in schools throughout Jamaica. The success of early training of women was a factor that helped to erode the notion that women were intellectually inferior and could not perform well outside of the home. The Jamaican woman today has demonstrated that she is capable of

performing effectively in many leadership roles and in many areas of work as a professional or as a skilled worker. Bethlehem Teachers' College should be given some credit for being a pioneer in equipping women for work as professionals and finding a role not related to work at home.

Another important feature of the work at Bethlehem was related to the steps the administrators, particularly Fleming and MacLeavy, took to ensure that the graduates had the privilege of upgrading their teaching skills and their academic content. Bethlehem developed the practice of organizing a number of courses for classroom teachers during the summer vacation periods. The motivating factor was a conscious effort to help practicing teachers improve their competence in the classroom. The "open days," with displays and demonstrations were other avenues designed to carry out the task of helping classroom teachers to gain new and updated ideas on teaching.

Bethlehem Teachers' College demonstrated quite early, when it started to accept government aid, that at the tertiary level a religious denomination and a government can work jointly and harmoniously for a common good, in this case the education of a people. Through Bethlehem the Moravian Church has cooperated with the

government and the joint effort has helped to ensure that teachers are available for the island's schools. When the government asked the denomination's help to meet the increasing demand for teachers, Bethlehem's administrators accepted the challenge. Bethlehem's expansion program of 1973 to 1980, in which the Moravian Church provided 75 percent of the expansion cost, was the latest effort in this partnership.

At the beginning, Bethlehem Teachers' College was founded for the education of female teaches to staff elementary schools founded by the Moravian Church. The project was implemented out of an avowal that women in education would make a difference in the educational, social, moral and ethical growth of the communities in which these women labored. In other words, women teachers could be a positive influence transmitting the accepted values as they influence others. Bethlehem fulfilled that promise through the large number of devoted teachers it graduated and who went to work in different capacities in the island's schools. In addition, Bethlehem ensured a supply of elementary teachers for rural Jamaica, made in-roads in Early Childhood Education,, demonstrated the continuing support of the Moravian Church to education and helped many women to benefit from an education that enabled them to join

the ranks of the professional even outside the teaching profession. Bethlehem has a tradition of which it can be proud.

Recommendations

Bethlehem Teachers' College has to continue to identify the changing needs of the Jamaican society, and plan its programs to help to satisfy the determined needs. One is aware that the college works in conjunction with the Ministry of Education but this fact does not prevent the college from taking a first step in implementing new programs. The college should engage in the following activities as important aspects of its teacher training program.

Prepare Teachers for Scarce Areas in Secondary Schools - One of Jamaica's educational problems, particularly at the secondary level, is an acute shortage of teachers of Mathematics, Science, the Fine Arts and Home Economics. Bethlehem should help to alleviate this problem by making a decided effort to recruit students to its teacher training program with an aim to service these areas in the secondary system. Since this college, like other teachers' colleges, offers a preliminary year, Bethlehem should use the opportunity to prove these beginning students with the background necessary to enter

teacher training in the scarce areas of Mathematics, Science, the Fine Arts and Home Economics. Pioneering work is not strange to the institution and, again, the college should lead the way to recruit and train teachers for those schools that operate with a shortage of teachers in the crucial subject areas.

Embark on an Extension Service for Agriculture - Although Bethlehem's major goal should be teacher training, there is the need to embark on an extension service to help to improve the community and the environs in which it is located. A farming community surrounds the college, but the villagers are not making maximum use of their resources. Bethlehem, through an agricultural project, should demonstrate to the residents of Malvern and adjacent communities proper agricultural practices. The farmers should be helped to improve the yield from their farms, to rear better animals, generally to maximize the total yield from their holdings.

This extension arm of Bethlehem should be more socially oriented, aiming at helping the people of the communities to become more self-sufficient. This effort would necessitate additional staff of at least one full-time agricultural officer. This officer would direct the college's own agricultural program to be used also as a demonstration farm. The officer should also be available

to give advice to the farming communities. If the college organizes and operates such a program it would be offering a service for the improvement of the whole country, since one of our needs is to provide more of the food we eat. Through this project students of Bethlehem should gain a working knowledge of the basic principles of scientific agriculture and they, too, should be encouraged to help the farmers in the communities in which they are employed. They should revert to the practice of school gardens being attached to elementary schools where sound ideas about small scale farming, critical to feeding the nation, could be taught and practiced.

Provide Continuing Education through Evening and Vacation Schools - One of the needs of the communities surrounding the college and Jamaica generally is that provision be made to continue the education of students who, for one reason or another, did not complete their secondary education or who completed it but left school with little competence to ensure that they become productive citizens. Bethlehem should implement plans to serve these young persons through evening and vacation schools. Since September 1986, the college has been offering this service in a limited way. There is the need to extend this outreach program so it can serve a

larger number of persons. This program will not require additional staff. All it requires is organizing the staff for this type of service.

To intensify the program of continuing education, effective use of the facilities could be carried out during the vacation periods, particularly during the long summers. The buildings, at present used only to accommodate campers, could be utilized for purposes of formal education. Teaching by the staff could be carried out in different courses and subject areas in day-time class. Thus the college would be providing another useful service, continuing its contributions to education and the development of the nation.

Provide Computer Education as Course Options - Bethlehem should again become the pioneer by providing computer education as a part of its teacher training program. Innovations in computer technology have served to accelerate the pace for change. Even developing countries like Jamaica, which because of budgetary constraints have not been able to fully utilize computer technology, can no longer remain complacent about providing computer education in its schools. A limited number of secondary schools in this country are attempting to offer computer education. Bethlehem Teachers' College could help to reduce this deficiency by

making computer education a reality in the college. The college must develop its program in conjunction with the Ministry of Education and the Joint Board of Teacher Education, but should take the initial step to get the program started.

The computer education courses could be offered for students specializing in secondary education as well as in primary education. Those student teachers offering computer education as one of their secondary options would study computer education for six semesters over three years. Other secondary student teachers could study the computer to complement their secondary options and would do three semesters' work in the area. Students of primary education could do a practical course in computer applications to ensure that they will be computer literate. Additionally, the college could offer computer education as a part of its community outreach in its evening and summer schools.

Re-enter the Area of Early Childhood Education - The provision of infant education was one of the contributions of the college. This is no longer an emphasis at the college, yet there is an acute need for infant schools and infant teachers. Bethlehem cannot afford to neglect this area of need. Provision should be made to put new impetus into early childhood education at

this college. One of the under-utilized buildings could be converted into an infant school. A useful service could be provided for the Malvern community as well as adjoining communities which do not have the benefit of infant schools. This would in no way compete with the all age school which has an infant department since that department cannot accommodate all the applicants for places. This infant school would serve as a model school for student teachers of early childhood education.

Provide Higher Education - Trained teachers in the Jamaican Primary and All Age Schools do not have academic qualification beyond a teacher's diploma. It would be to the advantage of the educational system if all teachers had a minimum academic qualification of a Bachelor's degree. This could be provided in teachers' colleges. Bethlehem should form an association with an accredited university here or abroad and, in association with that institution, offer degree level courses. Teachers in the environs of the college should be able to benefit from such a program in evening school or as full time students.

Recommendation for Further Study

A large number of teachers have graduated from Bethlehem Teachers' College since its inception in 1861. There is evidence that a number of these graduates are

engaged overseas as well as here in Jamaica. Some have remained in the field of education while others have changed their professions working in other fields. A follow-up study of the graduates of Bethlehem Teachers' College, to evaluate their professional and academic growth since their graduation from Bethlehem College, would also serve as an evaluation of the Bethlehem College.

A study of this type would require a large sample of alumni going back in time as far as possible. The finding could provide additional information on the impact of Bethlehem Teachers' College.

In conclusion, it must be reiterated that throughout its existence Bethlehem Teachers' College has served the nation through its commitment to education. To continue to be a respected and vibrant institution, the college must identify new ways in which it can continue to serve a society whose needs are constantly changing.

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S. C. Ashton	1890-1929
R. J. Fleming	1930-1947
B. L. MacLeavy	1947-1972
G. L. Gbedemah	1972-1973
R. E. Powell	January to March, 1974
E. M. V. Grant	1974-1980

APPENDIX A

Brief Biographical Notes on the Principals of Bethlehem Teachers' College for the Period 1899 to 1980

Samuel Clayton Ashton, Diploma in Theology, was educated at the Moravian Theological College, Fairfield, Manchester, England. He taught in a number of Moravian boarding schools before coming to Jamaica and was principal for the period 1899-1929.

Source: Hastings and MacLeavy (1979) Seedtime and Harvest. Bridgetown, Barbados: The Cedar Press

Roderick J. Fleming, Diploma in Theology, served at Bethlehem during the period 1930 to 1947. He started his career as a pupil teacher in the Birmingham Elementary School. After service in World War I, he worked in various capacities in Germany. He was an ordained Minister of Religion, and had medical training for missionary work prior to coming to Jamaica.

Source: Hastings and MacLeavy (1979) Seedtime and Harvest. Bridgetown, Barbados: The Cedar Press

Basil LaTrobe MacLeavy, B.A., B.D., was principal of the college from 1947 to 1972. He was also Minister of the Bethlehem Moravian Church.

Source: 125th Anniversary College Magazine (1987).

Dr. Gwendolyn L. Gbedemah taught in elementary schools in Jamaica and in Bedfordshire, England, then St. Jago High

School before coming to Bethlehem College in 1986. From the position of lecturer she became vice-principal in 1968 and principal from 1972-1973. She received her teacher training at Shortwood Teachers' College, a B.A. Honours from the University of London, M.A., M. Ed., and Ed.D. from the University of Columbia.
Source: Record of Staff, Bethlehem Teachers' College

Reynolds Earl Powell, B.Sc. (Econ.), was a graduate of Mico Teachers' College. He studied economics receiving the Bachelor's degree from the University of London. In 1961-1962 he attended Manchester University on a Commonwealth Bursary. He acted as Principal for the brief period January to March 1974.
Source: Record of Staff, Bethlehem Teachers' College.

Ewart M. Grant, B.A. (General), Dip. Ed., Higher Dip. Ed., was principal of elementary schools, lecturer of Caledonia Junior College and Principal Lecturer of the Department of Education, Shortwood Teachers' College before becoming principal of Bethlehem Teachers' College in 1974. He is a graduate of Mico Teachers' College and the University of the West Indies.
Source: Record of Staff, Bethlehem Teachers' College.

Brief Biographical Notes on Persons Interviewed

Ivan G. Campbell, Malvern P.O., St. Elizabeth, Jamaica was a graduate of Mico Teachers' College and the University of the West Indies, Mona. He taught in elementary schools, assumed the position of principal, then as lecturer of Bethlehem Teachers' College. Later he was appointed Inspector of Schools rising to the rank of Senior Education Officer and Registrar of Independent Schools.

Ivy Davis, Darliston, Westmoreland, Jamaica, graduated from Bethlehem Teachers' College in 1951. She studied Home Economics at the School of Education, Bristol University, England, 1967-68 and earned a Bachelor of Arts, General Studies, at the University of the West Indies 1971-1974. Ivy Davis taught in elementary schools, at Bethlehem Teachers' College and at the College of Arts, Science and Technology.

Videna M. Falconer, Bogue, St. Elizabeth, Jamaica, graduated from Bethlehem Teachers' College in 1939. She studied at the University of the West Indies, Mona, receiving a Professional Certificate in Education and a Bachelor's degree in Education. She was principal of three elementary schools between 1940 and 1970 and of

Lacovia Secondary School from 1970 to 1977. She served as Lecturer of Bethlehem Teachers' College from 1977 to 1984, retiring after 45 years as an educator.

Mavis Frazer-Davis, Malvern, St. Elizabeth, Jamaica, graduated from Bethlehem Teachers' College in 1929. She studied Early Childhood Education at Banks State University, New York. Mavis Frazer-Davis taught in elementary schools for 44 years, chiefly at the Bethlehem Practicing School.

Rt. Rev. S. U. Hastings, 43 West Great House Circle, Kingston 8, Jamaica, received a Teachers' Certificate in 1937, a Bachelor of Arts degree from Butler University, and Bachelor of Divinity and Master of Divinity degrees from Union Theological Seminary. He served as Secretary to the Board of Governors of Bethlehem Teachers' College from 1951 to 1954 and Chairman from 1954 to 1957 and 1960 to 1981.

Marjorie Millicent Knight, Stanmore, Malvern, St. Elizabeth, Jamaica, was educated at the University of Toronto. She taught Mathematics, Music, and Physical Education at Bethlehem Teachers' College from 1930 to 1941. After leaving Bethlehem College for six years, she returned as vice-principal and lectured in Mathematics

and Education vacating the position at Bethlehem College in 1965 to become Headmistress of Westwood High School.

Rev. Basil L. MacLeavy, B.A., B.D., Deepdene, Malvern, Jamaica, served as principal of Bethlehem Teachers' College from 1947 to 1972. He was one of the planners of the expansion of the college between the mid-seventies and early eighties.

Amy Leonora Miller, 11 Violet Avenue, Kingston 6, Jamaica, received a Teachers' Certificate (Honours) from Bethlehem Teachers' College in 1947, a diploma in Primary Education from Cambridge University, England and a Bachelor of Arts degree, general, from the University of the West Indies, Mona. She taught in different capacities in elementary schools, then Caledonia Junior College as Lecturer and acting principal; at St. Joseph's Teachers' College as Principal Lecturer and Head of the Education Department. She is at present the Secretary of the Joint Board of Teacher Education, School of Education, Mona, Jamaica.

Rt. Rev. Neville S. Neil, 3 Rosedale Avenue, Brumalia, Mandeville, Jamaica, was ordained a Minister of the Moravian Church and rose to the rank of Bishop. He was educated at Ballards Valley Elementary School, Tutorical

College, Kingston, and Union Theological College. His association with Bethlehem Teachers' College dates back to 1954 when he was appointed Secretary of the Board of Governors of the Bethlehem Teachers' College, serving in that capacity until 1984.

Reynolds Earl Powell, Southfield, St. Elizabeth, had his early education at Mico College and earned a Bachelor of Science degree in Economics from the University of London, England. He taught at a number of elementary schools and at the Bethlehem Teachers' College holding a number of positions from lecturer to acting principal and finally as Director of the Internship Program from 1960 to 1985.

APPENDIX B

Country Schools in Jamaica

(From the Occasional Paper of
"The London Association," No. 8)

THE time has arrived for placing before the friends of Missions the reports of the progress of these schools, for the year ending in September last. The field of labour is again found to be more extensive than in previous years. The efforts in behalf of the rising generation have reached some new districts, and, throughout, the results have been for the most part satisfactory. The total number of schools during the three previous years was the same, namely thirty, but there were some variations in them, owing to the temporary or permanent closing of some, and the opening of others. During the year which terminated in September last, the total number has increased to thirty-four, and the number of children is considerably larger. For these happy results, there is much cause for thanksgiving to the Friend of children, and for fervent prayer, that corresponding blessing and benefit may be experienced.

In the year 1853, there were 30 schools, having 1375 children on the books.
In the year 1854, there were 30 schools, having 1478 children on the books.
In the year 1855, there were 30 schools, having 1865 children on the books.
In the year 1856, there were 34 schools, having 2130 children on the books.

The last year exhibits an increase of 265 children, of whom 156 were boys and 109 girls. The particulars will be found in the subjoined Table. It will there appear, that there are no less than twenty-nine schools specially supported by friends in England, at a cost of from 10L. to 20L. per annum, and one by a liberal proprietor in Jamaica.

The current expense of the Country-schools in 1855, was 415L. 17s. 6d. To the erection of School-houses, 460L. has been appropriated, and in part expended.

Situation of School	Names of Schools Specially Supported	Moravian Settlement with which Connected						
Hatfield	Holly Hill	Fairfield	43	25	08	45	28
Pepper	Lisson-Grove	"	58	45	108	48	36
Lucky Valley	Trinity-Chapel	"	38	21	59	36	10
Brodleaf	Christ-Chapel	Bethabara	80	42	122	70	56
Patrick Town		"	16	12	28		
Skiddaw	Bentinck	Bethany	20	18	38	13	8
Barracks	Beulah	"	70	40	110	81	33
Cheapside	Dublin	"	82	58	140	80	38
Huntley	Islington	Nazareth	26	19	45	24	15
Savannah	Dukinfield	Lititz	45	29	74	38	15
Winchester	Bedford	Bethlehem	27	12	39	23	15
Salisbury	Immanuel	"	29	49	78	47	16
Look-Out	1851	New-Eden	27	23	50	5	
Mitchem	Neville's Court	"	33	24	57	20	14
Aberdeen	Holborn	"	34	29	63	24	10
Eldersley	Southwood	New-Fulneok	31	17	48	20	16
Middle Quarters	Osmaston	"	50	29	79	32	20
Ipswich	Coleraine	"	26	14	40	21	
Carisbrook		"	52	31	88		
Ross Hall	Pitts	Springfield	40	32	72	20	10
Chantilly	Union	New-Carmel	26	17	43	30	6
Carr	Tunbridge Wells	"	26	14	40		
Hopeton	St. Mary's, Hull	"	20	38	58	10	10
Kilmarnock	Bennshurts	"	56	55	111	78	27
Highgate	Kilburn-House	Beaufort	25	16	41	21	21
Bigwoods	Belfast	"	31	25	56	40	26
Ashton	Birkenhead	"	14	12	26	17	8
Congress	Belgravia	New-Hope	50		50	44	24

(Cont'd.)

Situation of School	Names of Schools Specially Supported	Moravian Settlement with which Connected						
Thornhill	Westbourne	"	40	24	64	45	20	
Culloden		"	73		73	29	10	
Fonthill		"	24	26	50	8	8	
Camrose	Toxteth-Park	Irwin-Hill	16	9	25	14	8	
Orange	St. Savior's	"	20	19	39	27	15	
Tryall (Supported by the Proprietor)		"	48	10	58			
	In 34 Country Schools (Sept. 30, 1856)		1296	834	2130	1010	523	
	In 17 Station Schools (Dec. 31, 1855).				2068			
	Total Scholars in Jamaica				4198, shewing a total increase in the year of 676 children.			

Source: Periodical Accounts, Vol. XXII, (1856), p. 129.

APPENDIX C

The Mico Trust

In 1970 Lady Mico bequeathed 1,000 pounds to her nephew Samuel on condition that he marry one of six cousins. If he declined the money should be used to ransom poor Christian seamen who might be captured and enslaved by Barbary pirates of North Africa. Samuel declined and in time the Mediterranean was cleared of pirates. With no more Christians to ransom, the money was invested and left to accumulate.

By 1827 it amounted to some 120,000 pounds. The question of how to use that vast sum was solved by Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton who suggested that it be used for the education of ex-slaves in the British Colonies. This suggestion was accepted and schools were started in various islands and teachers' training colleges founded in Jamaica and Antigua. The Mico, Kingston, was opened in 1836.

Source: Handbook of Jamaica, Kingston, Government Office, 1946, p. 349.

APPENDIX D

The Board of Education

The Board of Education was constituted to consider and advise upon any matter connected with the working of public elementary schools in Jamaica, particularly:

(i) Any such matters as from time to time may be referred to it by the governor.

(ii) Any change in the Code of Regulations that it may think desirable to be made or that may be referred to it by the governor.

(iii) Any changes that may be necessary for the working of compulsory attendance when brought into force.

(iv) The establishment of new schools and the closing of or withdrawal of assistance from superfluous, unnecessary or inefficient schools.

(v) Any changes in the Education Laws it may consider advisable to be made.

It also provided that when alterations were to be made in the code "all such alterations shall either have been recommended by the Board of Education or shall have been submitted to the Board for its consideration and advice" (p. 345).

The members of the Board of Education included the Superintendent of Schools, the Anglican Bishop of Jamaica, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Jamaica and the Moravian Bishop of Jamaica.

Source: Handbook of Jamaica 1926, Kingston, Government Printing Office, p. 345.

APPENDIX E

The Morant Bay Rebellion

Emancipation had taken place in 1838. By 1865 there were several economic problems, unemployment, unavailability of land for the small farmer, low wages, irregularity in payments and heavy taxation. In addition, a series of drought had ruined most of the crops while the price of imported food, especially salted fish and grain on which the peasants relied, had risen steeply.

The Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society of Britain wrote to the Colonial Office pointing out the conditions. The letter was referred to Eyre, the Jamaican governor, who gave it wide publicity contradicting the charges. The result was protest meetings throughout the island. A number of peasants in St. Ann sent a petition to Queen Victoria complaining of lack of employment and requesting Crown lands to cultivate. The letter was forwarded with the governor's unsympathetic comments. In response hard work was recommended as the solution to the difficulties.

Anger grew throughout the country and was directed against the governor, the magistrates and the planters who helped to keep the people off the land. A spirit of unrest accompanied the anger especially in St.

Thomas where the trouble had started on October 7, 1865, when some 200 men armed with sticks and cutlass led by a drum band marched on the courthouse disturbing the proceedings. This led to the declaration of martial law. The leaders were arrested, tried by court martial and executed.

The Morant Bay Rebellion started as a local uprising against the magistracy. The prompt action by the Governor quickly checked the possibility of its spreading. The Governor and the planter class saw the event as an attempt by the black population to take over the country, making it a second Haiti. The members of the Assembly were called upon to surrender the constitution to make it possible to have a "strong government". The island's constitution was given up and Crown Government introduced. Sir John Peter Grant arrived as governor and many reforms and improvements of far-reaching importance were effected including government's provision for popular education.

Source: Black, C. (1983). The History of Jamaica. London: Collins Educations.

APPENDIX F

Data Sources

Bethlehem Teachers' College

At this college the library and the files in the college office were available. The library contained the centennial magazine of the college, the annual college magazines, several publications on the Moravian Church World Wide and of the Moravian Church in Jamaica.

In the files of the college were:

(i) The Minutes of the Board of Management from 1969.

(ii) Principal's Reports to the Board of Management.

(iii) Principal's Reports to the Synod of the Moravian Church in Jamaica.

(iv) Log Book for the period 1947 to present.

(v) Descriptive details and blueprints of the expansion plans for the college during the administrations of Principals MacLeavy and Grant.

The Jamaican National Archives

The National Archives is located in Spanish Town, Jamaica. In this archives were:

(i) The log books of Principals Ashton and Fleming 1899-1947.

(ii) The Periodical Account relating to the Missions of the United Brethren established among the Heathen.

(iii) Newspaper clippings.

(iv) Synod Reports of the Moravian Church in Jamaica.

(v) Magazines of the Bethlehem College.

The National Library

The library located on East Street, Kingston, had:

(i) Periodicals with articles relating to education in Jamaica.

(ii) Textbooks on education.

(iii) Reports on education.

The Library of the Ministry of Education

The library located at Caenwood, Arnold Road, Kingston 5, provided:

(i) Various copies of reports by different commissions on education in Jamaica.

(ii) Periodicals with articles on education in Jamaica and the Caribbean.

The Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

This archives provided:

(i) Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the United Brethren established among the Heathen.

(ii) The West Indian Diaries.

VITA

Sara Adina Williams

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