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PUPIL TEACHERS and JUNIOR TEACHERS
in
SOUTH AUSTRALIAN SCHOOLS

1873 to 1965

An Historical and Humanistic Sociological Analysis

Anthony McGuire B.A., B.Ed., Dip.Ed., Grad. Dip. (Ed.Admin.), M.A.C.E.

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Abbreviations		
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PEB	Public Examinations Board	
PRO, GRG	Public Records Office, Government Record Group	
SAEG	*South Australian Education Gazette*	
SAPP	South Australia, *Parliamentary Papers*	
SATJ	*South Australian Teachers' Journal*	
Other		
ANZHES	Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society	

ABSTRACT

Pupil Teachers were introduced in South Australia in 1874, as a means of providing initial teacher training and additional staff for schools. The system of Pupil Teachers (or Junior Teachers, as they were termed from 1913) was used to varying degrees until 1965. This study investigates this educational phenomenon from an historical and a humanistic sociological perspective. Much of the historical data was taken from the accounts in contemporary official documents of the comments of those who managed the system, and of those, its supporters and its opponents, who observed it and its effects. Another view of the system was provided by memoirs collected from those who had been appointed as Junior Teachers between 1919 and 1964.

The first part of the study outlines the main changes to the system and discusses the early concerns about both the general education and the professional training of teachers and the place of practical teaching prior to entry to a training institution. From its inception until 1889, pupil teachers carried out both the roles in their title at the same time. They taught in schools and studied to pass the examinations that enabled them to progress through the four levels in the system. When the University of Adelaide became responsible for the training of teachers at the University Training College in 1900, the Education Department had to prepare pupil teachers for both admission to tertiary studies and the practical experience which was still seen as an essential part of preparation for College. As a result pupil teachers became pupils first, for two years at the new Pupil Teachers' School, and then teachers for two years in ordinary schools. Between 1908 and 1913 the system changed yet again with the 'cultural' aspect for junior teachers being provided for in three years of secondary education at the Adelaide High School and the 'professional' aspect in one year of practical teaching prior to College. Debate over the place of practical experience as a preparation for further training continued until 1921 when reforms to the training of teachers saw the virtual elimination of junior teachers from the teaching force and the removal of any requirement of a prerequisite period of practical teaching.

The onset of the Great Depression, however, led to the re-employment of large numbers of junior teachers, most of whom were required to teach. The staffing situation worsened during the war and the overuse of junior teachers in place of trained staff led to complaints of the exploitation of the junior teachers and harm to both them and the children they taught. The strong case mounted by the S.A. Teachers' Union and other opponents of the system led to a recommendation by the Education Inquiry Committee in 1945 for its abolition, an action that eventually took place twenty years later. The history of the junior teacher system that is recorded in the nine chapters that form Part 1 of this study presents a view of the system that reflects the managerial, economic and professional concerns of those who observed it, and it is a view tinged generally with a strong measure of pragmatism, utilitarianism and negativity.

Part 2 of the study analyses the junior teacher system from the perspective of those who experienced it. The views of 341 former junior teachers were collected through a Memoir Document that canvassed their opinions on general aspects of the system and on a number of the areas that had attracted specific criticism, especially during the early 1940s when the S.A. Teachers' Union led an organized campaign against it. The use of memoirs in this way stems from the framework of humanistic sociology, as developed by Znaniecki and extended by Smolicz and Secombe. The first part of each of the first six questions in the Survey allowed for the collection of concrete data similar to that presented to the Education Inquiry Committee in 1943 . The second part was framed in such a way there was scope and space for the cultural data that emanated from the assessments and evaluations made by the respondents about the various aspects of their experience. Much of what they wrote is quoted verbatim in order to emphasise the importance of the human element in social and cultural life and to bring the reader into first hand contact with the thinking of the respondents. The memoir responses are presented in Chapters 10 – 14, which follow the chronological history of the Junior Teacher System outlined in Part 1.

The two sets of data provided a double view of the reality of life as a junior teacher. A comparison between the material in the memoirs and that documented in a survey published by the S.A. Teachers' Union in 1942 reveals a similarity of data that justifies regarding the memoirs as authentic sources of historical and sociological data. There is a close correlation, too, between material in the memoirs and that documented in 1921 and in 1966, thus leading to a general conclusion about the authenticity of the memoirs collected from all periods. The memoirs also provide different points of view that help to balance up what from the documentation is predominately a negative view of the system. Not only do many of the respondents express different views on such issues as exploitation, harm to children and the need for abolition but their recollections of the time as generally happy, their finding of the system as useful and their commitment to teaching and to children do much to extend an understanding of the reality of life as a junior teacher. They provide, too, a wealth of material beyond that available elsewhere and in this way broaden understanding of the system. Of particular interest are the reflections on social issues of gender, age and social class that came to light in the history of the system.

The study suggests that the introduction of a humanistic sociological analysis from the memoirs of those who were junior teachers does much to enhance an understanding of a period of educational history which is important in relation to the education and professional training of teachers. The findings have implications for current debates on the relative balance between theory and practice in the preparation of teachers.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to record my appreciation to the supervisors of Part 1 of this thesis, Mr Ian Brice who encouraged me to begin the research and who guided me in the initial stages, and Dr Ian Harmstorf whose incisive and constructive criticism, and unfailing assistance and advice enabled me to complete the historical section. To the supervisor of Part 2, Dr Margaret Secombe, my debt is especially great. I acknowledge her academic expertise and depth of scholarship in overseeing the humanistic sociological analysis of a very large number of memoirs. I am indebted to her for her co-operation and encouragement throughout the exercise, for her generous assistance in providing access to a wide range of practical and theoretical materials and for her very careful and detailed advice on the structure and presentation of all of the material.

The thesis would not have been possible without the assistance of the 341 former junior teachers who so willingly completed the Memoir Document on which Part 2 is based. I thank them for their gracious responses to my appeal for such a great deal of information about a part of their lives long past.

My wife, Barbara, has assisted greatly by proofreading the manuscripts and by advising on the correctness of aspects of the style and presentation. I am indebted to my son, John, for his advice and help with all aspects related to the word processing of the document, and, in particular, for his patience in reformatting parts of the text and for his skill in redesigning the tables. I am grateful, too, to the rest of my children, Catherine, Michael, Julia, Paula and Peter, for their unfailing support and encouragement over a very long period.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the Pupil Teachers and Junior Teachers who served the Education Department of South Australia between 1874 and 1965 and especially to the three hundred and forty one Junior Teachers from 1919 to 1964 who were able to assist in a humanistic sociological analysis of the second half of that period by recalling their memories of the junior teachership as they themselves experienced it.

DECLARATION

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I consent to this copy of my thesis being available for loan and photocopying.

Anthony McGuire

May, 1999

INTRODUCTION

> *After all, the people involved did not think in those terms, they were reacting to situations that we can only have an approximate idea of now...That is the great privilege of those who live after,... That is the vantage point that history confers on us. We lose immediacy but we gain perspective. We see connections not possible at the time. The sense of irony can only be cultivated in detachment*
>
> Barry Unsworth [1]
>
> *After Hannibal*

In the course of a study of schools as cultural systems I became acquainted with the application of the principles of humanistic sociology through the study of written memoirs. Smolicz and Secombe used such an approach in *The Australian School through Children's Eyes*[2], and they argued that the method of memoir analysis that they had employed could be adopted to the study of a variety of other social groups, including teachers. In view of my own background, it seemed appropriate to investigate an aspect of education through the memoirs of those who had experienced it. In looking for a suitable group of teachers for such a study, I recalled that during my first year as a student teacher I had observed that for some of my fellow trainees, practical teaching and the mandatory 'criticism' lesson in the presence of fellow students and a College lecturer at a Demonstration School held none of the terrors that it did for most of those of us who had come to College direct from being school students. These were generally the ones who had served in schools as 'junior teachers' in the previous year in what seemed like a kind of preliminary training for the job. Investigations indicated that while the former junior teachers I had encountered were among the last employed in this way, very large numbers of them had been used to staff schools during the 1930s and 1940s and that such a use of untrained young people to teach had been the subject of great controversy in the latter period with the Education Inquiry Committee recommending the abolition of the system in 1945. In spite of this, junior teachers continued to be found in schools for another twenty years. I found no evidence of any sociological investigation having been carried out into the experiences of these people that might enable them to present the reality of life as a junior teacher from their own perspective. It seemed important that such a significant aspect of teacher training in South Australia should be examined from that point of view, especially while there were still enough former junior teachers available to engage in a worthwhile memoir exercise.

A great deal of information about the junior teacher system is available from another perspective – that of people who observed and commented on the system over the years. Their observations about it are documented in a number of official publications such as the South Australian Parliamentary Papers, the Education Gazettes and the South Australian Teachers' Journal, all of which are available in the Barr Smith and Mortlock Libraries, or are to be found in documents held in the Public Records

Office. Some of these people were officials of the Education Department and others were leaders of the S.A. Teachers' Union. Some of them were critical of the system, some supported it and a great deal of evidence about it is available from such sources. This includes factual material about what junior teachers were doing in the schools, as well as assessments and evaluations of the system by those who questioned the propriety of using the untrained to teach and by others who believed that some practical experience prior to any training was essential. These, however, were the views of people looking at what junior teachers were doing and, in most cases, their motivation for commenting on the system was inspired by political, economic, professional or social justice issues. Consequently, they generally saw the system from a very different perspective to that of those for whom it was a means of achieving a personal ambition, or, in some cases, simply getting employment. While what junior teachers did in schools and what others thought about it is well documented, the views and assessments of it by the junior teachers themselves were rarely expressed. Even when the opinion of junior teachers was available, it was presented in an indirect way. In evidence to the Education Inquiry Committee in 1943, for example, rather than a junior teacher appearing to speak for himself or herself, a Union official read out critical comments made by only a few of the junior teachers who had responded to the survey conducted earlier by the S.A. Teachers' Union.[3] On that occasion, like many others in the history of the pupil teacher and junior teacher system, a group with status spoke on behalf of a less privileged one and decided what should be said and what should be left unsaid. While not questioning the motivation of the disparate groups involved in the debates about the use of junior teachers in schools, it has to be said that sometimes they appear not to have known the whole story, especially from the point of view of many of those involved in the practice.

I had to take the initiative to tap into the memories of former junior teachers. Through advertisement and personal approaches it was possible to collect 341 memoirs from people who had begun their training as teachers in this way between 1919 and 1964. Thirty one of them had served in this capacity for more than one year, sometimes in a different school or under a different headmaster or head mistress, so, in effect, the memoirs of just over 370 experiences of the social reality of the life and work of junior teachers were available. Even a few people who had served in other untrained capacities responded and their memoirs assist in seeing something from a personal perspective of the monitor system which, from time to time, was so closely associated with the junior teacher system. The collection of this wide range of material after a period of detachment of many years, goes some way towards remedying an imbalance in the history of the junior teacher system.

The existence of two sets of data about the junior teacher system allows for a number of other comparisons. It provides a unique opportunity to see this educational phenomenon from a double perspective and to combine, in effect, the role of historian and sociologist. There are three main sets of documented material about the junior teacher system as it existed between 1921 and 1964. In

1921, W.T. McCoy, the Director of Education, described the remnant of the junior teacher system that survived his radical reform of teacher training.[4] In 1943, the S.A. Teachers' Union presented a great deal of evidence to the Education Inquiry Committee about what had happened to the McCoy plan during the Great Depression and the early years of World War 11.[5] In 1966, a year after its abolition, A.W. Jones wrote a brief history of the system which dealt in some detail with the changes that had occurred as it neared its end.[6] Memoir writers from these periods recalled concrete and cultural facts that can be compared directly with what the documented sources revealed. In a sense these memoirs can serve as a type of humanistic deconstruction of the official view as they present the social reality of what those most closely involved experienced and felt about it, rather that what those opposing or supporting the system believed, or perhaps wanted to believe. From time to time, the results of the comparison proved to be surprisingly, and, indeed, refreshingly different.

The availability of two sets of perspectives meant that the study fell easily into two parts. The first records the history of the junior teacher system from details available in contemporary documents. The second presents another view, that of the recollections of former junior teachers. The mass of primary data available from both perspectives has meant that the investigation has focused on their in-depth analysis and there has been comparatively little reliance on secondary sources.

The juxtaposition of these sets of data allows for a number of important investigations. One of these serves as a test of the authenticity of these memoirs as historical and sociological data by measuring what respondents recalled against what was recorded in contemporary documents, especially those of an official nature. A criticism of memoirs, especially those from a considerable distance in time, is that the information may well be distorted. A high correlation between what respondents recalled and what was closely documented would indicate that a good deal of reliance could be placed on other concrete and cultural data that they remembered. There are several opportunities for a test of the authenticity of particular sets of memoirs, the most detailed of which is the comparison that is possible between the evidence presented by the S.A. Teachers' Union in tabular form to the Education Inquiry Committtee in 1943[7] and that of a similar range of data collected in memoirs from about the same time. Where the memoirs differed from what was in the documents became of value, too. The case brought against the junior teacher system by the Teachers' Union and other opponents in 1943/44 was, by definition, a one-sided affair. Nothing of the possible benefits of the system appears to have been sought from junior teachers of the time and certainly nothing in its favour was presented at the Inquiry. The memoirs allow for the possibility of such considerations and, as a result, there is an opportunity now for a more balanced discussion of such questions as whether junior teachers felt exploited or believed that their presence in schools was harmful to the pupils.

The memoirs also contain a great deal of other information about which there are few contemporary records concerning these particular groups of teacher trainees. Details of such aspects as country

social life, boarding conditions, absence from home, treatment by Heads of schools, other staff, students and townspeople and existence on limited finances provide interesting glimpes into a way of life that has gone. Little can be known either, apart from what these respondents recall, of what it really meant, at the age of 16 or so, without any training, to have to assume the adult role required of a teacher and deal with the supervisory, disciplinary and educative demands of such a responsible position. Equally revealing in the light of the evidence amassed by opponents of the system are the results of the opportunity given to the respondents to assess their level of success in the job and to say how they remembered it over a range of options from generally happy or useful to frustrating or just bearable.

In the course of such recollections, the respondents raised a number of important issues of social relations – namely those of age, gender and class – that are reflected across the whole period in which young candidates for teaching were used in schools prior to training. In the main, pupil teachers and junior teachers were thrust, at an impressionable age, into an adult role, success at which would determine their future. The majority were women and it is instructive, in more enlightened times, to see how their place in the educational structure compared with that of males in terms of financial reward, higher education needs and roles assigned in schools. Of particular interest in this regard, too, are the views of some of the leading educators in both the late 1800s and the early part of this century, about the intellectual and management capabilities of women in general. For the majority of respondents, males and females, entry to teacher training provided an opportunity for higher education and a professional career that may not have been possible otherwise because of the financial status and background of their families.

The study helps to identify the effects on the respondents of the decisions of those in charge. The purposes of some of the decisions that affected the lives of these respondents were quite clear, and even if they were not entirely acceptable, at least those involved knew why such things were necessary. Other actions were of a more covert nature and sometimes these gave rise to considerable difficulties. The Education Department, for example, allowed the system to survive long past its value as training and opposition to it often took a quite aggressive form. The study, from both perspectives, reveals something of the hidden agendas on both sides and the effects for good or ill on the young people involved - situations which are not entirely without parallel in contemporary educational circles. Reflections on the pupil teacher and junior teacher system raise a question about the overall importance of recognizing the human element at all levels on the part of decision makers – principals of schools, administrators and those responsible for industrial matters.

While the study of the use of the untrained in schools allows for the investigation of a number of historical, sociological and educational issues, the pupil teacher and junior teacher system is important in its own right as a significant part of teacher training in South Australia for the greater

part of the 90 years of its existence. It was the means by which several thousand teachers received their induction to teaching and from time to time it was practically the only means of entry to the Teachers College. It was a subject of investigation in several Inquiries and Commissions and the source of much debate at many of the annual conferences of the S.A. Teachers' Union. It is a story full of action as such key administrators of the Department as Hartley, Williams and McCoy instituted what they saw as new and more appropriate ways of training teachers and those in charge of the early training institutions, W.A. West at the Pupil Teachers' School, Andrew Scott at the University Training College and Dr A. J. Schulz at the Teachers College, attempted to implement them. Yet overall, the junior teacher system appears to have attracted little attention as an episode of some note in the educational history of South Australia. It could well be said that more often than not in records of educational history, accounts of pupil teachers and junior teachers appear as little more than footnotes to other events. This investigation sets out to rectify this by looking more deeply at what was said about the system in the records of the times by those who observed it and by introducing a new element – how it appeared to those who experienced it.

The study helps to throw into relief, too, an issue peculiar to contemporary educational thinking. This is the matter of the place of practical teaching in a teacher training program and the ongoing argument concerning the relationship of theory and practice in that process. The history of the pupil and junior teacher system allows for a comparison of a variety of schemes and the thoughts of leading educationalists of the times, on them. The reflections of the respondents who had to teach knowing little about the principles of teaching provide insights into this matter, too, as they weighed up the pros and cons of being thrust into such a position at the time and reflected on the longer term effects on their careers. The thoughts of the leading educationalists of the past are generally insightful and often still worthy of consideration in the light of current debates about where and how practical teaching should be done, how much of it is necessary, how it should be supervised and assessed and whether an internship period should be an integral part of teacher preparation. R.V. McSweeney, [8] in noting that the historical approach is not often used to keep educational innovations in perspective or to assist in the objective appraisal of systems of education went on to say 'there is, perhaps, no more liberating influence than the knowledge that things have not always been as they are and need not remain so'. While it may not provide answers to current problems, a review of the successes and mistakes of the 19th and 20th centuries may well be such a liberating influence on thinking and so help to determine new or different lines of questioning about the link between theory and practice in the training of teachers as a new century begins.

As a useful number of memoirs is available only from the 1920s, it might have seemed reasonable to review the history of the system from that period only. It would not, however, do justice to the system to leave out the first 47 or so years of its history. The changes that came about in 1921, for example, can be understood only in the light of what occurred before, as indeed can the series of

earlier changes and reforms. The history of the pupil teacher system and junior teacher system begins in Part 1 with the events that saw the establishment of an apprenticeship system in 1873 and its consolidation with the passing of the Education Act of 1875. In the following eight chapters the system is seen passing through a number of stages until its abolition ninety years later, by which time it had greatly changed both in the way it operated and in its purpose. The role of the candidates for teaching is examined as they were teachers and pupils until 1899, then pupils first at the Pupil Teachers' School (later to become the Adelaide High School), teachers in the schools and then students at the University Training College (later to become the Teachers College) where the responsibility for their training rested largely with the University of Adelaide until 1908. The reforms that came with Alfred Williams between 1908 and 1913 saw pupil teachers become junior teachers, but between 1919 and 1921 another round of reforms led to the junior teacher system practically disappearing. It was revived during the Great Depression and the War but a recommendation for its abolition came in 1945. The role still remained of some use until changes to the secondary education system and matriculation requirements allowed for its abolition in 1965.

The views of those who experienced the system during the second half of its operation were canvassed through a Memoir Document, a copy of which is included in the Appendices as A.6. Attached to it are two letters sent to prospective respondents. The second of the letters explains something of the methodology. The principles and method derive basically from the work of Florian Znaniecki[9] but the recollections of the respondents differ from free flowing memoirs in that, in the main, they were guided by questions that linked the subject matter with aspects that were of importance in the history of the junior teacher system from 1921 onwards. For example, a major criticism of the system at the time of the Education Inquiry Committee was that the Education Department exploited the candidates awaiting entry to the College by giving many of them the work load of a trained teacher on an allowance that was only a fraction of a normal salary. Respondents were asked to say whether they recalled feeling exploited. Such views are explored in the six questions in Part B of the document. Although the document consists of questions, it is by no means simply a questionnaire. The questions are framed in such a way that there is scope, and space, for the respondents to make assessments and evaluations of their own thoughts, feelings, attitudes and actions. Part A consists of 26 questions that looked, in the main, at a similar type of concrete data to that collected in 1942 in a survey carried out by the S.A. Teachers' Union for presentation to the Education Inquiry Committee in support of its claim of exploitation. These concrete profiles provide very useful material for comparison with the largely factual detail available in documents and a sound background for the interpretation of the cultural facts in Part B.[10] It must be pointed out that both parts of the survey go well beyond the issues raised against the system by its opponents. This is so that as complete a picture as possible is obtained of the social reality of the five distinct periods under review. The seventh section of Part B of the document allowed for the respondents to engage in a free flowing memoir and many of them did expand on aspects of their experiences in quite

extensive, detailed, and often very vivid ways that allowed for an even closer analysis of their interactions with those within and outside the schools. Selections from these that provide further insights into significant aspects of the life and times of junior teachers have been arranged in a series of vignettes and incorporated into the study as Appendices A.1 to A.5.

In his article, *The End of the Junior Teacher System,* A .W. Jones[11] noted that the system had 'passed unnoticed and almost unsung'. As its story unfolds through the double perspective adopted in this analysis, it could well be that what was unnoticed and unsung in 1965 in the way of practical training may now be seen in a different light. Of rather more significance is what the study reveals about an important piece of educational history and the value of the application of the principles of humanistic sociology in better understanding the events in at least the second half of its existence, by calling upon the memories of those who actually experienced them.

References Introduction

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2 J. J. Smolicz and M. J. Secombe, *The Australian School through Children's Eyes,* Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1981, p.2

3 SATJ, April, 1943, p.10

4 SAPP, 1921, Vol.2, no.44, p.22

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9 R. Bierstedt, (ed.), *Florian Znaniecki On Humanistic Sociology: Selected Papers,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1969.

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PUPIL TEACHERS and JUNIOR TEACHERS in SOUTH AUSTRALIAN SCHOOLS

PART 1

FROM THE DOCUMENTS

An Historical Analysis

1873 - 1965

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Chapter 1

THE BEGINNINGS - APPRENTICE TEACHERS 1873 - 1875

It is amongst ourselves that our future school masters and mistresses must be sought, and they will best be secured from pupil teachers in our own schools.

Report of the Central Board of Education for 1873 [1]

The Central Board of Education had been set up under the Education Act of 1851 to assist secular education in South Australia in various ways. It could subsidise local communities for the purpose of establishing and furnishing schoolhouses, license teachers and pay them a limited salary, authorise the visiting and inspection of schools by local bodies and there was provision, too, for the building of a Model School in Adelaide to assist in the training of teachers.[2] Although money was allowed for the setting up of such a training facility in the Budget Estimates of 1858, no authorisation for its spending was given[3] and, as a result, the Colony had to continue to rely largely on trained teachers from elsewhere. By the early 1870s, in a period of increasing economic prosperity and expansion in the Colony of South Australia, considerable difficulty was being experienced in obtaining suitable teachers and by 1873, the of staffing schools had reached a crisis point.

The problem was expressed quite bluntly in the Board's Report for 1873 as 'The supply of suitable teachers for vacant schools and for the post of assistant teachers has not been equal to the demand.'[4] The report went on to indicate that no considerable number of 'really efficient teachers' could be expected from such traditional sources as Great Britain or Ireland or even from neighboring colonies as persons of that description were in equal demand in those countries.

Apart from immigrant teachers, the colony had relied to a lesser extent on suitable pupils taken on for training by licensed teachers in their own schools in an unofficial type of pupil teacher arrangement where some measure of efficiency in both teaching and training could be expected. By 1873, though, the Board found that some difficulty was being experienced '... even ... in procuring the services of qualified youths for pupil teachers.'[5] As with the demand for more schools, the shortage of young people to train to staff them was due largely to the prosperity of the times. The Board attributed the deficiency in the number of candidates for pupil teacherships in the public schools to the scarcity of skilled labor and the numerous vacancies for 'clerks and appointments in offices of a similar nature...' to which young people, and boys in particular, were being drawn, presumably by the pay, working conditions and the future prospects such positions offered. It was realized that if the schools were to be staffed and future teachers trained, the Central Board of Education had to enter the competition for young recruits and begin training them. What was needed was a formalized apprenticeship system to attract and hold suitable candidates for teaching careers. With these

candidates assisting with teaching duties while being trained, the two major problems of the Board could be solved in an efficient and economical manner.

The Board based its scheme on the pupil teacher system devised in England in 1846 for the same purpose, namely that of getting competent teachers into the subsidized schools.[6] The influence of J.A. Hartley, a recent arrival from England, a Board member at this stage, and within a short time to be the first Inspector-General, is obvious here. The proposed formalizing of a pupil teacher system can be seen to be linked with the one Hartley, who was then the head master of Prince Alfred College, had set up because of the inadequate staff he had found at that establishment and the lack of qualified men in the colony to draw on.[7] His action had provided the College with a supply of trainees who had also augmented the teaching staff.

Hence the Board of Education stated:

> To make provision for a supply of competent teachers, it is clearly necessary that a system of employing pupil teachers should be adopted, and that they should be apprenticed, instructed, examined from time to time and remunerated, with a view to their afterwards taking charge of schools.[8]

In effect, the Board, in 1873, was preparing to formalize a pupil teacher system that would ensure a supply of teachers trained on apprenticeship lines. The new system, with its emphasis on efficiency and value for money, was to result in the establishment of a teacher-training format with particular procedures, attitudes, expectations and outcomes that survived well into the next century. However, it is clear from the same report that the Board was not just looking to the future or merely guaranteeing that these pupils learnt how to become teachers. That they were to be pupils and teachers is apparent from this extract from the report:

> A further necessity exists for the employment of pupil teachers, in order to increase the teaching power in schools attended by pupils numbering from 40 to 60. Schools having this number of children are invariably complex, and can scarcely be divided into less than four classes. It is next to impossible for one teacher, however experienced himself, to instruct this number efficiently, and keep them always employed. It will be at once seen that the assistance of one pupil teacher in such schools would prove of the greatest service to the master or mistress; and the cost, compared with the advantages to the scholars and the public, would be most inconsiderable.[9]

An Apprenticeship System

The decisions of the Board of 1873 were put into effect in the following year by a series of regulations for the conduct of the newly opened City Model Schools. These regulations appeared in the 1874 Report of the Board of Education and constitute the first official attempt at teacher training in South Australia.[10]

The training period was to be of four years arranged in four classes with beginning pupil teachers in First Class and those in their final year in Fourth Class, a system of classification not to be confused with the four levels of similarly named classes through which pupils progressed in the schools to the end of primary education.

As a result of this determination by the Board, young people wishing to secure a career in teaching found that from 1874 on, they could do so by entering into an apprenticeship agreement which bound them under the care of the Board. They were to carry out their obligation to learn what to teach and how to teach it in the classrooms of the schools controlled by their employer for four years. The Board, on its part, was to check their progress regularly, pay them an allowance for the teaching services they would render as part of the training and, in due course, employ them as teachers.

Candidates for pupil teacherships were required to pass an entrance examination in the subjects and standard prescribed for fourth class school students. Once they were accepted into the First Class of pupil teachership, further promotion was to be gained by passing an annual examination. Item 6 of the Regulations stated that 'The head master shall be held responsible to the Board for the instruction of the pupil teachers ... and shall prescribe for them a systematic course of home lessons.'[11] The instruction to be given to pupil teachers was set out in detail. The syllabus for the annual examination covered Reading, Writing, Spelling, Composition, Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography and History and was designed to give the pupil teachers a sound grounding in what they would have to teach. From the Third Class, male pupil teachers studied Elementary Mathematics while the females took Domestic Economy instead. The development of the courses mirrored what would happen in school. In some subjects the depth of study was extended at each year level. For First Class for example, the grammar requirement was 'To parse a difficult sentence. Analysis of simple sentences.' but for Third Class it was 'Increasing skill in parsing, paraphrasing, analysis of compound sentences.' One subject where this could not be done was History. Here the subject matter merely divided into sections – 'To the reign of Richard 11; - to Elizabeth; - to present times.', again a reflection of how schools would manage it.

How to teach was covered in a subject 'Skill inTeaching' and pupil teachers in First Class were expected to be able 'To discipline a class and give a reading lesson in the presence of the Inspector' while those in their fourth year needed to be able to 'Answer questions on school management and organization...'.The utilitarian nature of the syllabus underlines its purpose of giving young people who had at least reached a level equivalent to the end of primary school, a solid further grounding in what they were to teach immediately in their role as pupil teachers and then throughout their teaching careers. There is no indication at this stage that it was meant to give them any broader an education than that required to teach whatever course of instruction was set out for primary schools.

As would be expected, pupil teachers featured strongly in the staffing arrangements for the Model School, the Board's first building and the model for those to follow, as the following extract from the Report shows:[12]

TEACHING STAFF

Attendance -30 to 50, 1 teacher
50 to 75, 1 teacher, 1 pupil teacher
75 to 100, 1 teacher, 1 assistant, 1 pupil teacher
100 to 130, 1 " 1 " 2 "
130 to 160, 1 " 1 " 3 "
160 to 200, 1 " 2 " 3 "

After which, a pupil teacher and an assistant alternately for each successive fifty in average attendance.
No teachers, excepting those authorized by the Board, shall be employed in the schools

While this appears to be something of a leap forward from the statement in 1873 of pupil teachers being necessary in schools where one teacher was attempting to manage between 40 and 60 pupils, the reality was that the system also needed pupil teachers to cope with student numbers in most of its schools. The City Model School Return for 1874, published in 1875, showed just how useful pupil teachers were in even the largest and most important of the schools. An average of 801 scholars attended and the staff consisted of a head teacher for each of the three divisions, six assistants and nine pupil teachers.[13] It is hardly surprising that the head teacher in charge of the whole school, Mr. Lewis G. Madley, had complained in his second half-yearly report that he had little opportunity of attending to the large number of teachers who visited for observation '... on account of my insufficient staff of assistants.' [14] He did not explain how he managed to supervise the teaching and studies of the nine pupil teachers who, in light of the numbers of students, must have averaged classes of 40 or more or otherwise assisted trained teachers with groups of 90 or so pupils. In the light of such large student numbers and so few adult teachers, it is difficult to see how the school system could have survived without the assistance of pupil teachers. Clearly, efficiency was being established as regards the number of staff but whether all staff, and especially those pupil teachers in their early years in the work, were teaching effectively was soon to be questioned both within the system itself and from outside it.

While it is obvious that these pupil teachers were meant to be a significant part of the teaching force in schools, it is important to note, too, that such use also allowed for considerable cost savings to the colonial government. As noted above, in 1873, the Board had stated that in terms of the advantages to masters and mistresses, the scholars and the public '... the cost ... [of the system] would be most inconsiderable.' It proved to be very economical indeed. Good value for money was being obtained, staffing-wise at least, from the meagre allowances paid to apprentice teachers in their dual tasks as pupils and teacher. Male pupil teachers in their first year of training were to be paid £20 and females £15 per annum with those in the fourth year of service receiving £50 and £36 respectively.[15] In comparison,

assistant teachers who had to be no less than 18 years of age, received £72 (male) and £48 (female) in the first year of a three level promotion system. For every First Class pupil teacher employed in place of an assistant teacher amounts ranging from approximately 6/- to £1 per week were being saved. As the apprentices gained in skills this margin lessened but it is clear that overall, the employment of pupil teachers saved money. As well, it allowed for an expansion of the system by freeing adult teachers to serve in newly opened up districts. From the beginning of the system, female pupil teachers greatly outnumbered males and with unequal allowances for equal work being the policy of the times, considerable value for money accrued from this aspect too.

Being a Pupil Teacher

In effect then, by 1874, the pupil teacher system had been formalized through regulations on apprenticeship, instruction, examination and remuneration. The need for both trained teachers and staff for schools was being met in the most economic and efficient way then possible.

The Education Act of 1875 is noted for the stamp of efficiency it put on schooling in South Australia.[16] Along with the adult teachers and the pupils, the working lives of pupil teachers were affected by firmer measures of control and management. The Regulations following the Education Act of 1875 were published on 13th March, 1876.[17] By then a Council of Education had replaced the Board and the new regulations for pupil teachers applied beyond the City Model Schools to the whole colony. Now, as well as being no less than 14 years of age, candidates had to be of good character, and were required to produce a medical certificate showing that they were in good health and 'physically fit for the work of teaching.' Promotion through the four classes depended not only on the annual examination but also on a report from the head teacher on diligence and conduct. Wrongful conduct was clearly described, with dismissal without notice for '... idleness, incompetency, disobedience, non attendance or irregular or unpunctual attendance, or immoral conduct.'[18] The emphasis on efficiency and value for money that characterized the new department most certainly applied to recruits and trainees.

One of the most significant of the new provisions concerned the instruction of pupil teachers and the influences with which they came in contact. No pupil teacher was to be appointed to a school unless the teacher responsible for their supervision held at least the second certificate, the 111A, and where '... the organization, instruction, and discipline are such that the pupil teacher will have a good opportunity of learning his profession.'[19] The intention here was to ensure efficiency in teaching through careful supervision but one aspect in particular was later found to have left the way open to possible abuse of the system. This was the provision of bonuses for instructing teachers whose pupil teachers managed to pass the written and inspectorial examinations.[20] No doubt it was put in place with the good intention of rewarding supervising teachers who had to spend out of school time of five hours per week instructing pupil teachers. The bonus was £10 for one pupil teacher, £16 for two and £4 for each additional one, a

quite reasonable remuneration in terms of the salaries paid at the time. Like any payment by results system, it could lead to undue pressure on the pupils, in this case pupils who were also teaching full time. Within a short time, abuse of the bonus system was to become one of the increasing number of criticisms of the pupil teacher system.

It was not only pressure from the supervising teachers that would have made things difficult for the pupil teachers. Quite strict rules applied on how the instruction was to be given to the pupils and how they were to be supervised. The time was normally an hour before school every day, with no more than two hours being allowed on any one day. As well, homework had to be set for an hour in the evening. The lessons had to be set down on a timetable and the Inspector was required to report on how this duty was done. In addition there were other rules that must have been equally irritating and organizationally difficult, especially in the one-teacher schools. No male teacher, for example, was to instruct female pupil teachers alone as the clear instruction was that '... some responsible adult female shall be present during the whole time that such instruction is given.'[21] While this was no doubt for the protection of the master, it does show one of a number of the problems of having in schools young people who were both pupils and teachers.

The staffing formula remained much as it had under the previous regulations and the 'List of Public Schools and Teachers, ...' of 1876 [22] reveals how important pupil teachers continued to be in the staffing of schools. The Model Schools with an average attendance of 787 pupils in 1876, now had a staff of four head teachers, (Boys, Girls, Infant and Practising sections) seven assistants and seventeen pupil teachers. Something of the value of a pupil teacher can be gauged from the report of Mr. Clark, the Head of the Boys' section in 1876, who in complaining about the effect on his school of losing Madley to the new training institution and another teacher to the practising school, went on:

> ... and also a pupil teacher, employed since the opening, who left to study at the Training college. Their places being supplied by others strange to the work and to the boys, the schools could not but suffer.[23]

At the Gilles St. school the head teacher had only two pupil teachers to assist him with an average enrolment of 88.3. Similar situations applied in larger country towns with Gawler, for example, having one assistant and two pupil teachers to help the head teacher with an average enrolment of 126.6. At Strathalbyn the one pupil teacher made available to assist the head teacher with some 62 students was also appointed as the sewing mistress. The new system was certainly providing staff for schools but the supervision and training of large numbers of raw recruits must have been difficult to carry out properly despite the strict rules and the bonus incentive, especially where the head teacher was engaged in full time teaching, as most had to be at that time. Even after the tightening up of the supervision of pupil teachers, the effectiveness of their teaching, again especially in the first two years, soon came into question.

The Growth of the System

In the light of the dual purpose of the new system, it is not surprising to find in Inspector Burgan's Report for 1878 evidence of the great use being made of pupil teachers to staff schools, the expectation that the system would provide enough trained teachers for the needs of the schools and an acknowledgement of the difficult nature of the role:

> Many of the school staffs are largely composed of pupil teachers, and, with one exception can bear testimony to the industry, zeal, intelligence and skill with which they perform their very arduous and responsible duties. They are of course students and practical workers, with more or less experience to guide them in their labors, but I believe that there will soon eventuate from this source, a large and influential body of sound, practical teachers. [24]

As the following table shows, a large teaching force did develop and pupil teachers continued to be a significant part of it:

TABLE 1.1 Pupil Teachers and Monitors in the Teaching Force Selected years 1875 to 1889 [25]

	1875	1879	1883	1887	1891	1895	1899
Pupil Teachers	98	164	200	218	141	142	164
Teaching Force	391	686	790	974	936	1127	1264
% of Pupil Teachers	25%	23.9%	13.8%	22.3%	15%	12.5%	12.9%
% of Monitors	-	9.7%	8.0%	8.4%	7.7%	12.5%	14.0%

Monitors first appeared as part of the teaching force in 1877 as a means of assisting sole head teachers in schools too small to have a pupil teacher.[26] Increasingly, however, being a monitor came to be the entry point to a junior teachership. Taking into account both pupil teachers and monitors, it is clear that generally more than a quarter of the teaching force consisted of untrained apprentices. The system set up in 1874/75 which might have been expected to fade into insignificance as sufficient teachers were trained and a training institution established, had not done so by the close of the nineteenth century. The reasons for the growth of the monitor system and the maintenance of a large teaching force of pupil teachers will be examined in Chapter 2, together with the consequences of this for the trainees, the pupils they taught, and the standing of teacher training in South Australia.

The 'Training college' mentioned by Mr. Clark was in fact a Training School established as a result of the Education Act of 1875. It opened in June 1876, with Madley as the first Principal and with thirty students enrolled for a six-month course. In 1877 the numbers had increased to fifty-four and the course was extended to a full year. Madley's reports indicate that while most of these early students were people with some teaching experience in either public or private schools, some were admitted without any teaching background.[27] It might have been supposed that pupil teachers would have the first claim on entry to higher training but the provisions of their apprenticeship actually disadvantaged many of them. Madley expressed his dissatisfaction with this, and indeed with the admission of those without

teaching experience, in his report for 1878:

> At present the admission of female candidates of eighteen years of age is somewhat unjust to pupil teachers, who at fifteen or sixteen bind themselves to serve the Department for four years, and are ineligible for admission as students till the expiry of that term. These persons frequently see pupils of their schools, who refuse to become pupil teachers, enter the Training School at eighteen years of age, and receive appointments as assistants, it may be in the same schools as themselves, at salaries much in advance of those earned by their former teachers. At no distant date we shall be able to supply our schools with head teachers and assistants from the ranks of our pupil teachers, and it will then be advisable to exclude from the Training School all inexperienced persons.[28]

Madley went on to emphasise the importance of prior teaching experience for those admitted to the Training School:

> The success achieved during the year is due principally to the fact that a large percentage of the students had previously served either as pupil teachers or in other capacities in schools, and that few were admitted who were entirely new to the work.[29]

It very quickly became the established pattern to require successful teaching experience, generally as a pupil teacher, as a prerequisite for entry to higher training.

However, not all pupil teachers were able to go on to the Training School, nor indeed does it appear that it was intended that they should. Places there were limited by the funds available from time to time but the main determinant of how many went to the Training School and how many went directly into teaching would appear to be the need to staff the schools. The continuing shortage of teachers meant that numbers of pupil teachers were required in schools immediately after completing three or four years in that training mode. As will be seen in the next chapter, numbers at the Training School stabilized at about thirty each year and in times of economic restraint fell well below that level. This meant that between 1875 and 1899 most teachers for South Australian schools were trained entirely by the pupil teacher system. It has been noted already that Inspector Burgan believed that this training was a 'very arduous and responsible' one for young people who were both students and practical workers. The drive for efficiency from 1875 led to over emphasis on management and measurement aspects of the work of all teachers. Pupil teachers were not excused from this because of their inexperience or because of their double role as both teacher and pupil and this placed a heavy burden on many of them. While there was no doubt about the practical nature of the training that this large body of teachers received, questions began to arise about the validity of the 'influential' and 'sound' nature that Burgan had predicted for the system. During the twenty-five years that the pupil teacher system continued to exist in much the same way as it had been formalized in 1875, it was to come under close scrutiny and to be widely criticized from some quarters and strongly supported from others.

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17 SAPP, 1876, Vol.2, no.21, pp.1-11
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Chapter 2

PUPILS AND TEACHERS 1875 - 1899

> *It is evident that their true position - pupil and teacher - has not always been understood, and the former sacrificed in the interests of the latter.*
>
> L.G. Madley
> Principal of the Training College - 1882[1]

The first opportunity for a close scrutiny of the pupil teacher system came in 1881 with the setting up of a Select Committee (later to become a Commission of Enquiry) to look into the working of the Education Act of 1875.[2] As was seen in the previous chapter, that Act had determined clear expectations of efficiency and conformity from the young apprentice teachers. Evidence put to the Commission revealed that a number of serious faults had developed during the six years of operation of a system that demanded both a pupil and a teaching role. Such faults can be seen broadly in terms of class, age and gender. The pupil teachers, who had become a distinct group within the teaching force, were poorly paid and generally too young and too ill-educated for the responsibilities thrust upon them, yet their employer demanded much of them in both their roles in terms of efficiency and value for money. The majority of them were females, too, at a time when the status of women in the Education Department was not high.

The Commission heard much of concern about how their working lives were organized for them and how this affected what they could do outside of school. However, there was evidence of considerable support for the system, too, and this, coupled with the practical and economic difficulties involved in staffing the schools, ensured its survival until the end of the nineteenth century in much the same form in which it had been established. The problems inherent in such a system continued to attract increasing criticism throughout the period and some measures had to be taken to assist pupil teachers with the student aspect of the role. However, the system remained unbalanced in the way Madley had described it in 1882. It was not until the late 1890s that a set of fortuitous events allowed for consideration of any significant change to a system that required a dual role of its trainee teachers.

Surviving a first scrutiny

The dissatisfaction that had been building up since the introduction of the system and that came to light at the Commission of Enquiry into Education, centered around two main issues. One related to the work load involved in being both a teacher and a pupil and the other to whether it was appropriate to allow untrained, immature young people to take on teaching responsibilities from the age of fourteen.

The question of abuse of the bonus to supervising head teachers was raised in relation to the workload of pupil teachers. A witness from outside the Education Department, Mr. Boehm, Principal of the Hahndorf

Academy, told of head masters 'constantly in suspense and in incessant anxiety' because their salary and their reputation were linked in with the progress of their pupil teachers and scholars, who, as a result were overworked.[3] This was confirmed from within the department by Inspector Burgan who told how he had recently asked a teacher to keep down the work of his pupil teachers who, after all day at school and lesson preparation and study at night, had no recreation. He told the Commission that 'In such cases, the system can cause evil.'[4] Mr. Neale, then head master of the Kapunda Public School and later to become an inspector, had to admit to the Commission that Inspector-General Hartley had told him 'to ease off a little on his pupil teachers' in the previous year.[5]

In his own evidence, presented in May, 1882, Hartley told the Commission that he did not believe that the program of examinations was to blame for any overwork of pupil teachers.[6] His investigation of it indicated that the work asked for in a given year was not more than could fairly be expected and that in comparison with the examination programs in England and in New South Wales pupil teachers in South Australia were required to do less work. While he acknowledged that the pupil teachers complained of overwork, he believed that in some cases this was due to 'want of consideration' on the part of supervising head teachers, some of whom, in his opinion, should do more themselves and ask less of the pupil teachers. While promising to see if the work of pupil teachers could be lessened 'without impairing the efficiency of the system' he asserted that his feeling about the particular problem was rather '... that the masters in preparing for examinations, set rather high a standard before them, and the young people have too much to do in homework.'[7] He went on to state his belief that an hour's lesson daily from a master, coupled with an hour's private study set for the evening, should enable any pupil teacher of fair ability to pass the examination 'with ease'.

There were extremes of views on this matter amongst the head masters themselves. Mr. Neale told the Commission that he did not agree with those head masters who believed the amount of work for pupil teachers was too great and that he '... in the case of male pupil teachers, ... would increase the difficulty of the examination.'[8] In direct contrast, the Commission was told that the Yorke's Peninsula head masters had put to a conference of head masters held in Adelaide in September, 1881, a motion 'That the pupil teachers' examination and work be lessened in view of the strain on, and ill-health of, many pupil teachers, especially girls.'[9] This showed a much more sympathetic and understanding view of the realities of the work load of pupil teachers as did the supporting evidence in which these head masters indicated their belief that the work was too exacting for persons 'of tender years' and that it would be desirable to afford them relief by either employing pupil teachers for a shorter time in direct teaching and giving them time in school hours to study or by appointing pupil teachers 'of maturity and acquirements'. However, the majority of the other head masters at the conference did not support this proposed alteration to the system and the Commission was informed that the motion was lost.

The other main issue before the Commission was whether untrained persons should teach in schools.

Inspector Burgan told the Commission that while pupil teachers '... were doing good work' he had to admit that:

> ... their teaching must at first be inferior, because they acquire experience and no doubt they make mistakes. As far as teaching is concerned, they are ignorant of the art when they commence ... When a person is learning and teaching, he is not efficient.[10]

When asked if untrained people would be allowed to practice in any other pursuit, he replied 'It would not be allowed in the case of a doctor.' The matter of the difference in attending to body or mind was then followed up and Mr. Burgan admitted that 'Theoretically a person should not be allowed to teach without studying the art of teaching thoroughly, knowing how to train the minds he is dealing with effect, but we cannot carry out that principle.' He was asked why not and replied:

> On the grounds of expense. I would agree that it would be better to have well trained and able teachers instead of the untrained who acquire experience by teaching others but the cost would be so great that the national system would break down.[11]

This revelation that economic necessity was being allowed to prevail at the expense of efficiency was softened to a degree by Hartley. He pointed out to the Commission that apprentices must learn their work and that in doing so they must naturally make mistakes. He justified this in teaching on the grounds that every person employed in the profession must gain experience in this way at some time or another. He believed that under the present circumstances, pupil teachers had to begin young '... because if they do not they are drawn into other work' and although older persons taking up the work might make fewer mistakes because of better developed minds '... persons who begin very young have the advantage of flexibility of mind.'[12] He then went on to support Burgan's view on the real reasons the system could not as yet be drastically altered:

> At anyrate, I am sure that under present circumstances, we cannot do without pupil teachers because even if the money question presented no difficulty, and we were able to offer a sufficient salary for adult teachers, there are not the adults in the colony to take the positions referred to... A suggestion has been made that a double staff of pupil teachers should be kept. Well a double staff of pupil teachers, if they can be found, may be kept if Parliament will place money at our disposal, but I do not feel myself at liberty to ask for it; it is too expensive a remedy.[13]

In short, very little had changed in the eight years since it had been decided that a dual teaching/training system was the most economic way to solve the colony's needs for its present and future teachers.

However, the Commission did not have to explain its decision to maintain the pupil teacher system in financial terms. Most of its witnesses had been asked for their views on the pupil teacher system and

although a number of significant criticisms were received, sufficient numbers of witnesses supported the system to allow for a positive overall finding.

As might be expected the most trenchant criticism came from those outside of the public education system. Mr. Boehm believed that the system '... is an evil...on account of the scarcity of trained masters...and the numbers of pupils... who are asked to discharge their duty at too early an age.'[14] He told the Commission that even for teaching young children, knowledge of psychology was required and that this was unlikely to be found in 15 to 18 year olds. However, even he had to admit that under present conditions, the system could not operate without pupil teachers. Mr. Niehuis, a retired teacher, told the Commission that it was wrong to place the education of the young child in the hands of young people not competent to lead and who '... do not know how ideas should be brought out.'[15] Mr. Elliot, of the Kapunda Board of Advice stated 'I do not believe in pupil teachers. Pupil teachers are of course apprentices; they are trained but it is at the expense of the scholars' education.'[16]

However, general support (though often conditional, as it was with the Yorke's Peninsula head masters) came from within the Department. Mr.Young, head master of the Hindmarsh School, for example, told the Commission that he approved of pupil teachers as 'one of the most important and valuable' portions of the teaching staff but he qualified this by indicating that head masters had to supervise properly if 'fairly proficient' teachers were to result.[17]

Other witnesses supported the system to the extent that in its final Report the Commission was able to state:

> We consider that pupil teachers should be retained as part of the school staff. We regard the training they receive during the course as a valuable means of qualifying them to become efficient teachers. In this view we are supported by the Principal of the Training College, and by most of the head masters of our Model Schools. We also recommend that monitors be appointed when pupil teachers cannot be obtained.[18]

An examination of this support reveals rather more of the real reasons why pupil teachers were valued in schools as well as in later training. Their presence was in the interests of administrators and the education system. Madley, for example, believed that student teachers at his College who had been pupil teachers required the least instruction and were 'toned down' in comparison with those coming in fresh who had to have their peculiarities and idiosyncrasies 'rubbed off' at the College.[19] Mr. Clark, head master of the Grote Street School believed pupil teachers were of great value because 'It is so easy to mould them and lead them...'[20] (He had 17 pupil teachers on his staff of 24 for an average enrolment of 724 in 1881!) Others, like Hartley himself, saw pupil teachers as the only answer when sufficient adult teachers were either unavailable or unaffordable and the system a good way of ensuring that apt pupils were not lost to some other type of work.[21]

So pupil teachers remained because they were needed to staff the schools and their employment resulted in good value to the colony from the funds invested in such a training scheme, even if full efficiency was to take some time to come into effect. Indeed, securing them at a very early age was seen as a benefit in that it allowed promising young scholars to be trained and moulded on the 'efficiency' lines seen in the previous chapter as required by the educational system of the day. In view of the large numbers of pupil teachers on the staffs of schools such as Grote Street, for example, it is not surprising that the head masters wanted apt but docile young people who would quickly learn how to teach and manage a classroom by actually doing it. The need for similar assistance would have been just as great in smaller schools where head teachers would have had little time from their own teaching duties to assist their pupil teachers.

The needs of these smaller schools were recognized, too, in the recommendation of the Commission for monitors to be appointed where pupil teachers could not be obtained. Monitors were to become quite important later as part of the preliminary assessment of candidates for pupil teacherships and it is useful to see how they were regarded in the early 1880s. Hartley, who defined a monitor at the request of the Commission as '... a young person employed in teaching who has not passed a candidate's examination as a pupil teacher, who does not receive as much salary as a pupil teacher.', did not regard their services highly.[22] Monitors had been removed from schools for the year 1881 and Hartley told the Commission that when he consulted the inspectors about this '... the majority seemed to think that they did not do very much good in the schools.'[23] He went on to say that he was not very strongly in favour of the employment of monitors unless they showed 'reasonable capacity as teachers', that he did not see monitors as able to give lessons in the sense that an ordinary teacher did and that he would prefer a school to have a pupil teacher. What he did agree to, and what obviously swayed the Commission, was that a school with an average enrolment of 25 was 'a little better' equipped for work if it had a monitor in addition to the teacher. Although he believed that a teacher 'well up to his or her work' should be able to cope with such a number he said 'Still it is an error on the right side to employ more assistance.'[24] The use of monitors did gradually became more widespread through the school system especially from 1894 when it became compulsory for candidates who had passed the pupil teachers' entrance examination to '... serve as monitors to the satisfaction of the inspector for not less than six months before being appointed as pupil teachers.'[25] This explains the increase in the proportion of monitors in the teaching force after that date as show in Table 1.2 in the previous chapter.

However, it was the pupil teacher system that was of real significance for staffing the schools and in recommending that the system continue on in its current form the Commission was acting in the interests of the Education Department by providing it with what appeared to be the most efficient and economical means available of doing so at the time. It was soon to become clear that what had been neglected by the Commission, despite the evidence tendered to it on this issue, were the interests of the pupil teachers themselves. Increasingly attention came to be focussed on the effect of the system on the young people

teaching while studying for promotion and on whether the system was really providing an appropriate teaching service for the changing educational needs of the colony.

Pupils and Teachers - A difficult and unequal role

It was easy enough to maintain the shape of a dual system of teacher training but its foundations proved to be shaky, due mainly to the unequal nature of its two parts. The problems inherent in it, some of which had been so clearly spelled out in evidence to the Commission, did not disappear. Even before the Report was published, Madley who was to be named by the Commission as a supporter of the system, had began to qualify his support for pupil teachers. He took up the major issue of whether it was possible to be a teacher and a pupil while doing justice to both jobs. In contrast to his views on the subject in 1878, he complained in his report for 1882 'Of the pupil teachers admitted, [to the Training College as it was by then] I cannot speak in unqualified praise.'[26] This was because he found in too many instances that their attainments were of a superficial character, that they could not be said to have read widely, and that even their knowledge of the prescribed textbooks was in many cases imperfect. He then made the very significant comment that heads this chapter and which indicates that their true position - pupil and teacher - was not always understood and the former sacrificed in the interests of the latter. Madley went on to point out that it could not be expected that young people who worked all day as so many of the pupil teachers did, could have much energy left for systematic evening study. He concluded that 'Until stringent regulations are made bearing upon the employment of pupil teachers and securing their proper instruction and fair time for study, there is little hope of improvement.'[27]

The effect of sacrificing study time in order to allow for the maximum assistance with staffing showed up in several ways well before any pupil teachers reached the Training College. The most significant of these was a high failure rate of pupil teachers at the annual examinations. The drop out rate was generally high, too, and from time to time difficulties were experienced in attracting suitable recruits. These are all indications of serious problems that can be generally traced to the weak spot in the system - its dual nature - where the teaching aspect predominated and tended to swallow up so much of the time and energy of the young apprentices.

The lack of success of many pupil teachers in the examinations is indicative of difficulties they faced in preparing and studying for them while teaching. It is also a measure of the assistance they got from head teachers. The failure rate had been a concern since the scheme began. As early as 1876, Hartley, alarmed at a failure rate of 67.3% in First Class, 77.7% in Second Class and 50% in Third Class, put it down to some teachers not working hard enough to bring pupil teachers up to the required standard and to some pupil teachers neglecting their studies.[28] The situation did not improve even with the introduction of the bonus for supervising teachers. As has been seen, Hartley felt it necessary in 1882 to tell the Commission of his advice on the need for careful teaching by head teachers and adequate homework on

the part of the pupil teachers.[29] However, the difficulties in being both a pupil and a teacher remained and as the following table shows, the failure rate, especially at the first two levels, continued to be high as long as the dual system remained:

TABLE 2.1 Failure Rates of Pupil Teachers Selected Years 1887 - 1899 [30]

	1887	1890	1893	1896	1899
First Class	41.7 %	33.3 %	60.3 %	34.8 %	45.7 %
Second Class	40.4 %	3.8 %	42.3 %	11.7 %	10.8 %
Third Class	49.0 %	15.0 %	17.8 %	3.5 %	3.5 %
Fourth Class	28.5 %	21.4 %	18.7 %	0.0 %	0.0 %

Clearly the system demanded too much of the candidates and allowed them inadequate study time for what were quite demanding examinations covering the whole curriculum. The failure rate in First and Second Class was generally very high and indicates the particular difficulties of fourteen, fifteen and sixteen year olds coping with teaching duties while studying for examinations. For some, supervision and instruction were probably inadequate and in any case, the compulsory daily lesson before school must have been as burdensome to busy head teachers as it was to the pupil teachers who also faced lesson preparation as well as the hour of home study. The 1897 report of Andrew Scott who, as Master of the Training College, was by then also required to supervise certain of the studies of pupil teachers, throws further light on the reasons for such high levels of failure of pupil teachers in their first year. In commenting on the large number of such failures he said:

> The first year seems to be the hardest for these young people, as there is a considerable gap between their work and that of a fifth class in our schools, from which the majority come. Besides, it must be remembered that this first year's examination serves as a further test to mark suitability or otherwise for the work of a teacher.[31]

The curriculum itself was designed basically to allow the pupil teachers to learn what they were to teach and how they were to teach it and the style of the examination papers reflects the narrowness of the courses and the strictness of approaches. At the Michaelmas examination in 1890 there was a Mental Arithmetic paper (set and marked by Hartley himself) in which any answer corrected twice would not be marked and any correction made by eraser or penknife would be 'rejected altogether'[32] The English paper contained mainly parsing and analysis and grammar and syntax but no aspects of literature apart from a poem that had to be analyzed. The dictation and spelling required the correct writing down of such words as 'hydrophobia', 'paralysis' and 'ophthalmia'. In Geography, places had to be marked on a map but use was also made here of teaching principles in a question 'Sketch a lesson on Egypt for a Fourth Class.' Apart from this last approach, the examinations appear to be an upgraded version of what the pupil teachers would set their own classes. There was a separate paper for 'Principles of Teaching' devoted in that particular year only to the teaching of reading and poetry. The same examination was set for the four classes but first and second year pupil teachers were directed to leave out certain questions

such as the lesson on Egypt.

The comments of the examiners reveal the nature of the expectations, the reasons for lack of success and something of the level of instruction and supervision. These were published in the Education Gazette and the following are typical of the period:

Easter 1885[33]

> 'The pupil teachers do not read with sufficient distinctness' [Reading examination]
>
> 'Fair on the whole, except for punctuation' [Composition]
>
> 'There were some careless mistakes here. Qu.6 was badly answered by First and Second Years' [Grammar]
>
> 'The answering of the subject was disappointing' [History - in which 46% of First Years and 48% of Second Years failed!]

Michaelmas 1890[34]

> 'Many had not got a clear understanding of the principles of the present method of teaching elementary reading, and the papers as a whole were rather weak than otherwise' [Principles of Teaching]
>
> 'I would like to draw the attention of Head Teachers to the necessity for insisting on neatness in Pupil Teachers' work, more especially males....' [Notebooks]

How young pupil teachers without a clear understanding of the principles of teaching managed to cope with their classes is highly questionable, especially if at the same time they were unable to read distinctly, punctuate, or understand British history! It is hardly surprising that the examination in the first year was used as a further test of suitability or otherwise for the work of a teacher. In terms of the examination results alone, it would seem that Madley's earlier suggestion for proper instruction and fair time for study for pupil teachers might have been more successful than Hartley's insistence on increased attention to out of school lessons and study. Hartley however, was the one in charge and the finances available for education simply did not allow for the attention to the 'pupil' side of the system that perhaps would have improved the examination results.

The success, given an acceptance of the aims, of any training scheme can be measured to some extent by the number of beginners who complete the course. The records of numbers presenting for the final examinations in each year provide one source of such information. As the following table shows, there was a significant falling off of numbers in the First to Fourth Classes in practically all years:

TABLE 2.2 Pupil Teachers Presenting for End of Year Examinations

Yearly Sequences 1887 to 1899[35]

	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99
First Class	**67**	33	34	45	33	39	53	62	57	43			
Second Class		**56**	24	26	41	27	26	31	31	34	37		
Third Class			**45**	20	23	40	28	22	22	28	27	32	
Fourth Class				**42**	19	24	32	28	17	16	23	22	30
% decrease from First to Fourth Class				**37%**	43%	30%	29%	16%	57%	70%	63%	62%	31%

As has been seen, failure rates were high for First Class for the whole period and this is reflected in the smaller numbers presenting for Second Class in the following year. The drop out is less noticeable from then on. Indeed in some years the same, or almost the same, number presented for Fourth Class as had for Third, this despite the known failure rate of the times. Such anomalies are not easy to explain. It is known that new pupil teachers were accepted at the beginning of the various years. The fact that until 1893, those who failed the Easter examination were able to sit again at the final at Michaelmas, may also explain such numbers. As economic development faltered in the late 1880s prior to the depression of the early 1890s, the number of pupil teachers was reduced and the sequences seem to indicate that those who got into the system in those years tended to remain in it.

The Registers of Pupil Teachers provide rather clearer information on the numbers who survived the course to go either to the Training School (later to become the Training College) or into teaching as unclassified teachers. Each page of the first such Register lists thirty-five names. A sample page for the period 1874-5 shows twenty-three as having resigned, lapsed or simply 'left'.[36] A page from 1877/8 shows that of those who actually began, sixteen went on to training, thirteen resigned or left, three went direct into teaching and one died.[37] A new set of registers was begun in 1882 with each page showing ten names, together with details of examination passes, teaching reports and grades taught. Of ten beginning in 1885, four resigned at the end of the fourth year, three went on to College and three began teaching.[38] Of those beginning in 1890, five completed the four years and entered the College, three accepted appointments in charge of small schools while one resigned and one died in Third Class.[39] The figures for ten beginning in 1897, show similar trends with six entering the College, three resigning part way through the course and one accepting a teaching position after just two years as a pupil teacher.[40]

No reasons are given in the Register for resignations. Likely ones were failure at examinations, realization that the wrong career choice had been made, and in the case of females, leaving to be married, as married women were not employed. In the case of those accepting school appointments, the major factor was likely to be a financial one and in the period of economic depression around the early 1890s, this is very understandable. With only a limited number of places available each year at the Training College, it seems that a certain number of Third and Fourth Class pupil teachers were expected to go directly into teaching in any case.

The high failure and drop out rates would seem to indicate that the system was not always able to attract the most suitable recruits for the exacting work of pupil teaching. As early as 1874, Madley, then head master of the City Model Schools, had seen the problem of attracting suitable candidates, especially males, in terms of adequate monetary inducements.[41] Inspector Dewhirst saw the problem in 1884 of attracting boys, in terms of 'money and toil'.[42] He believed that boys were attracted to trades and office jobs because they found the work of pupil teaching too onerous and he recommended higher salaries of £30 for first year males, to better the £24 per annum to be obtained in, for example, a solicitor's office. The problem as regards girls, as will be seen later, was not so much in attracting them into the service as retaining them in it.

By 1886 Inspector-General Hartley himself was concerned enough about the failure rate in the pupil teacher examinations to repeat yet again what he had told the Commission in 1882. He indicated that the blame for poor results '... cannot always be laid at the door of the pupil teacher...'[43] He again drew the attention of head masters to the need for careful teaching before school and the provision of an hour and a half a day for private reading by the pupil teachers. He believed that with this approach '... not any but the really dull would be unsuccessful in the examination.' Hartley was obviously very well aware of other problems in attracting and keeping them as he went on to advise head teachers on the personal treatment of pupil teachers:

> Every sympathy should be shown to them; scolding should as far as possible be avoided, and especially any tendency to lower their self respect; ... in every way they should be made to feel that they are being helped to become efficient teachers. Further, they should never be put in charge of large classes... and they should not be kept in the same part of the school during the four years of their apprenticeship.[44]

Although Hartley's advice may have sounded rather hollow in view of the realities of the staffing and working conditions in schools, there is evidence of his sincere concern for pupil teachers. While he could not release them from teaching duties he went to particular lengths himself to do what he could to assist them with their studies. He began a section in the Education Gazette 'Problems For Pupil Teachers' in which he set arithmetical problems and encouraged pupil teachers to send him the solutions.[45] He corrected these himself, listed those who had done well and published their solutions each month. Assistance was given in other subject areas by the publishing of detailed explanatory notes in the Gazettes.[46] As early as 1888, Hartley conducted Saturday morning classes to assist pupil teachers in preparation for the examinations in Arithmetic and by 1890 he was also giving lessons in Elementary Experimental Geometry, a subject which he intended to introduce into the regular course of study.

This latter move is an interesting one as it indicates an intention to advance the studies beyond the narrow confines of the primary course of instruction. Another indication of the desire to expand the general education of at least some pupil teachers was the publication in the Gazette of May, 1890, of the results of a Pupil Teachers Honours Examination held at Easter that year. Nine pupil teachers had

passed various levels of Latin, French, German and Mathematics.

Country pupil teachers were unable to take advantage of any special classes but a system of quarterly examinations was introduced between 1894 and 1896 in order to check their progress more regularly. The examiners' reports indicate similar problems to those in the city. In May 1895, it was reported that 'The results of this examination are not at all satisfactory. Out of forty-four examined, thirty-three failed to get half marks in one or more subjects..:'[47] The examiner went on to say that he felt that it was possible that for Third and Fourth Classes '... the algebra was found to be too difficult.' Failure rates for the other three quarters of that year were 54%, 61% and 34% and in 1896 the average failure rate over the year was almost 40% for country students. From 1897 all pupil teachers sat for the one final examination at the end of each year.

As well intentioned as these moves to alleviate some of the problems of the system were, they can only be regarded as stopgap measures. As can be seen from Table 2.2, the failure rate began to drop after the reforms of the examination system from 1894, at least from Third Class onwards. However, the basic fault in the system of expecting untrained young people to be both pupils and teachers remained unresolved. Hartley appears to have been expecting too much of both the pupils and the head teachers and indeed his efforts to help through the extra measures he introduced can even be seen to be adding to work loads. An additional three hours of study on Saturdays, as useful as it might have been under his personal direction, must have created another set of pressures for the pupil teachers as well as a reduction of their already limited leisure time. Four examinations for country pupil teachers instead of two may well have created similar stress

A more human perspective

By the beginning of the 1890s, teachers themselves were starting to discuss the faults of the pupil teacher system and to ask why it was still failing in a number of ways. A significant outcome was that the problems of the system began to be outlined in a manner that had not been fully recognized and articulated to any great degree until then. This was to look at them from a human perspective in terms of the effect of the system on young and immature people. Certainly Hartley had shown some concern in this direction in his advice on how to treat pupil teachers, but he was limited in what he could do, or indeed say, by his position.

Not so apparently was Mr.W.J.Kennedy, head master of the Hindmarsh Public School. In June 1890, he read a paper on the Pupil Teacher System to the monthly meeting of the South Australian Teachers' Association at the Training College. This paper, which was published in the Education Gazette of July 1890, shows a considerable depth of understanding of the problems facing pupil teachers and of the recruiting and training of teachers in general.[48] It shows too, a much better understanding of why recruits

were hard to find than some of the more simplistic views relating to wages and the onerous nature of the work put forward previously.

Kennedy put a new perspective on why there was a lack of suitable recruits for pupil teacherships. He believed that the system itself was to blame for the lack of applicants because it put the full strain of an adult teacher's work on a child of 14 years of age and this tended to frighten away the very class – 'the bright, fine-fibered, sympathetic ones' - that should be induced to join such a profession. This would seem to be in line with the views of Inspector Dewhirst that young people merely shied away from the rigours of the job but Kennedy showed a real understanding of the basic problem that prospective pupil teachers had to face. He believed that young people were more averse to taking on teaching '... largely due to the feeling of repression they are called upon to exercise, the air of maturity they were tacitly expected to adopt.' He pointed out that when a boy of 14 became a pupil teacher, he '... instinctively felt that he was cut off from the comradeship of the boys he had... associated with' as children - and especially boys – detested 'bossing' or 'the assumption, ... of adult functions by those of their own age.' Apparently one of the reasons put forward in support of the pupil teacher system was that it provided a link between teachers and scholars in the schools. Kennedy saw this quite differently for in his view:

> ... indeed, so far as the children are concerned he [the pupil teacher] was much further removed from the plane of childhood than a teacher three times his age. He had become suddenly stiffened up into the semblance of a man; while still a child he was called upon to abjure childhood forever.[49]

Kennedy believed that the average boy and girl found this aspect of discipline – 'the unnatural stiffening of demeanour - the I've -got-my-eye-on-you attitude' which they had to assume as pupil teachers at such an early age - '... as well nigh intolerable.'

Kennedy then took on the work load aspect of the system. He saw the amount of work required and the responsibility given to pupil teachers as a serious health hazard, particularly as far as girls were concerned. He outlined the work load of a pupil teacher - a nine hour day of very hard work including an hour of study before beginning a day of teaching with only an half hour for dinner followed by after school preparation and evening study - all at an age when labour for a young person should be 'light and free as possible from worry.' The third major problem he saw was that the load of teaching and studying monopolized the whole of the pupil teacher's energies and 'thus they were debarred from any mental culture beyond what the curriculum of their studies embraced...'

Kennedy summed up by saying that the only argument in favour of the system was its cheapness. He then listed the objections he had against the existing pupil teacher system and apart from those already detailed above, he mentioned that it owed its existence to expediency rather than to any sound educational principles; it had not been adopted by any country outside Great Britain and her dependencies; it yielded a limited and unsatisfactory source from which to draw teachers and it placed a

large number of children at the mercy of immature and undeveloped intellects. He was prepared not merely to criticise the system though, but to offer an alternative. What he proposed was ahead of his time as it was the outline of a general secondary system that was not to come about fully for another twenty years. He saw the need for:

> ... secondary or advanced schools... which would take the scholar from the present compulsory stage and conduct him through a wider and more national course of education...[that] should steer clear of conservative pedagogic influences, and be moulded on the more advanced principles of training the faculties, rather than merely crowding the memory. ...Their purpose would be to give boys and girls such a general training for entering on any occupation requiring the exercise of skill and intelligence.[50]

He went on to add that 'although it may be an audacious thing to say' he would not have one single lesson on the 'principles of teaching' but would leave all that until the student had completed a general course and decided to make teaching his profession 'which he should not be allowed to enter upon until the age of 16 at least.'

With South Australia entering a period of economic depression it was unlikely that such ideas would be taken up in any substantial way even if the educational authorities could be convinced of the need to change the system by providing secondary or advanced schools. Kennedy showed himself to be a realist in this regard. In a letter to the Education Gazette in July 1890 he called for an expansion of Hartley's Saturday morning school for pupil teachers to take the place of the hour's lesson each morning in schools.[51] The subjects would be taught by head masters who were experts in the field, an advantage Kennedy saw in such subjects as drawing where not all heads could perform satisfactorily. He went on to point out an added advantage would be that the 'teacher would feel a greater responsibility in presenting a subject to a class of forty or fifty pupil teachers, hence he is likely to give it a more careful and systematic preparation than at present.'[52] This was an interesting comment from a head master on how some other heads undertook their supervising responsibilities, and indeed one supporting the views Hartley expressed on this subject.

Specialist classes for pupil teachers were introduced some six years later. However, this appears to have been as a cost cutting exercise rather than for the educational value Kennedy saw in such a move. As the recession deepened it was realised that some of the bonuses paid to head teachers could be saved by making the Training College responsible for much of the supervision of pupil teachers preparing for examinations and leaving the head masters responsible only for Arithmetic and the Principles of Teaching.[53] This began in 1896 with lessons scheduled for two afternoons per week but because of the numbers involved, classes also had to be rostered for Saturday mornings as well. The personal benefits of this to the pupil teachers were soon apparent. Scott, who, as has been seen, had to take on these new duties as well as conduct the Training College, reported that:

> The freedom from teaching for two afternoons per week has been a source of advantage to the young teachers ... (this) experiment of gathering pupil teachers together in central classes...I venture to think has been a success, not the least important element of which is the action and the reaction of the pupils.[54]

By 1896 then, the scene had been set in a small way for a special education system for pupil teachers. However, apart from the few innovations described above that made it a little more bearable, the system that been in operation for over twenty years had not changed in any significant way. True to its apprenticeship nature it continued to over-emphasize the practical aspects of training - what to teach and how to teach it - at the expense of the broader education of the trainees. Two afternoons of tuition were no substitute for the secondary education that entrants for other professions were getting and narrowly based departmental examinations were no substitute for the public examinations of the University of Adelaide. While there was obviously some realisation in the Department and amongst teachers that greater attention had to be given to the education of trainee teachers, the impetus for a change and the means of bringing it about came not from those sources but from the University of Adelaide. Concern there at the poor academic standing of teachers in South Australia led to an offer from the University in 1898 to take over the training of student teachers from the Education Department.

Before moving to the momentous changes that eventuated from this proposal, a review of further aspects of what it was like to be a pupil teacher, and in particular a female one, will help to explain why such an offer was seized upon as almost a panacea for all that was wrong with a system that required a dual role of trainee teachers.

Being a Pupil Teacher 1874 - 1899

It is obvious from criticisms of the system and from the failure and drop out rates that a teaching and studying life was not an easy one for pupil teachers. However, large numbers continued to apply and despite the high turnover rate, it seems that the Department was generally able to satisfy its needs for the College and the schools. A significant feature of the system was that a greater proportion of these pupil teachers were females as this table shows:

TABLE 2.3 Gender Balance in the Pupil Teacher System Selected Years 1875 to 1899 [55]

	1875		1880		1885		1890		1895		1899	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Junior Tchrs	22	76	57	109	57	163	53	93	23	119	23	141
% female	77.5 %		65.6 %		74.0 %		63.6 %		83.8 %		85.9 %	

As has been seen, male recruits were generally more difficult to attract into teaching than females for whom fewer alternative jobs were available. School teaching was one of the few professional opportunities open to women at this time. There was a distinct advantage too for the department in

employing large numbers of lower paid females as pupil teachers and adult teachers. Miller describes the employment of women teachers in South Australia as 'one of the building blocks of budgeting in an expanding department under conditions of financial stringency.' [56] Their recruitment into the first stages of teacher training is a prime example of this.

It is obvious, too, from criticisms of the system that life as a pupil teacher tended to be rather more difficult for females than for males. The disadvantage to women pupil teachers in salary terms has been noted but it merely reflects the general remuneration pattern of the period. The role of gender in the pupil teacher system is of significance for far more than its economic overtones. Other forms of discrimination, some of which carried on into the wider teaching scene and persisted well into the second half of the next century, can be seen to have their beginnings at the apprenticeship stage. Some are clearly stated and range from outright bias towards a largely female teaching service to more subtle approaches that set the role of women in teaching apart from that of men to the disadvantage of the former in terms of the amount of training needed, levels taught and promotion possibilities. Some aspects of the curriculum obviously favored the long-term prospects of males while others such as Arithmetic, were considered to cause problems for girls. The likelihood of the heavy workload of the system affecting the health of pupil teachers, and especially girls, has been noted several times. It would seem likely too that low pay could lead to poor diet and so compound health problems caused by overwork.

The high failure and drop out rates were analyzed in general terms earlier and the application of a gender perspective adds to the complexities of these problems as well as to a greater understanding of certain aspects of them. A higher proportion of female pupil teachers than males tended to be more likely to fail the examinations and to drop out before completing the apprenticeship. However, why this should be so is not easily explained, and most certainly not in terms of mere gender. It is not fully explicable either in the difficulties of some aspects of the curriculum, or in the hard work involved in being both a teacher and a pupil or even in bias of a kind likely to sow self doubt in the minds of women students and lower their self esteem and with it their chances of greatest success. All of these had their effect and may go some way in explaining aspects of the failure and drop out rate of females, particularly early in the apprenticeship. The drop out rate of females in the third and fourth years is a more complex issue and has to be looked at from personal, financial and social points of view as well as those listed above.

In considering the nature of male perception of women in the teaching force, it is obvious that the policy of employing more females than males was of deep concern to some of the departmental officers. Comments on it also show a decided bias against women teachers and a patronizing acceptance of their presence in schools. In commenting in 1884 on the fewer men attracted into teaching, Inspector Dewhirst while admitting that 'female pupil teachers in the lower grades have often proved themselves equally competent to males' went on to say that he feared for a future department lacking in the male

teachers 'who should form the permanent backbone of the system'.[57] In 1883, Madley had gone even further. He blamed the lack of males coming forward on the fact that since 1880 the authorities had allowed female pupil teachers and teachers into boys' schools because such females were easier to obtain. He concluded with this remarkably discriminatory advice '... in the interests of the service, looking to the future supply of properly trained teachers, I would respectfully urge the Minister to discountenance, if not absolutely forbid, the employment of females in boys' schools.'[58]

In his 1885 report Hartley replied to this and his comments are an interesting mix of support both for women teachers and for the economic and administrative structure of the department. Under the heading 'Female Teachers' he wrote:

> Public attention has been drawn to the relatively small number of male pupil teachers. The Senior Inspector and the Principal of the Training College have referred to the matter in recent reports, and some appear to imagine that this is a weak spot in our educational system... my own views do not coincide with those of the gentlemen mentioned above. I venture to state that, on average, a girl makes a better teacher than a boy. This is not a question of intellect, ... but, even if we admit that the powers of woman's mind are, on the whole, inferior to those of the man's, there are still other qualifications to consider.[59]

From what can only be regarded as a discriminatory allusion to the female intellect, but one typical of the times, he went on to outline the other qualities as sympathy with the child-nature, liveliness, fertility of resource and gentleness of nature, all of which he saw as 'no less necessary attributes of the good teacher, and few will deny that these are essentially feminine characteristics.' He then said that man probably has the advantage 'in discipline and organization'. While not doubting Hartley's sincerity, one could well take the view that he was simply applying prevailing family values of male responsibility and domination to the schools where there had been an increasingly significant reduction in the status of women since 1875 with men holding most of the administrative and senior positions.[60] Hartley also defended criticism of women leaving teaching to marry on the grounds that it opened up the way for younger people in the service. These younger people would of course cost less overall and as most would be women, even greater savings were likely. It is hard not to see the whole argument in terms of concern for value for money in staffing schools in the cheapest way possible by employing mostly women as teachers and for efficiency through the order and discipline imposed by having men in administrative positions and teaching classes of older boys.

Taking into account the difficulties in just being a pupil teacher, any further discrimination - overt or covert - against females, would seem likely to have had some effect on the generally higher proportion of them who failed at examinations, dropped out part-way through the apprenticeship either to take a teaching post or simply to resign, or who did not succeed in getting into the Training College.

An examination of the drop out rate from first to fourth year on gender lines indicates that the males who

joined the system tended to survive its rigours rather better than females as the following table shows:

TABLE 2.4 Pupil Teachers Presenting For Final Examinations
Selected Years, 1887 - 1990 and 1892 - 1895 [61]

	87		88		89		90		92		93		94		95	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
First Class	30	37							9	30						
Second Class			24	32							8	18				
Third Class					21	24							7	17		
Fourth Class							21	21							7	10

Male Survival Rate - 70% Female Survival Rate - 56%

Male Survival Rate - 77 % Female Survival Rate - 33 %

A similar marked disparity in gender balance in the early stages narrowing down considerably in the final year is fairly typical of most of the period.

In 1890, nine of the women presenting for the Fourth Year examination failed whereas only two men did. In 1895, only one male and one female failed that examination. Women generally tended to fail in higher proportion to men as the following table shows:

TABLE 2.5 Pupil Teacher Percentage Failure Rates in Terms of Gender
Selected Years 1879 to 1899 (End of Year Examination)[62]

	1879		1889		1899	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
First Class	0 %	32 %	36%	50 %	58 %	42 %
Second Class	0 %	18 %	0 %	19 %	0 %	13 %
Third Class	14 %	35 %	9 %	29 %	0 %	5 %
Fourth Class	*	*	15 %	18 %	0 %	0 %

* Numbers are too small here for a useful comparison

It is difficult to know in many specific ways why females did not do well in the examinations. The general reasons for high failure rates, particularly in the first year, were looked at earlier but there are not many indications as to why females should have had a more difficult time than males apart from the question of their health being more easily affected. While health differences are hard to understand now, the number of times they cropped up in criticisms of the system would seem to mark them as a real problem for girls in the late nineteenth century. Poor diet in relation to overwork has been looked at but loneliness may well have been a factor for some females too. Married women were not employed as teachers so even female pupil teachers would have needed to avoid close relationships with males if they intended to spend at least some years in their chosen career.

The nature of the curriculum is one factor about which there is some significant evidence, with Arithmetic being pointed to as the subject most likely to affect females both in academic and health terms. Inspector Dewhirst had told the Commission in 1881 that '... the female mind is not equal to that of the male in relation to figures.'[63], a belief held widely at the time and one that must have had the

power of a self-fulfilling prophecy for girls having problems in this subject. Madley, who saw girls breaking down and injuring their health because of Arithmetic and Science, went so far as to call for separate examinations for males and females in these subjects at the Training College level.[64] Hartley, on the other hand, considered that generations of girls had been taught Arithmetic so badly that they suffered a disadvantage [65] and his efforts to remedy this for pupil teachers have been noted earlier.

While failure at the examinations must account to some extent for the fall off in numbers of females, other significant factors of a personal, financial and social nature were involved, particularly in the latter part of the course. More women then men resigned or accepted appointments as unclassified teachers part way through the course. On most pages of the Registers of Pupil Teachers one or more females are shown as leaving the service before completion of the four year training period. For example, one page showing seven female and three male pupil teachers indentured in 1885, indicates that of the females, five resigned, one appointment lapsed and one went on to the Training College. Of the males, two went on to the College and the appointment of one was terminated.[66] Some female pupil teachers would have accepted a position as an unclassified teacher after the third year, or after the fourth year instead of going to the Training College, in order to earn a better salary. That they were allowed to do so, or perhaps encouraged, or indeed forced to do so by the lack of places at the College, indicates something of a lower regard for the educational needs of female teachers. The records of the times do not indicate why pupil teachers resigned and something of an air of mystery hangs over the sudden, and often unexpectedly early, ending of the careers of the many pupil teachers. In the case of females, especially those in the third or fourth year who could well have been eighteen years of age or older, a most likely explanation is that they left to get married. That married women were not employed was in itself a severe form of outright discrimination but one linked to the prevailing social view that a married woman's place was in the home.

Forced resignation on marriage along with lower rates of pay were perhaps the most obvious general discriminatory practices female pupil teachers had to endure. No less discriminatory however, was the introduction, at Third and Fourth Class, of Elementary Mathematics for males only as it helped to ensure that women did not get the necessary academic background that would enable them to teach certain higher classes and so tended to preserve the male domination in top management in schools and in the administration of the department. At the same time Domestic Economy was introduced for women and this ensured that women teachers looked after those aspects considered their rightful domain - food and clothing, warming, cleaning, ventilation, rules for health and the management of sick rooms - while their male counterparts studied Algebra and Euclid.

However, the economic downturn in the early 1890s resulted in a form of discrimination against male pupil teachers too. A Gazette notice in January 1894, headed 'Boy Pupil Teachers' advised of the need to limit the number of boys being taken on '... in the interests of both the students and the Department.'[67]

The official line was that this was because it was thought that on completion of the course these young men would not be able to get permanent jobs. The effect of this shows up in a fall off of numbers of male pupil teachers from 1894 in Table 2.3. Head teachers were advised to exercise the greatest care in selection of male pupil teachers so that 'only the best' were taken into the service, a move that would appear to have been in the economic interests of the department rather more than of males seeking to be teachers. The overall numbers of pupil teachers increased between 1895 and 1899 but in this period 631 females were taken on but only 99 males. This was particularly ironic in the light of efforts since 1874 to attract males into the service.

It was not easy to become a pupil teacher. The entrance examination was based of the standard of fourth and fifth class of primary school (the equivalent of modern Years 6 and 7) and the failure rate of the candidates was generally high. In 1876, 67 of the 90 candidates taking this examination failed, prompting a demand by Hartley for both teachers and candidates to work harder in order to reach the required standard.[68] Ten years later there was a failure rate of 44.9% and this continued on into the 1890s when in 1893, 43.3% of the applicants failed. Gender differences appear here too. In 1876, 79% of female candidates failed as compare with 55% of the males. In the 1880s and 1890s the differences became lower though a larger percentage of females than males tended to fail in most years as in 1888 when 50% of males and 55% of females failed and in 1892 when the figures were 39% and 52% respectively.

Even after passing the Fourth Class examination not all were able to proceed to the Training College. The College could accommodate only a limited number of students and an examination and teaching quality barrier ensured that the quota available in any one year was maintained. A Training College Entrance Examination, which was also open to unclassified provisional teachers and acting assistants, had to be passed. During difficult financial times competition for a place at the College increased. A Gazette notice in October 1887 indicated that there would probably be no more than ten places to be competed for at the Training College for 1888 by pupil teachers and provisional teachers. Those intending to present themselves for the entrance examination in that year were advised to do so '... as early as possible, in order that full inquiry may be made into practical skill in teaching of candidates for admission.'[69]

As it turned out the College was able to accept a normal quota of thirty students in 1888 but the effects of the recession are most obvious from 1895 when only seventeen student teachers were admitted. As has been noted a greater proportion of men than women survived the four years of the pupil teachership. However, the sheer number of women in the service ensured that the gender balance at the College was fairly even in most years until restrictions on the employment of male pupil teachers came into effect. As the following table shows, the gender balance then altered considerably:

TABLE 2.6 Male and Female Students at the Training College
Selected Years 1887 - 1899[70]

	1887		1890		1893		1896		1899	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	17	15	13	17	17	11	7	10	3	17
Totals	32		30		28		17		20	

The limited number of places at the College meant that few of those beginning a teaching career as a pupil teacher would have been able to complete the final stage of training that would entitle them to the first classification certificate even if they had managed to survive the rigors of the apprenticeship. The thirty-two who entered the College in 1887 represent just 41% of the seventy-eight pupil teachers who presented for the First Class examination some four years earlier. The twenty entering in 1899 represent 35% of those who presented for the examination at the end of First Class in 1895.

Whether those who did go on to the College gained a great deal in terms of a broad education is open to question. The Master's report of 1897, for example, indicates that the student teachers received a good deal of practical training in their year there. The students were divided into two groups which alternated between a week at the Grote Street School and a week of study. At Grote Street the students '... received instruction in the best methods of teaching.'[71] For those who had already endured four years of practical teaching there must have been a strong sense of deja-vu! In addition all were taught such aspects as freehand, model, geometric and blackboard drawing and clay modeling and prepared for the elementary sol-fa certificate in music, aspects which they must surely have come in contact with in reasonable detail as pupil teachers. A few were allowed to take Physics 1, Part 1 at the University while others studied for the higher public examinations. The emphasis was clearly on practical aspects and the Master had no illusions about the value of this one-year of training as he concluded with a plea for a two-year course, as he believed that:

> Under the present system anything like an adequate equipment for a teacher's work is out of the question. All that can be done is to arouse an interest in study and to excite a strong desire to climb higher up the hill of study.[72]

This was rather a sad indictment, not only of the Training College course but of the whole training system when it is remembered that most of the student teachers in whom an interest in and excitement about study had to be aroused, had been 'pupils' for some four years.

As the main role of pupil teachers appears to have been to teach, a review of the teaching duties is required to complete the picture of what it meant to be a pupil teacher. Unfortunately the Register of Pupil Teachers 1882 - 1899 does not begin to give details of teaching duties until 1888 and no full picture of what the 'teacher' side involved emerges until the mid 1890s. One page of details from the Register shows the following typical arrangement of teaching duties together with further examples of

the career paths of pupil teachers who entered the service in 1896:[73]

Reg.No.	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901
14 (F)	Jun.Div.	Lower JD	(Resigned Jan. 1898)			
15 "	Jun.Div.	11&111	111	111	11	T College
16 "	11	111	(Resigned Jan. 1898)			
17 "	1	11	111	11	T College	
18 "	Lower JD	Jun.Div.	1V	Juniors	T College	
19 "	Upper Infs	1	(Resigned Dec. 1997)			
20 "	Upper Grd	1V	11	T College		
21 "	Jun.Div.	(Resigned Dec. 1896)				
22 "	-	1&11	1 &11	1V&V	11&111 (Resigned Sept. 1900)	
23 "	-	1	11	11	T College	

It is clear that the advice of Hartley that pupil teachers should not be kept in the same part of the school for four years was being carried out.[74] At that stage the two sections of the Junior Division catered for children who began at age five or six with Class 1 for those who had reached the full age of seven years.[75] All those in the above sample are females but other pages show that males taught across the same range of class levels. What is not clear from the records is whether all pupil teachers had sole responsibility for classes or whether in some cases they assisted a trained teacher. In commenting on the value of the afternoon lessons at Grote Street, the Master of the Training College went on to say that the freedom from teaching for two afternoons in the week must '... make the work of their head masters still more difficult.'[76] This would seem to indicate that most would have had to leave their own classes for someone else - probably the head master himself - to supervise. The limited number of trained staff at various schools would seem to support the view that pupil teachers would have had to take responsibility for classes. In 1894, for example, the official list of schools in the January Gazette shows that the North Adelaide Public School had a head master and 8 assistants for an average enrolment of 795.8. It seems most likely that the 7 pupil teachers appointed there would have been used to reduce class sizes to a manageable 53 or so rather than the 100 that there would have been in joint classes. Similar situations were to be found in the small country schools. In 1896, Watervale, for example, had just the head teacher and a pupil teacher to cope with an average enrolment of 77.4.

The extract illustrates a number of aspects noted earlier about the career paths of pupil teachers. The early resignations are there together with one entering the College after only three years as a pupil teacher. Numbers 15 and 22 had to continue as pupil teachers for a fifth year with the latter resigning in the September of that year. No class appears to have been allocated to 22 and 23 in their first year of teaching.

Pupil teachers were spread across metropolitan and country schools. In 1875, an official table[77] indicated that 20 were in the city of Adelaide, 28 in municipal towns, 84 in district council areas and 21 in outlying areas. Similar patterns applied in 1885 and 1895. Wherever possible, pupil teachers were located at a school near their home, an aspect probably very much appreciated by the pupil teacher and the family but certainly one that helped departmental finances considerably by saving on boarding allowances.

Being a pupil teacher then meant a commitment to teaching and study. By the mid 1890s there was a realisation that both roles could not be done well together. Despite its probable economic motivation, the decision to put the bulk of the studies of metropolitan pupil teachers under the care of the Master of the Training College was a considerable advance. However, the narrowness of the curriculum and the lack of cultural and literary aspects in it came to be the main criticism of the pupil teacher system in the last few years of the nineteenth century. Pupil teachers and student teachers were seen to be lacking in the kind of education that would give them a breadth of knowledge beyond that merely required to teach school subjects. When the possibility of allowing student teachers to have a university education came about in 1897 it was realised that pupil teachers could hardly be expected to prepare for the entrance examinations under their current style of education or indeed while they were attempting to carry on a dual role. The problem was in finding a way of allowing time for study while providing a reasonably lengthy practical experience that was still seen as an essential prerequisite for teacher training. A further consideration was the staffing of schools where in a period of a continuing shortage of teachers, the pupil teachers played such an important role. What had to be done was to remedy the fault Madley saw in the system so that the 'pupil' side was no longer sacrificed for the 'teacher' side of the dual role. A proper balance had to be brought into the system to allow equal time and opportunity for carrying out both roles.

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Chapter 3

PUPIL TEACHERS TO THE UNIVERSITY 1900 - 1907

Nothing is more shocking than the teacher who knows no more than the scholars have to learn.

Goethe[1]

Of all the problems of the pupil teacher system, the one that had come most sharply into focus towards the end of the nineteenth century was the lack of broad educational opportunities for young apprentice teachers. Observers of the system of training teachers in South Australia in the 1890s could well be justified in applying Goethe's comment to it as indeed Sir Samuel Way, Chief Justice of South Australia and Chancellor of the University of Adelaide, did when opening the Third Annual Conference of the Teachers' Union in 1898. In terms of the syllabus studied for the four years of apprenticeship while also teaching, and the limited further studies in the year at the Training College, teachers trained in this way could have had little literary or cultural breadth of education. It was realised that a more balanced system was needed to redress this lack and increasingly attention turned to how better educated teachers might be obtained. As early as 1896, Inspector Whitham, who had just returned from revisiting England after a lengthy absence, had pointed to a way that this could be done. He told the first Conference of Public School Teachers (a conference which constituted itself as the inaugural Conference of the South Australian Public Teachers' Union) that he had found that 'the social and professional status of the teacher has vastly improved in England, and is becoming better each year.'[2] He attributed this partly to a current revision of the Education Code that gave particular recognition to graduates or persons qualified by examinations to become graduates in arts or science of any university in the United Kingdom, a move which he saw as ensuring as a rule 'a sound intellectual basis to work upon' for selecting candidates for the teaching profession.[3] He went on to say that it was not at all uncommon to meet with several assistants in the larger schools who had graduated in arts or science or both. The opportunity for teachers in South Australia to prepare for and obtain a university education came about by 1900 as the result of an offer from the University of Adelaide to take over teacher training.

This offer meant that the training system had to be restructured. From 1875 to 1899 pupil teachers had been exactly what their title called them as they combined both roles for the four years of their departmentally controlled apprenticeship. From 1900 the roles were separated and they were given the opportunity, through secondary and tertiary studies, to know far more than their scholars would need to learn. Up until then the leaders of the Department had struggled just to train apprentice teachers to teach through their own often meagre resources. This chapter is concerned with the powerful influences from outside the Department that were able to intervene in the training process by providing additional

financial support. The results of that intervention for pupil teachers is best explained by an examination of why the reforms of 1900 were able to be introduced at that particular stage, how the new three-tier structure worked and why, within a very short time, it appeared that the system was yet again out of balance.

The Restructured System - 1900 Pupils THEN Teachers

In order to appreciate more fully the thinking behind the quite radical changes to the pupil teacher system in 1900, it is necessary to step back to the second annual conference of the S.A. Public Teachers' Union held in 1897. The President, Mr. M.M. Maugham was able to tell the delegates that the University authorities proposed to devote a considerable portion of the funds placed at their disposal under the 'magnificently generous will of the late Sir Thomas Elder' in aiding in the education and training of teachers.[4] Clearly the proposal was very much in the planning stage at the time and Maugham went on to say that in his view it would be desirable to provide for at least two years' training, with possibly a third for promising students. In the light of subsequent criticisms of the lack of attention to the practical side of training in the new scheme, it is interesting to note that at the time he hoped that as most of the candidates received 'a fairly thorough training as pupil teachers', it would not be necessary to spend more than one quarter of this time in teaching 'so that the greatest benefit may be derived from the admirable instruction imparted at the University.'[5] A guest speaker at the conference, Dr. Torr, Principal of the Way College, a private school for boys, reminded the delegates of overseas opinions that teaching could not fully rank as a profession until the training of teachers became incorporated into the universities but sounded this note of warning:

> But the acquisition of a university degree without a thorough training at a training college, manned by a suitable and well-appointed staff, would be a distinct step in the wrong direction.[6]

As will be seen, some of the steps taken over the next few years were distinctly in a wrong direction for neglect of this particular advice. However, in the general excitement over the proposals from the University, it seems that little heed was paid to Torr's somewhat prophetic advice.

The third annual conference of the Union in 1898 was an historic occasion and a turning point for teacher training in South Australia, for Sir Samuel Way formally announced how part of the bequest of Sir Thomas Elder was to be used. He told the conference that:

> The Council of the University, in casting about for the best means of giving the widest possible effect to the bequest came to the conclusion that the beneficent objects of the testator would best be accomplished by a step which would give the University a beneficial influence over every child in South Australia for all time through the medium of public schools.[7]

He went on to say that this 'step' was an offer to take over the Training College and undertake the responsibility of the training of the candidates for teacherships in the public schools for two years, and to do all that free of any cost whatever to the public revenue. This statement was greeted with cheers but it would have been obvious that there would have to be some additional cost to public revenue in student teachers' allowances alone if training was extended for a year. However, Sir Samuel had done his sums in anticipation of the financial question being raised. He believed that the cost of the Training College was more than the £540 shown in official expenditure as salaries of teachers of drawing and other outside subjects were not debited to it. The cost of allowances for maintaining the current twenty-four students at the College was about £900 a year. If the offer was accepted, the University would relieve the Government of all the expenses of the Training College and Sir Samuel pointed out that the cost of maintenance for an extra year would be from £200 to £400 in excess of the saving on the expenditure on the Training College. He appealed to his audience to say whether the expenditure of a few hundred pounds was not 'a bagatelle' compared with the advantages to be derived.[8]

Sir Samuel told the delegates that the proposal had been formulated fifteen to eighteen months earlier by Professor Mitchell whom he described as having 'an intimate knowledge of the education question in every aspect...'[9] William Mitchell had come to the University of Adelaide in 1894 as the Hughes Professor of English Language and Literature and Mental and Moral Philosophy after a career in England on the staff of University College, London, and as an examiner in secondary schools for the University of Cambridge. In a tribute to Mitchell on his hundredth birthday in 1961, Edgar Allen, formerly Deputy Director of Education, made reference to 'his invaluable contribution to education in South Australia, especially to the education of teachers.' and went on:

> Professor Mitchell's experience in teacher training in the United Kingdom made him see how limited was the training of teachers in South Australia. The infectious warmth of his approach and his power of arriving at the truth through debate convinced the authorities of the University and the Education Department of the need for a wide and deeper education for teachers.[10]

V.A. Edgeloe, in one of his radio talks on the history of the University of Adelaide, explained that Mitchell had a firm belief that the quality of the education of the teacher would be reflected in the quality of the education that teacher could provide for the pupil and described in greater detail the 'step' that Mitchell and his colleague Professor Bragg had convinced the University Council to take:

> The new arrangement was that the University would forego fees for two years' undergraduate study by trainee teachers under contract to the State department, that the students concerned should be housed in the University, and that their professional education and training should include both an academic course on the principles, practice and history of education, and a wide range of demonstrations in the classroom by accomplished teachers followed by discussions on them. He himself provided the academic course until 1909...[11]

Sir Samuel was extremely careful to ensure that the proposed takeover in no way reflected on the education system generally or on its leaders, especially the late Mr. Hartley, or Madley and Scott or indeed the present Minister of Education or his predecessors. In his view the deficiency in the training of teachers was due to 'the stern exigencies of finance and to the necessity of keeping within the limitations of the educational vote,' an aspect of which the University was about to relieve the Department.[12] He told his audience that they need not fear any criticism on the quality of the work done in the public schools but that the 'weak point in the education system' was the training given to teachers.[13] He referred to a Mr. D White, a recent visiting educationist from New Zealand, who had said that there was no deficiency in the quality of training but what was wanted was a larger quantity of it for 'In South Australia, the teacher gets a thoroughly good practical training but there is want of breadth about the literary side of his qualifications'.[14] White had gone on to advise that the course of study at the Adelaide University should be the basis for the classification of teachers. Sir Samuel then made mention of Goethe's comment and went to some lengths to emphasize why primary teachers needed access to higher levels of education. He quoted from Matthew Arnold who had said of the English system:

> Yes, but they say why demand so much learning from those who will have to impart so little ... the plan of employing teachers whose attainments do not rise far above the level of their scholars...has been tried and it has failed ... It is now sufficiently clear that the teachers to whom you give only a drudge's training will do only a drudge's work, and will do it in a drudge's spirit; but in order to ensure good instruction ...you must provide ... a master far superior to his scholars...[15]

Sir Samuel went on to contrast the provision now made in England of a four year apprenticeship during which there was preparation for the Queen's Scholarship examination for eligibility for two years at a training college with what was happening in South Australia. He reminded the delegates of their own system:

> Four years as a pupil teacher; one year at the Training College: half of that year employed on work in one of the largest schools in Adelaide - and half of it devoted to learning; in other words the training proper of a teacher lasts for six months only[16]

He asked whether it could be claimed that South Australian pupil teachers were so far in advance of their English brothers or sisters that a quarter of the training which was found necessary in England was sufficient for South Australia. He went on to question the morality of a situation which invited boys and girls 'to give up the flower of their youth' (as pupil teachers) with the promise that if they passed the four years' term they would become members of the teaching profession and then gave them only six months' training.

In view of the limitations of the training at both the pupil teacher and the student teacher level, such questions could only draw negative responses. To hammer the point home he referred to Scott's

report of the previous year about the difficulty of doing much more in one year than arousing an interest and exciting 'a strong desire to climb further up the hill of knowledge.'[17] After stating that the University extension of teacher training was 'one of the great waves of the education movement' he clearly felt able to make this stirring appeal about what must be done by all concerned with education to remedy the situation in South Australia:

> If they wished to attract to the teaching profession the best minds of the community they must increase its advantages. They must raise its social and educational status. They must recognize that teaching was a profession as much as divinity, law, or medicine, or engineering ... (that) the teacher like the candidates for those professions, should have the best training,...the advantages of academic study and society and corporate life.[18]

He concluded by telling the conference that the offer had been under consideration for eighteen months and that now was the 'psychological moment' for action. He also added that there was concurrently with the offer a wide-spread determination throughout the colony that every child worthy of secondary education should have access to it. The implication was that if the offer of the University was not taken up, State school teachers might have no part in such important work.

It is clear that the University Council saw its role in relation to pupil teachers as well as to student teachers. Sir Samuel told the conference that the question of whether pupil teachers were abreast of the students at the University who had passed the senior public examination had been considered by the University Council. Obviously the members did not think so for he went on to say that the Council proposed to take over the work of training the pupil teachers as well. They intended to ask the Minister of Education to allow them to frame a syllabus that would give pupil teachers 'the benefit of the same course of instruction which was taken by candidates for the senior public examination with a view to entering the University.'[19] This would mean that pupil teachers would have to be prepared for the entrance examinations of the University through a secondary education and that the narrow and generally elementary subject-based departmental examinations for promotion through the pupil teacher ranks would need to be abolished. It is hardly surprising that in view of the possibilities being opened up for the better education of all trainees at both secondary and tertiary levels, the audience greeted Sir Samuel's comprehensive announcements with more cheers. Indeed W.C. Grasby, a particularly well known critic of the pupil teacher system, and also a guest speaker at the conference, announced that after hearing the proposal of the University Council, he would say no more on such reforms as gradually abolishing the pupil teacher system, improving training and employing only adult teachers but '... joined most heartily in wishing that the proposals might soon be an accomplished fact.'[20]

The importance of the offer of the University to provide free access to degree subjects and to house student teachers was not lost either on the Minister of Education (Hon. R. Butler) who immediately assured the Conference that in the next few weeks a meeting of interested parties would be called to

examine the matter of raising the standard of the education of teachers and to make a decision that would satisfy 'the Government, the people and the University as well.'[21] It was an offer that was too good to refuse but there were, however, important implications of an educational and financial nature in it, especially at the pupil teacher level. If pupil teachers were to take the entrance examinations they could not be expected to prepare for these while teaching full time so some way would have to be found of giving them time to be just pupils. How this might be done was to occupy educational leaders and politicians during the rest of 1898 and well into 1899.

By the time of the 1899 conference of the S.A. Public Teachers' Union however, the University offer to educate student teachers had been accepted and arrangements were in hand for the establishment of a University Training College within the University grounds. The supervision of the students for disciplinary and other purposes was to be the direct responsibility of Andrew Scott as Superintendent of Training for the Department, but the University became chiefly responsible for their studies and University degree subjects became for the first time a normal part of a teacher's training in a move described by Allen as '... a unique event in the history of education in South Australia.'[22] The scheme was to be administered by a special Education Board consisting of the Chancellor, the Warden of the Senate, Professors Mitchell and Bragg and the Board of Inspectors. Praise for the new proposal and the hope seen in it for a better education for school pupils, for the status of the teaching profession and for the benefit of the student teachers themselves feature prominently in the record of the speeches that year. Indeed the possibilities for the good seem to have induced a sense of euphoria amongst some of the speakers. The Governor, Lord Tennyson, congratulated the University on its 'princely offer' and the government for accepting it 'in such a generous spirit' and indicated that he saw its greatest value in providing what had been seen to be missing from the system, masters 'far superior in knowledge than their pupils, with a firm grasp of the subjects they profess to teach.'[23] Mr. C.B. Whillas, President of the Union, saw it in terms of heightened teacher status. For him, it would, in future, allow teachers whose characters and teaching abilities had been elevated by daily contacts with other students and by the 'severe mental discipline, the new interests and general environments of the University', to take their 'proper place in society' and become 'centres for intellectual life in outlying districts'[24] Professor Bragg saw the greatest benefits being to the young teachers '... who at present really had no time to think. For two years at the University, they would stand aside from the dust and sweat of their march, and would be able to see the road and the goal towards which their efforts should tend.'[25]

All these benefits were to come from the two years at the University but how a supply of suitable candidates for this work was to be found from amongst the pupil teachers had yet to be worked out. The Minister of Education (Hon. R. Butler) was not able to tell the conference how pupil teachers were going to be released from the dust and sweat of their classrooms in order to prepare for the Senior Public Examination but only that the question of their education was receiving 'the most careful consideration'[26] He explained the dilemma facing the government. Obviously pupil teachers had to be

prepared for university work but the only secondary schools (except for the Advanced School for Girls) were private ones. What had to be decided was whether the government should provide secondary education in schools of its own or let the pupil teachers out of its control for two years before returning for another two years 'to learn to teach.'[27]

The government could hardly allow its pupil teachers to attend private schools, so it had to provide for their secondary education, almost it would seem, by default. By the end of 1899, provision had been made for this through the establishment of a school for pupil teachers on the Grote Street site of the former Teachers Training College. However, pupil teachers were not about to become pupils only. Despite criticisms over many years of allowing untrained young people to teach at a minimal salary, there was no intention at this stage of doing away with a period of practical teaching. There were sound reasons for this including the still strong belief, well illustrated by the Minister's comment above, that one learnt to teach by teaching. It was also considered that a period of practical work was an essential prerequisite for further training not only as a testing out time but to assist later in understanding and appreciating the theory of education. It would not have been expected either at this stage that all pupil teachers would proceed to the University Training College. Some pupil teachers, as had always been the case, would for personal or financial reasons or because of lack of adequate academic qualifications go direct to adult teaching as unclassified teachers and for them a period of practical training was essential. Another reason for retaining a two year teaching period was the practical and financial value of it in staffing the schools. Pupil teachers still played an important, though now lessened, role in the teaching force.

So from 1900 pupil teachers were still to be required to be both pupils and teachers. The difference was that they no longer had to do both tasks at the same time. The training period became a six year rather than a five year one, with the final two years being served at the new University Training College. The apprenticeship remained a four year one with the first two years being spent as pupils at the Pupil Teachers' School and the second two as pupil teachers in schools. The four 'Classes' of pupil teachers were renamed 'Grades' with Fourth Grade being the final year of the pupil teachership. As a result, some of the most criticized features of the old system such as beginning teaching as a pupil teacher straight from primary school while very young and immature and with no preparation for it, disappeared. Coping with teaching and studying at the same time for pupil teacher promotion examinations went too as these examinations were abolished. It was a quite radical restructure and like any such change it had its advantages and disadvantages. As is usual in times of change, the advantages were well promoted and major disadvantages did not show up until the new system was firmly in place.

The new Minister of Education in 1900, Mr. E.L. Batchelor, told the annual conference of the S.A. Public Teachers' Union that he saw the new scheme as '... the greatest work done last year...and the school (the Pupil Teachers' School) ... was giving general satisfaction.'[28] The one objection he had heard

to the new scheme gives a rare insight into the background and social class of those attracted into the teaching profession at the time. This was an allegation that the extension of a lowly paid term of training would deter some students from poorer families from taking up teaching. In contrast to other professions, which he regarded as '... practically exclusive - or the preserves, one might say - of the upper or middle classes who could alone afford the expense of a long term of training', the Minister believed teaching was not exclusive and included in its ranks representatives of all classes of society.[29] At this, he was cheered by his audience and he went on to say 'It had ever been possible for the poorest and humblest of parents to enable their off–spring to reach the top of the tree, and the children who possessed wealthy parents received no advantage over others ...' He maintained that it would remain so as the objection was counter-balanced by the fact that there was no other trade or profession which was assisted to such a large extent or so generously by the State in relation to so small a service. He explained this by indicating that the Government 'gave up four years out of the six to tuition -(cheers)- almost entirely to the education and training of teachers. (Cheers.)'[30] He pointed out that it could no longer be said that pupil teachers were so busy that they were not able to devote their time to their personal studies and promote their advancement as his department '... did not employ child labor or cheap labor ... such a thing was entirely obliterated from the system, if indeed, it ever had existed.'[31] There is no record of any cheers for this. His audience was well aware of what had existed up until that year and that the State would continue to get a good and cheap return for the two years of practical teaching still very much a component of teacher training, to say nothing of the increasing proportion of monitors being employed in the teaching force to make up for the removal of two grades of pupil teachers from active service.

The new system was indeed a generous one and the department had to take measures to make up for the loss of more than half the pupil teachers now at the Pupil Teachers' School and for the student teachers now to remain at the University Training College for an extra year. In 1899, the 164 pupil teachers had accounted for 12.9% of the teaching force and as the following table shows, the introduction of the new system meant a considerable drop in the numbers available for teaching duties, especially in the initial stages:

TABLE 3.1 Pupil Teachers and Monitors in the Teaching Force 1900 to 1907 [32]

	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907
Pupil Teachers	85	64	79	93	104	105	115	119
% of Teaching Force	6.8%	4.8%	5.8%	7.0%	7.4%	8.0%	8.7%	9.3%
Monitors	196	234	233	209	197	179	170	136
% of Teaching Force	15.7%	17.7%	17.3%	15.9%	14.8%	13.6%	12.9%	10.6%
Total Teaching Force	1243	1318	1341	1311	1325	1309	1316	1278

Monitor numbers had been increasing since 1894 when it had been made compulsory for those passing the Pupil Teachers' entrance examination to become a monitor for at least six months in a probationary period prior to be admitted as a pupil teacher. By 1899 the 178 monitors represented 14.0% of the teaching force and the greater numbers employed up to 1904 indicate that a large part of the shortfall due

to reducing the pupil teacher contingent was being made up by putting another kind of untrained personal into the teaching force. In the process, the role of monitors had to be strengthened. This was done in the regulations of 1900 by raising the entrance qualifications.[33] Monitors were now required to have obtained a Fourth Class certificate - the sixth year of primary school - before appointment and to pass the examination for the Fifth Class certificate after serving in the role for one year. Head teachers were required to give their monitors at least half an hour's instruction daily, with the monitors signing the lesson register as evidence that it had been done.

The number of adult teachers in the service had been increasing steadily since the late 1890s and it would appear that in 1901 additional assistants and acting assistants had to be employed too in order to make up for the reduced numbers of pupil teachers and beginning teachers in the schools. The latter shortage was of a temporary nature on account of student teachers from 1900, who would normally have gone into schools, being granted a second year at the University Training College. Within a short time sufficient numbers were again coming into schools from the College. Enrolments in primary schools peaked in 1902 and declined until 1910 due to a lower birth rate during the depression of the 1890s so the Department was able to manage the introduction of the new training scheme without further increases in adult staff. In due course, a reduction in the number of monitors was possible too. The modest increase in pupil teachers from 1902 would seem to have been more a sign of the Department ensuring an adequate supply of candidates for the University Training College than any significant move to augment the teaching force in this way. The birth rate had started to increase by 1906 as had the demand for secondary education and Departmental officers would have been aware of the need to maintain an adequate supply of trained teachers to cope with these developments.

In the first few years of the new scheme there were obviously costs to the Department beyond the few hundred pounds - the 'bagatelle' that Sir Samuel Way had estimated in 1898. However, the concern at this stage was not so much with what the scheme was costing as with what it was capable of achieving. There were very high expectations of both the Pupil Teachers' School and the University Training College. At first these high expectations seemed to be being realised. In 1900, Inspector Smyth described the new system as '... more liberal, more comprehensive, and in every way superior to that which prevails in any part of the world.'[34] This rather extravagant claim serves to illustrate both the dramatic nature of the change as well as its potential for having created a new kind of problem. The new system had not been well thought out in a number of respects, mainly it would seem, because of a tendency to have over compensated for the weaknesses so obvious in the former system. The swing towards cultural aspects was soon found to be rather too liberal, too comprehensive and at the expense of what was regarded as the other essential aspect of teacher training, preparation for the practical side of teaching. When it was realised that the system was giving too much attention to the cultural aspect of training, it was the University Training College that became the obvious target for major criticism. There were faults too in the new provisions for pupil teachers and the problems at the University Training College

can be fully understood only in light of what happened to these young people as pupils at the Pupil Teachers' School and then as apprentice teachers in ordinary schools.

The Pupil Teachers' School

The new Education Department Regulations of 1900 established a school for pupil teachers of First and Second Grade with a head master who was responsible for their conduct, diligence and practical training.[35] As the mention of 'practical training' suggests, it was meant to be a combination of a secondary school and a preliminary teacher training institution. The course of study was directed towards preparing the students to present themselves for the Junior and Senior examinations of the University of Adelaide but a number of additional subjects designed for teacher preparation were also listed for study. These included such basic ones as Reading, Writing (including copy-setting on paper, slate and blackboard), Spelling and Composition, other traditional academic subjects such as Arithmetic and Mensuration, English Language and Literature and History and Geography together with those useful in teaching - Music, Drawing, Manual Training including Domestic Economy for Girls, Elementary Agriculture, Drill and Calisthenics and a special subject 'Principles and Methods of Teaching'

Details of the growth of the Pupil Teachers' School are available from the annual reports of the head master.[36] The School began in 1900 with forty-eight pupils, a head master and one assistant teacher. By 1902, seventy-nine pupil teachers attended daily in preparation for the junior and senior examinations together with fourteen boys who had been awarded government exhibitions. The school also had to provide classes on Saturday mornings for forty-three pupil teachers of Third or Fourth Grade who required tuition in such subjects as Latin and Arithmetic to complete University entrance requirements. Similar tuition had to be provided by correspondence for country pupil teachers. Two additional assistant teachers were appointed to cope with these increased enrolments. By 1904 there were fifty-one First Grade and thirty-nine Second Grade pupil teachers, forty-six exhibitioners of whom twelve were doing a third year in preparation for the Higher Public Examination, fifty-eight external students and eight correspondence pupil teachers. By this time the staff increased to four assistant teachers and it stayed at this level for the remaining three years of the school's existence.

This rapid increase in size and complexity with such a limited staffing allocation had the potential for affecting the chances of the Pupil Teachers' School fulfilling the high expectations set for it. There were however, even more serious problems to contend with. The most pressing was the limited time of just two years available for pupil teachers to prepare for the entrance examinations. In addition there was the expectation that they would be given some preparation for practical teaching. Very quickly the two roles came in competition for attention in the limited time available and before long the headmaster was expressing increasing concern that he was not able to do enough to prepare the pupil teachers for their practical teaching. The Pupil Teachers' School simply had too much to do in too short a time. It is not

surprising that there were soon reports of pupil teachers being stressed by the work loads and of some examination results being less than satisfactory. The result was that the University Training College began to criticise the students coming up as unprepared for studies at tertiary level.

The head master for the whole of the period of the existence of the school from 1900 to 1907 was Mr.W.A. West and his reports reveal a great deal too about the problems and successes of putting into practice the new scheme for educating and training pupil teachers.

In his first report West acknowledged that the school had been created in order to cater for the higher personal qualifications now required of future teachers and for the literary fitness they needed in order to profit from University studies. He outlined what he felt the school had to do to justify its existence:

> It should aim, I think, at developing a strong conviction that teaching is a life's vocation of high and honourable trust and serious meaning; it should produce an interest in knowledge and power to use it; and it should specially produce an attitude of sympathy towards the faltering steps of little children in their efforts to learn. Coincident with such growth, our young students should develop the power to work alone, and continue their studies with a minimum of assistance.[37]

In this report he took a somewhat ambivalent approach to the question of studies. While acknowledging that a requirement for the future full classification of teachers would be passes in University subjects and that the school would 'probably be partly judged' on its success in the entrance examination, he rejected any attempt at concentration on the minimum requirements for such examinations. He saw that this would defeat the very object for which the school existed which was on 'General culture rather than special, an opening of the mind, a love of knowledge for its own sake ...'[38] Such a feeling was obviously a response to the spirit of change about teacher education that was so prominent around the turn of the century, but it proved to be unrealistic. The major role of the school was soon seen to be to prepare its pupils for higher studies and it very quickly came to be more than partly judged on this.

At first the Pupil Teachers' School did gain satisfactory examination results. West was able to report that in 1902 of the seventy-nine pupil teachers, thirty-one gained junior public certificates and twenty-seven were successful at the Senior Public level.[39] There was some reflected glory too in that year from the successes of some former pupil teachers at the University Training College. In 1904, however, the situation changed. West's report indicated that the results were not so satisfactory as those of former years.[40] The most unsatisfactory of these were in English where twenty-three pupil teachers out of thirty-three passed, in Chemistry where only eighteen out of fifty-one passed and in Geography where twenty-two out of fifty-one passed. The results from the exhibitioners, who might have been expected to do well, were even worse with only six out of sixteen passing English and two out of sixteen passing Geography. West put these results down to three changes of staff during 1904 and reported, in what was obviously intended as a strong message to his superiors who were still coming to grips with the needs of

a new kind of school, of the 'evil effect' of such staff changes in secondary educational work as compared with primary. He believed that subjects such as English, Chemistry and Geography could not be taken by 'the new teacher without some loss to the students.'[41]

The problems in the new secondary education were deeper than just staffing changes. The staffing allocation itself was inadequate for such a complex school which was increasing rapidly in numbers of students and in subject offerings. It is not surprising that in his 1907 report West spoke of the strain on his four assistant teachers as being 'unusually severe.'[42] The time of two years allowed for passing both the public examinations was far from adequate, especially in light of the general lack of accessibility to preliminary secondary education for many candidates for the Pupil Teachers' School. West was well aware of this and in his 1906 report he had indicated that the time had come for improving the entrance standard to the school.[43] He suggested that the entrance examination should now include Latin, Geometry and Algebra as these were subjects in the Junior Public Examination and many of the pupils came with no knowledge of them. He also believed that the attainments of some candidates in English and Arithmetic were too low for them to secure the advantages that they should from the teaching they were to receive from his staff.

As the number of pupil teachers who failed to pass the Senior Public increased, so did complaints from the University Training College that numbers of the students going there were not competent to do the University work. Even many of those who had a Senior Public Certificate with any five subjects were seen as unprepared for tertiary studies. In 1906, there was a call from the College for a higher entrance standard there with seven Senior Public subjects - English Literature, History, Latin, Algebra and Arithmetic, Drawing, Botany and Geology - rather than any five, to be made compulsory.[44]

While that suggestion was not taken up, the Department did attempt to resolve the problem at the entry point to the Pupil Teachers' School. The following instruction was issued to head teachers in the Gazette of January, 1907, regarding the proper preparation of monitors registered as candidates for pupil teacherships:

> In order that the young people in the Pupil Teachers' School may cope more successfully with their work, they should be more advanced in their studies upon entry; and, in the near future, there will be an entrance examination, held late in each year, to determine what candidates will be accepted at that institution.[45]

The first such examination was held in November, 1907, in Arithmetic, Algebra. Geometry, Latin, and English. The standard then was in direct contrast to that of 1900 when the entrance examination for the Pupil Teachers' School had been confined to primary subjects and pitched at Fifth Class standard in Arithmetic and Grammar and at Fourth Class in the other subjects.[46] An increasing number of metropolitan and some country primary schools had by this time established a post primary class known as Sixth Class for those pupils who needed to begin studies for the Junior Public examination.

The other main problem for the Pupil Teachers' School stemmed from the Department's retaining two years of practical teaching before training. In one way it was an advantage as pupil teachers were able to complete public examination work or begin on University studies during this time. On the other hand it took away from the time available for academic work. West saw his role as a two-fold one and took the preparation for teaching very seriously. Professional training for it had to be fitted in along with studies for the public examinations. In his first report in 1900 he indicated that two lessons were given each week in the principles and methods of class teaching and that he had arranged also for short 'illustration' (demonstration) lessons to be given by the staff and students to small classes '... to be followed by discussion, rather than by criticism, in which the students will be expected to identify the stages of the lesson in which the principles taught have been observed.'[47] As already noted, the curriculum had been expanded quite extensively beyond junior and senior examination subjects by those seen as necessary to prepare for the practical teaching period.

West became increasingly concerned about the fact that his pupils would have to face up to the practicalities of managing their own classes in the second phase of the new pupil teachership. He believed that the preparation that he was able to provide was inadequate. In his report of 1903 he described in further detail the lectures in the principles and theory of teaching, the observation lessons and the addition of one morning each week spent in various town and suburban schools where the pupil teachers took notes on a variety of lessons and teaching methods employed, but concluded 'Under present conditions I do not see that I can do more towards their training in practical teaching.'[48] What he was able to do must have helped pupil teachers greatly when they came to do their practical teaching. It was certainly a considerable advance on the previous system which had put even younger people in front of classes without any professional training whatsoever. Indeed, as limited as it was, this professional preparation for teaching can well be seen to have been as just as forward and important a step in the preparation of pupil teachers as the secondary education which is generally considered as the main contribution of the Pupil Teachers' School to educational advancement in South Australia.

Yet it seems that not all students appreciated the addition of these professional studies to a time arguably too brief to do full justice even to preparation for entering the University. There is evidence that some pupil teachers attempted to make their own decisions on what was the more important part of their role. In 1904 West reported that:

> Throughout the year care was taken to impress on these people that they are not merely students, but that they are being trained as teachers, and that literary knowledge was one of the means to an end; that knowledge without the ability to pass it to the children was of little value to them as teachers.[49]

Obviously some of them had been attempting to overcome the inadequacy of just two years at the school by concentrating on passing the University entrance examinations rather than on the professional training. West, however, was determined that the pupil teachers left his school with at least some

professional preparation for what he knew could be a far from easy role in the classrooms.

For country pupil teachers, the opening of the Pupil Teachers' School meant significant changes in personal and social ways. While a few stayed at home and attempted studies by correspondence and the help of teachers in their own primary schools, most moved to Adelaide and so had to find board. In his report for 1902, West commented that of the seventy-nine pupil teachers, only forty-six were living at home while the other thirty-three were in lodgings. The fact that some of his pupils were away from home appears to have added further to his areas of concern for them as he went on to say that those in lodgings were 'certainly in many cases with relatives or friends', a remark followed immediately with a general comment on the most satisfactory 'moral conduct' of the young people at his school.[50] Within a short time such concerns for the out of school lives of pupil teachers from the country developed into a demand for a boarding institution for them and for student teachers, a demand that successive governments were unable to ever meet, largely because of the costs entailed in such a venture. In any case, after two years at the Pupil Teachers' School country pupil teachers were able to return to a local school for two years of practical teaching while those living in Adelaide were attached to a city or suburban school.

Pupil Teachers in the Schools

Apart from the limited professional preparation now available from the Pupil Teachers' school, the reduction in time and the freedom from studying for annual promotion examinations, little had changed for pupil teachers as regarded practical teaching. After leaving the Pupil Teachers' School, pupil teachers of Third and Fourth Grade spent the next two years appointed to schools 'to teach during the whole of ordinary school hours' according to the 1900 regulations.[51] However, many of them were expected to undertake studies as well. There was provision for those who had passed the Senior Examination to attend evening lectures at the University. Those who had not completed the Senior Public examination were expected to do so at the Pupil Teachers' School on Saturdays or in their own school. The Saturday classes in Latin and Arithmetic at the Pupil Teachers' School were not particularly successful. West reported that although pupil teachers attending these classes worked well and took interest in their work '... having only one lesson per week in each subject, their progress was, at least in some cases, necessarily slow.'[52] He acknowledged that the energies of these pupils, who were also teachers, were '... rightly directed, chiefly to the practical part of teaching.'[53] He pointed out that they had their classes to instruct and manage during the day and preparation to do out of school hours and that the time to devote to preparation for the Saturday lessons was necessarily limited. He ended with a plea to free these pupil teachers of Saturday work by having the work done in their own schools, or in centres before or after school where it could be better supervised on a more regular basis. The problem with this was that few schools had staff with the expertise to teach these particular subjects.

In any case pupil teachers in schools had other studies to attend to as well. Head teachers not only had to instruct all their pupil teachers in the most approved modes of practical teaching but also, with the help of assistant teachers, to give one hour's instruction daily before morning school, or at some other approved time, to prepare them for entry to the University Training College, presumably in professional areas and in any other subjects they needed apart from those taught on Saturdays.[54]

So these pupil teachers of Third and Fourth Grades had a full teaching load, an hour of special instruction in teaching methods outside of teaching hours, and for many, the added burden of having to complete public examination requirements. They were not free to attend solely to their teaching responsibilities any more than those in First and Second Grades could give full attention to preparing for public examinations. Somehow, the new system had been allowed to retain some of the features that had plagued the one it had replaced. However, the new system was a considerable advance on the old one both with regard to the pupil teachers themselves and the system as a whole. The benefits of the new system were summed up by Mr. R.J. Burnard, President of the S.A. Teachers' Union, when he told the annual conference in 1903 that the new system had remedied that great failure of the old pupil teacher system of putting untrained and uncultured young people - 'crude young teachers' - as he described them, in charge of school pupils at the most susceptible and impressionable period of those children's lives. He went on to say:

> Now, we must regard it as a matter for congratulation that under the present arrangement not only a much smaller ratio of pupil teachers are engaged in schools, but they enter upon their important work only after two years' special tuition. They are not only two years older, but much wiser.[55]

Pupil teachers entering practical teaching with such advantages were certainly more likely to benefit from it than those who entered straight from primary schools under the old scheme. However, by no stretch of the imagination could these pupil teachers, even after the best efforts of West, be considered fully ready for facing up to practical teaching. Allowing the untrained, or indeed the partially trained as they could probably be regarded after two years with Mr. West, to teach in ordinary schools as part of the teaching force, remained a major fault in the new training system.

One interesting change in the new pupil teacher system was in its gender balance. As had been the case since the system began, it continued to attract far more females than males but from 1900 the number of males entering teaching began to increase. As a result of the active discouragement of males during the depression of the mid 1890s, by 1889, 85.9% of the pupil teachers were females but as this table shows this trend had changed considerably by 1907:

TABLE 3.2 Proportion of Male to Female Pupil Teachers of Grade 1V 1900 - 1907 [56]

	1900		1901		1902		1903		1904		1905		1906		1907	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Pupil Teachers	11	52	12	52	21	58	31	62	33	68	32	73	37	78	45	74
Percentage Male	17.4 %		18.7 %		26.5 %		33.3 %		32.6 %		30.4 %		32.1 %		37.8 %	

While these figures relate only to those pupil teachers regarded as part of the teaching force, clearly more males were entering the system at the Pupil Teachers' School. It appears that in contrast to the earlier period when males were less acceptable because they had to be paid more, they were now welcome in the Department. A table in the report of the Minister of Education for 1909 shows a fall of men to women from 60% in 1899 to 55% in 1909 and is accompanied by this statement:

> A tendency towards improvement in this report is shown in the figures relating to pupil teachers. Out of every hundred young people joining the service 10 years ago, 14 were boys. Last year the percentage of boy entrants had risen to 32.[57]

As can be seen, this change took some time to come about and in the early years of the new century there was considerable concern about the lack of males in the teaching service. In 1904, Professor Henderson of the University of Adelaide gave an address entitled 'Education in South Australia; the scarcity of male candidates for the teaching profession' to the annual conference of the S.A. Teachers' Union. Henderson believed, as has been seen did Inspector Dewhurst some twenty years earlier, that one of the reasons for the dearth of male candidates was that the career was not attractive enough. There was too much drudgery he felt at a time when 'a lad wanted to kick up his heels.'[58] Although Henderson did not mention it, much of that drudgery would seem to have been removed with the separation of the pupil and teacher roles. He went on to talk rather of the 'boon of university education' now available to teachers as a major attraction for males to enter the profession. He pointed out however, that the main reason for few men wanting to become teachers was probably a financial one. He told the Union delegates that the remuneration of £80 per year for a male assistant teacher after seven years of training as monitor, pupil teacher and student teacher, and then only to £150 after another seven years of annual increases was 'inadequate and unjust.'[59]

Despite this, the numbers of males continued to grow and one of the reasons apart from the attractiveness of the new training system, may have been the direct intervention of heads of schools. Henderson had made the scarcity of male teachers a subject of inquiry in twelve metropolitan schools and he was able to tell the 1904 conference that he had found all but one head master dissatisfied on this account. No doubt head masters, now freed from the active discouragement of male pupil teachers, were ensuring that a reasonable number of men were recruited to build up the numbers of men seen as necessary on school staffs to maintain discipline in school yards, manage classes of senior boys and to provide role models for boys, areas where, as has been noted earlier, women teachers were seen as

generally less competent than men.

Indeed the encouragement of more males into teaching was accompanied by reflections on the role of women teachers that indicate that little had changed regarding the institutionalized discrimination against females noted in the last chapter as a feature of the last quarter of the 19th century. Professor Henderson's arguments to support his view that the lack of men in teaching was 'deplorable' illustrate this very well. He believed that the strain of managing big classes of boys was too great for female teachers. While this was a sweeping statement, there had been evidence from time to time to suggest that the health of some women teachers was being affected by the strain of teaching. However, Henderson took the argument into a much less defensible area in this assertion:

> ... in education it was the development of character after all that they aimed at. However good a woman's intention might be she could hardly make a boy manly. Unless in exceptionable cases it did not seem ... wise to put a woman in charge of a class of boys from Third Class upwards.[60]

However good Henderson's own intentions may have been, such an excuse can be seen as adding to a role that had been constructed for women teachers in which they were expected to be confined to the junior years of schooling and their opportunities for advancement to higher management positions restricted. If a woman could not be expected to control a class of boys aged ten or more, or influence their development in what was considered to be the correct way, she could hardly manage a large primary school! This of course, left the way open for male recruits to advance in their chosen profession without any threat from the greater numbers of women entering teaching. Henderson's view of males finding teaching unattractive at a time when they wanted to be free to kick up their heels has been noted. That it was accompanied by the statement 'Female teachers took to the work more readily than males'[61] indicates an equally stereotypical view of women teachers as people prepared to accept the uninteresting and repetitive aspects of teaching more readily than men, regardless of the effect on their freedom and their social lives. As biased and as unhelpful as Henderson's opinions might seem, he was however, merely saying what was generally accepted at the time as the way things were and probably should be. After all, at that time most of the teachers in charge of the smallest, worst equipped, most isolated and least important 'Provisional Schools' were women while males held the majority of other headships and the percentage of female uncertificated, acting and provisional assistants rose steadily between 1899 and 1909.[62] It is hardly surprising that when Henderson linked his call for encouraging more males into the service with the marked revival of interest in education and the increased importance of the teacher's role, he was cheered by members of a Union which Thiele describes as having for long 'effectively kept women in a minority role.'[63]

Nevertheless, women continued to enter teaching in large numbers. Despite the strain, the lower pay, the lack of promotion opportunities and the overt and covert discrimination against them, more women than men were attracted into pupil teacherships. As in earlier times, not as many alternative fields of work

existed for women as for men. There were few options, for example, apart from nursing, for girls with the ability and aptitude for further study but whose families could not afford the cost of education for other professions. Most opportunities for women at the time lay in domestic service or, increasingly, in factory or commercial work.[64]

As can be seen from Table 3.2, the numbers of both male and female pupil teachers in the teaching force increased rapidly under the new system. After learning teaching skills on the job for two years, pupil teachers who had passed the Senior Public examination were eligible to become student teachers at the University Training College.

The University Training College

The University Training College for which such high hopes were held for improving the education of teachers both generally and for their future work in schools, quite quickly showed up the most serious faults in the whole new training system. Within eight years these were to lead to a restructuring of the system that saw the College revert to mainly one year courses. As has been seen, one of the faults in the new system was the lack of readiness of many pupil teachers for University work. This led to stress and to high failure rates which resulted in a questioning of the value of a University education for all teachers. The other main fault was seen to be due to the fact that the major emphasis of the University Training College was on academic work rather than on professional and practical preparation for teaching. Despite the undoubted benefits to young teachers of having a university education, this aspect in particular led to a questioning of the efficiency of the College as a teacher training institution.

The lack of success with University work was at first not seen to lie with the University Training College alone but rather with the whole system, a point taken up by Andrew Scott, the former Master of the Teachers Training College and from 1900, Superintendent of Students at the new institution with responsibility for the general oversight of the students, for their conduct and diligence, the direction of their studies and their training in practical work.[65] In commenting on the examination results of 1900 in which some students did not pass any subjects, Scott indicated that he found no fault with the diligence or attention of those who had failed but rather explained it in this way:

> They simply formed part of a whole set of pupil teachers suddenly called to far higher work than had been given them before, and the wonder is, not that some failed, but that so many succeeded.[66]

Things improved in 1902 with forty-nine passes out of fifty-nine, a result Scott saw as evidence of much good work.[67] By 1904 however, he had to report that in some subjects the results were disappointing - in English History twenty-five passed out of forty-eight, in Psychology sixteen out of forty-six and in Education nine out of twenty-two. He put this down, not to any lack of industry or zeal, but rather to the

fact that large numbers of the students coming to him had not passed the Senior Public examination and '... as the standard is getting higher as the years go on, it has been more difficult for such students to succeed at the degree examinations.'[68] The problem lay in lack of adequate preparation at the secondary level and in his 1905 report Scott directed special attention to the fact that a number of students came to him 'not capable of doing the work satisfactorily.'[69] In his next report he went further by describing any attempt to give such students the full equipment for a teacher's work which the two years at the University involved, as 'a useless expenditure of time and money'[70] It was at this stage that he called for the more stringent entrance qualifications already noted, including seven specified compulsory subjects in the Senior Public instead of any five.

The mention of useless expenditure of time and money was bound to play into the hands of those who were already evaluating the efficiency of the new training system not only with regard to success in studies but also the more serious matter of a lack of provision of an adequate practical and professional training for teachers. It is clear from Scott's early reports that the main concern of the College was with University work and that the practical side of teaching could be given only a minimum of attention during University term time. In 1902 he reported that one hour per week was available for practical teaching during term time but that after the final examinations almost the whole time was spent in visiting schools, watching experienced teachers at work and taking part in teaching.[71] Clearly this additional work was intended to augment the very limited time he could give to practical training but it was hardly a substitute for the sustained attention to practical teaching linked to theoretical work that the University Training College had been expected to provide.

By 1903, however, Scott was well aware of growing criticism about the lack of attention to preparation for practical teaching at the College. In his report for that year he wrote of his worry that a growing number of his students were more concerned with University work than with teaching. He reported that he had had to say to such students:

> You do not come to the University to take a degree; the department sends you here to study such subjects as are likely to help make a teacher of you.[72]

He went on to say that while he believed at that stage the 'education' part of the University scheme was on a very satisfactory foundation, the training of students in 'practical teaching' was causing him considerable anxiety. This was because he saw the one hour per week in practical teaching in schools was too short a time for the students to do any serious work. He canvassed the alternatives, one of which would be to send students out for a week at a time. He rejected this on the grounds that it would interfere very seriously with studies. His preferred option was to keep studying and teaching separate with the two years at University followed by one or two years acquiring practical skill in teaching in schools near their homes. He suggested too that one or two special schools could be set up, staffed almost entirely by

students and put in charge of a head master who could lecture in practical pedagogy and give them practice in the application of it. Scott then raised the very aspect that made such a scheme unlikely to appeal to the Department - it would lengthen the term of training. A government that already saw itself as particularly generous in the study time allowed for trainee teachers would be unlikely to agree to additional time for training even if the economy and the staffing needs of schools would allow for it.

What Scott was suggesting was a type of internship and a reduction in the amount of practical teaching prior to University would have been a simple way to have managed this within the training allocation. However, this possibility does not seem to have been considered. Instead dissatisfaction with the lack of practical preparation available at the University Training College continued amongst the heads of schools who had to accept from it graduates whom they believed were not fully prepared for the classroom. As has been seen, when the scheme was first proposed in 1897, Maughan had said that no more than a quarter of the time at the University would need to be devoted to teaching because of 'the fairly thorough training' pupil teachers received.[73] With the scheme in operation, nowhere near a quarter of the time could be given to practical teaching at the University Training College and the teaching time of pupil teachers had been halved. In due course the problem had to be solved in a very different way to that proposed by Scott.

All in all, Scott appears, like West at the Pupil Teachers' School, to have been doing all he could in the limited time available to give his students some preparation for teaching. Increasingly however, critics within the school system saw the insufficient attention able to be given to practical and professional aspects of teaching, as a major failing at the University Training College. Even the special academic subjects introduced for teachers such as Education and Psychology, came to be regarded as of very little immediate value in terms of professional readiness for the realities of the classroom. The system of two years of practical teaching sandwiched between two academic periods was not seen as particularly useful by those responsible for managing the schools. Headmasters believed they needed beginning teachers who knew how to handle a class not just from theory but from recent practice and not just from expertise in subject content but from a detailed knowledge of how to pass that content on to their classes. The University Training College came to be seen as failing in both these areas.

Despite these problems, the University Training College had developed in some of the beneficial ways envisaged when it was being planned. It quickly increased in size from its initial thirty-seven students in 1900 and by 1906 there were thirty-six first year and thirty-five second year students. In one of his early reports, Scott expressed concern that few males were entering the College. He regarded this as a 'matter for regret' and his explanation for such a view was a mix of fear for the future of the Department, something more than a tinge of doubt about the staying power of women teachers and a realisation that the male image was necessary for girls as well as boys. His beliefs were much like those of Professor Henderson but he saw the problem from rather different perpectives:

> ... although women may be quite as skillful as men in the management of children and the imparting of knowledge, yet men are more likely to make teaching their life's work, they can stand the strain much better, and the influence of a strong and masculine character is needed for the boys, and is likely to prove a powerful stimulus for the girls as well.[74]

Like Henderson, Scott believed that until monetary inducements to enter teaching were made stronger, many eligible male candidates would enter more attractive fields of work. With the increase in males into the pupil teacher system however, he was able to report in 1906 that of the new students at the College, '... eighteen, or 50 per cent, were males – a much larger proportion than has yet been admitted in any one year.'[75] He went on to say that he saw this as a matter for congratulation.

There were other aspects of the University Training College that deserved congratulation. It was able to offer a tertiary education to more than twice the number able to be accepted by the old Training College and one of a very different kind. In his reports Scott continually emphasized that there was more to a University than passing examinations or qualifying for a degree. In 1900 he spoke, in a very obvious reflection on the old system, of the opportunity for time devoted entirely to study and 'free from the double debt of learning and teaching' as being eagerly welcomed by the students.[76] In 1904 he saw the term of training at the University as 'a splendid influence on our young teachers ...(that)... gives them a deeper and truer insight into the principles which underlie their life's work than they could otherwise gain.'[77] In 1906, he wrote:

> The aim of a University Training College, it seems to me, is not to turn out mere teachers by asking what subjects they have to teach, and then steering them in a straight course for these alone. The true aim should be to develop true men and women of keen intelligence, real independence, genuine enthusiasm, culture and refinement, who may be able not only to teach the younger generation so much of elementary school work, but also to profoundly affect their lives and characters.[78]

These were the very sentiments that were being expressed when the College was being established but by the time Scott presented this report in February, 1907, a new and quite different view of how a training college should work was in vogue. As will be seen in the next chapter, changes were being planned within the Education Department that were to steer student teachers more directly towards being 'mere teachers' in a professionally rather than an academically oriented tertiary training. Before moving to the further restructure that began in 1908, it is important to look at what could be achieved by trainee teachers in the new system.

At the University Training College there was the opportunity to progress towards a degree. Those who went directly to schools rather than the University after Fourth Grade at least had had two years of secondary education. Overall, the changes to the system from 1900 were most certainly a considerable

advance on what had gone on before. What pupil teachers could now achieve is well illustrated in the Register of Pupil Teachers which provides an indication of how the system worked, what academic qualifications could be obtained at the two major training institutions and the different directions taken by students. Four case studies from the Register illustrate these points: [79]

Case 1 Leslie C Nock (born in 1882)

(The Education Gazette of 1899 shows that he passed the Candidates' Examination while a monitor at the Tarlee Public School in that year)

Pupil Teachers' School	Teaching	U.T.C.	Graduated
1901 – 1902	1903 – 1904 (Sturt St & Norwood)	1905 – 1906	-

Junior Public 1901

Senior Public 1902

University Passes

Mathematics First Year 1903 Physics First Year 1905

Appointed as Assistant at Norwood in 1907.

.....

Case 2 Sarah Dean (born in 1883)

Pupil Teachers' School	Teaching	U.T.C.	Graduated
1901 – 1902	1903 – 1904 (Rose Park)	1905 – 1906	-

Junior Public 1901

Senior Public 1902

University Passes

None listed

Appointed as an Assistant 1907

.....

Case 3 Herbert C Hosking (born 1883)

Pupil Teachers' School	Teaching	U.T.C.	Graduated
1901 – 1902	1903 – 1904	1905 – 1906	B.A. 1908
Junior Public 1901	(Mt. Gambier)		
Senoir Public 1902			

University Passes

Eng. Lang & Lit. 1905	Logic 1906	History (European) 1907	
Psychology "	Education "	English History "	
Physics 1 "	Physics 11 "	Ethics "	

Appointed as Assistant at Kapunda in 1907

.....

Case 4 Agnes M. Quinn (born 1889)

Pupil Teachers' School	Teaching.	U.T.C.	Graduated
1904 – 1905	1906 - 1907	-	-
Junior Public 1904 – 5	(Glanville)		

No Senior Public or University

Appointed as Acting [unclassified] Assistant at Kilkenny in 1908

.....

Case 1 does not seem to have profited greatly from his time at the U.T.C. as far as advancing towards a degree but he obviously was considered to have gained enough in other ways to have satisfactorily completed this stage of training and so be classified as an assistant. Case 2, although holding the Senior Public, has no record of any passes while at the College but she, too, must have qualified for an assistantship in other than degree subjects. Case 3 shows what could be achieved towards a degree in the two years of training. Case 4 appears to be one who did not qualify for entry to the University because of the lack of a Senior Public Certificate. Consequently she went directly into teaching as an unclassified person.

The Register is concerned only with academic results relating to entrance to the University and passes in degree subjects. This illustrates well what the University Training College was on about and there is an air of mystery regarding what passes in other than University subjects, if any, may have qualified student teachers for classification. Scott's reports mention no other passes than degree subjects either yet it seems that it was possible to have been classified as an assistant with just a few degree subjects, or indeed without any at all. The Regulations mention no particular subjects but simply that:

> During attendance at the college students will be carefully instructed in the best methods of teaching such subjects as are comprised in the course of instruction for pupils. Their own education will be continued by the study of such branches as seem best adapted to increase their efficiency as teachers and to cultivate their minds.[80]

The section of the Regulations on the classification of teachers is of little help either as it merely states that the first classification for public school teachers, Class F, could be obtained by all persons who satisfactorily completed the three stages of training specified in these regulations, viz., the course at the Pupil Teachers' School, the two years' practical work in their schools, and the two years' study at the University of Adelaide.[81]

Apart from the poor allowances that had been a feature of the pupil teacher system since its inception, being a pupil teacher between 1900 and 1907 was decidedly better in most other respects for both sexes than under the old scheme. The changes in 1900 had set teaching on the way to becoming a profession rather than merely an apprenticeship for learning what to teach and the skill of how to teach it. When the

new system was being planned it was felt that the incorporation of teaching into the University would allow for a profession with highly-educated and skillful teachers. As it developed it was seen to be catering very well for the highly-educated part but neglecting the skills aspect. This was largely because of the inadequate provision in the regulations of 1900 of just one hour of practical training a week in ordinary public schools for the students of the University Training College. As early as 1904, Whitham, who in 1896 had pointed to the benefits of a University education for teachers, reported on what he believed had gone wrong:

> The root of the matter lies in the defects in training... It is well known that when the originators of the new training scheme fought so hard to bring relief to the long overworked pupil teachers, and to give... young teachers richer culture, it was contemplated that a necessary adjunct would be a thoroughly equipped and up-to-date practicing school, and the means for this school has never yet been provided.[82]

The inability of the new system to prepare young teachers adequately for the practicalities of the classroom proved to be its downfall. Departmental administrators and heads of schools were simply not satisfied with the teaching abilities of the graduates of the University Training College. The catalyst for yet another change was the dramatic shift across Australia in the thinking about teacher preparation with the publication in 1904 of the report of a Commission into Education in New South Wales.[83] This report discounted the value of a University education for teachers in favour of professional and practical training in a combination of a training college and a practising school. A change of government in South Australia in 1905 led to a reorganisation of the Education Department. In 1906, the Board of Inspectors that had managed the Department since the death of Hartley was abolished and Alfred Williams, a supporter of the scheme proposed by the N.S.W. Commissioners, was appointed as the first Director of Education in South Australia. Within a year he had begun a further restructure of the teacher training system.

The period that had begun with full access to University education for teachers ended after eight years with that opportunity considerably diminished. The idea of a University educated teaching force as proposed by Mitchell could only have succeeded if the teachers were equally well prepared by both the University and the Department for the practical aspects of teaching. As Dr. Torr had pointed out just ten years earlier, the acquisition of a degree without thorough training as a teacher was a step in the wrong direction. The training scheme based on the philosophical stance of men like Mitchell and Bragg for the University to educate teachers and the Department to teach them how to teach was simply not working as well as had been expected. Williams had to re-direct it towards what he saw as a better way of balancing its cultural and professional aspects.

References Chapter 3

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3 ibid.
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41 ibid.
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64 Miller, op. cit., p.87
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Chapter 4

PUPIL TEACHERS TO JUNIOR TEACHERS - 1908 to 1913

In all training two aspects must be kept clearly in view –
the cultural and the professional.

Alfred Williams
Director of Education - 1909 [1]

Williams made the above statement as part of his explanation for the restructure of teacher training that he had begun in 1908. This restructure represented a fundamental further shift in the process of reforming teacher preparation that had been initiated in 1900. As was seen in the previous chapter, an attempt had been made then to counter the almost total emphasis on practical preparation that had characterized the first twenty five years of the pupil teacher system. However, the pendulum had swung too far towards the cultural at the expense of the professional. The changes begun in 1908 and completed in 1913 were an attempt to redress this new imbalance. In the lead up to this further restructuring the University Training College had become the target for most criticism. The institution for which such high hopes had been held began to appear as a kind of cultural icing on a half-baked training cake - nice to look at but not particularly useful in practical terms. Its graduates were seen to have lost much of their teaching skill during their two years of concentration on University studies and so to be ill-equipped to face the realities of the classrooms to which they went directly from the University Training College - classrooms where ability to control and manage very large classes was considered essential for success. Not surprisingly, when the inevitable change came, some of the most significant changes occurred at the tertiary level with the University Training College becoming the Teachers' Training College. As the title implies, the emphasis was then on practical and professional aspects of teacher training rather than on University studies. The major responsibility for the cultural aspect of teacher preparation fell to the Adelaide High School which in 1908 replaced the Pupil Teachers' School. By 1913, pupil teachers became 'junior' teachers, somewhat paradoxically it would seem as by then the 'teacher' aspect of their role had been reduced to just one year out of the four still available at this level.

In Chapter 3, the impetus for the first restructure of teacher training was seen to come from the University of Adelaide where the philosophical stance was that the University should educate teachers and the Department teach them how to teach. In that chapter the weaknesses inherent in the new system were seen mainly through the eyes of West and Scott, the men in charge of the two institutions established to carry out the new ways of educating and training teachers. The others most intimately concerned with how teachers were trained were the administrators of the Department and the heads of the schools where young teachers began their adult teaching. The trenchant criticisms of Assistant Inspector Witham in 1904, regarding the lack of the expected adjunct practising school has already been noted. Even earlier than that, however, the new system had begun to be challenged by the heads of

schools. This chapter is concerned with the views, opinions, beliefs and power of these particular people. The emergence of the quite different philosophical approach to teacher training that led to the restructuring of 1908-1913 can be understood fully only in terms of what those accountable for managing and administering schools and the school system saw as wrong with university dominated teacher training.

Growing dissatisfaction with the new system

The questioning of the new approach to training teachers by those concerned with what happened in schools did not take long to emerge once the feelings of elation about the new cultural and academic opportunities began to be replaced by a realisation that teacher training was still out of balance. In the old system the emphasis had been on control and imparting knowledge. The attempt to redress this by introducing cultural aspects was seen to have gone too far in the opposite direction with consequent neglect of essential professional understandings and practical skills.

To put the failings of the new system into perspective, it is necessary to step back to the 1903 conference of the S.A. Teachers' Union where, although the criticism was tentative, it began a theme of cultural versus professional training that was to run consistently through the lead up to the restructure of 1908. In his presidential address to the 1903 conference of the S.A. Teachers' Union, Mr. R.T. Burnard, after a most fulsome praise of the advantages of the University scheme as far as culture was concerned, pointed out that there were two essentials for a teacher - knowledge or culture and the power to impart that knowledge to others.[2] The problem was in deciding on the relative importance of knowledge, or culture, to training in the art of teaching. He indicated that 'a high authority', whom he did not name but who was obviously Professor Mitchell, had stated that knowledge was the more important. Burnard then made the point that while teachers needed to know a great deal more than they might teach, it was important to keep in mind that their training was a preparation for what he termed 'the great work' of teaching. He saw it as worth-while therefore to consider to what extent the subjects in the curriculum were chosen for their special value to a teacher:

> No doubt the excellent lectures on education and psychology by Professor Mitchell are of the highest value from the standpoint of training, and the special knowledge of the theory and principles of education they gain from these lectures should form a useful foundation for their future work. As time advances it may appear necessary to provide for the students' special training and instruction in certain subjects that may be required.[3]

Despite the strong element of praise for what the University was doing for teachers, it is possible to detect something of a hint of doubt about the immediate practicality of the work in the way Burnard expressed his views. He did not elaborate on what he meant by 'special training' except to indicate that part of the classical course might be curtailed to make way for more of the scientific and that there could,

as the demand arose, be a place for manual training to fully prepare and equip the young people to teach in that branch of education. Burnard's approach was a cautious one and this is not surprising as the new scheme had only been on operation for just over two years. He had however, identified the lack of attention to practical and professional aspects as a major weakness in the new system and raised as a public issue the question of culture versus training in teacher preparation.

As has been seen, the publication of the report of the New South Wales Commissioners early in 1904 opened up the way for more direct criticisms of the teacher training system in South Australia. The Commissioners, whose task had been to inquire into education abroad and recommend on the re-organization of the N.S.W. system, had called for 'Nothing short of a radical reformation, touching on every plane of our primary system...' They saw that such reform:

> ... involves an absolute change in the education of the teacher, in his knowledge of the history and theory of teaching, of the psychological method, as well as a great improvement in his knowledge of subject matter, by acquiring it systematically.[4]

Alfred Williams, who was president of the S.A. Teachers' Union in 1904, firmly believed that a similar change was needed to redress the lack of attention to such matters in the South Australian system of teacher preparation. At the annual conference of the Union in that year he used the Commissioners' recommendations to advantage in his call for a review of the South Australian training system.[5] He took up their view that one of the best ways of judging the character of an educational system was by 'taking cognizance of what is regarded as necessary in the education and professional training of ... its teaching staff.'[6] Williams believed that the system in South Australia left 'something to be desired in the method of training' because while it attended particularly well to the education of its teachers, it neglected the professional aspect.[7] Obviously he was pointing to the fact that the emphasis on a University education for teachers left little time for practical work and professional studies but he advanced the argument further by casting doubts on the necessity of such a high level of education for all teachers. He quoted the N.S.W. Commissioners' view that while there was an obvious advantage in having highly-educated teachers rather than ordinarily-educated ones 'a university education in arts, &c., is not a proper substitute for special education definitely aiming at the professional qualification of the teacher for his work.'[8] He went on to suggest that even the University subjects designed for teachers were of little immediate value and certainly no substitute for professional qualifications:

> We must be sensible of the immense stride in the direction of educating teachers which has been made in this State ... lectures on psychology, ethics, science and history of education must reveal new worlds to them when the direct bearing of these subjects on their work as teachers is fully realized. But a liberal education is only the first step in a teacher's training. He needs special professional education quite as much as does a doctor or a lawyer.[9]

According to the Commissioners, such professional training was best provided by an 'adjunct school for practice' which they saw as a most important part of the equipment of a training college and without which no training system was complete.[10] In calling for such equipment to meet the lack at the University Training College, Williams indicated that:

> ... this practice should be carried out under the guidance of a trained educationist of special ability and wide experience. But the merit of training does not lie in mere practice; a teacher may teach all his life and be in no sense trained. The value of practice depends on the conditions under which it is carried out. It is of value only when, under proper supervision, it leads to the systematic elucidation of the methodology of subjects taught.[11]

Although Williams did not mention the two years of practical training done by pupil teachers, it would have been obvious to his audience that such teaching in ordinary schools was not the type of practice he saw as being valuable. He had identified the need for practical training to be linked with professional studies that would ensure that student teachers learnt what he termed the 'art of teaching'. He concluded his comments on the need for further reform of teacher training by focussing attention on what he saw as the failure of the Department to complete what had been begun just four years earlier. He expressed the opinion that 'it may reasonably be hoped that, having done so much for the education of teachers, the Department will soon have means found of rendering this education truly effective.'[12] Like Witham, he saw the provision of an adjunct practising school as one the things necessary for the truly effective functioning of the University Training College.

Quite clearly Williams believed that it was at the training college level that major changes had to be made if the effectiveness of teacher preparation was to be complete. Indeed he paid scant attention in 1904 at least, to the four years of training that preceded that level. He said only two things about the pupil teacher system, one of which was to point out that the N.S.W. Commissioners had condemned it 'emphatically' and that a recent conference in Sydney 'which was the *greatest* outburst of educational interest ever seen in Australia, was equally outspoken and determined in opposition to it'[13] He went on to express his own opinion that South Australia was very fortunate in this matter - presumably because of the steps already taken to divide the two roles - and that some of the other States 'would be glad to do what we have already done.' Dr. J. Smyth, Principal of the Training College of Victoria, a guest speaker at the conference, pointed more directly to the likely future of the pupil teacher system as a result of changes and advances within education in all progressive countries of the world. In answering his own question on how to secure training for an education system where the all-round development of the child had taken the place of mechanical teaching he said:

> ... all the countries ... see that the pupil teacher system must go, or at least be considerably modified ... (and) ... that it is wise to put the candidates for teaching under the best instructors and the most skilful teachers ... (in) ... a course of training in which liberal culture and practice in teaching are combined.[14]

It would have been clear at the end of the Union conference that the teacher training system introduced only a few years earlier would need to be restructured if South Australia was to keep up with educational developments elsewhere. Professor Henderson, also a guest speaker at the conference, in pointing to the new scheme being proposed in New South Wales as a result of the Commissioners' report, warned that if South Australia 'did not make the pace she would be outstripped and left far behind in 10 years.'[15] He went so far as to describe the South Australian system as 'very imperfect, and of the nature of a compromise.'[16] It would seem that he believed that there was too much of a concession to culture at the expense of adequate attention to practical and professional aspects and that this was no longer a satisfactory way of preparing for teaching. As noted in the previous chapter, Henderson had been active in visiting schools in and around Adelaide canvassing the opinions of head masters, so his further comment that 'There was dissatisfaction among the head teachers concerning the present system of training.'[17] can be taken as an indication that Williams would have had a receptive audience for his call for reform of the training system. While this dissatisfaction was largely because graduates of the University Training College were coming into schools with so little recent practical preparation, another factor could well have been that these better educated young teachers posed something of a threat to the members of the Union, most, if not all, of whom would have been trained under the old way.

While influences from elsewhere were very important in challenging thinking on teacher training in 1904, reports from within the Education Department throw a good deal of light on the result of the failure in South Australia to resolve the conflicting claims of culture and training in the education of teachers. The report of Assistant-Inspector Whitham for 1904 was particularly significant in this respect as it indicated that the new system was simply turning out teachers ill-prepared to face the realities of the classrooms. Whitham was critical of both the new training institutions because from his own personal observations and from what he was told by some of the best teachers, he believed that there was evidence that the new system had weaknesses just where the old system had been strong. He reported that:

> The general complaint is, that both on their return from the Pupil Teachers' School and from the University Training College, many students while having plenty to teach from their higher education, have lost so much in power of control and practical methods, that much of their teaching is almost useless.[18]

As an example of this, he went on to say that while under the old system girls received instruction in needlework all through their course, now this important branch of a girl's education was 'almost neglected'. The skills Whitham saw as having been lost during the time at the Pupil Teachers' School would have been those gained by candidates while employed as monitors while those picked up once more in the two years of practical teaching would have been lost in the time at the University Training College. His explanation of why he was so concerned gives a very clear picture of the realities of school life in this period for those going into practical teaching as pupil teachers and for those beginning adult teaching. It goes a long way, too, towards explaining, the rising tide of dissatisfaction with the new

system amongst head masters. Whitham praised the present system as admirable and efficient in imparting culture but went on to illustrate why he saw its weakness on the practical side as being so significant for beginning teachers:

> ... as long as we insist on the almost herculean task which requires our young men and women to stand up and teach a mixed class of seventy boys and girls, their higher culture is of little value, if they have not learned to keep those seventy boys and girls mentally active and strictly and quietly obedient.[19]

The old system had been strong in training in control and management in preparation for teaching. The new system which Whitham admitted had brought 'relief to the long overworked pupil teachers', was seen to be weak in neglecting skills essential for their survival in the classroom.[20]

The year 1904 was a significant one as far as re-thinking the teacher training system was concerned. The weaknesses in the new system were now clearly defined as being in the areas of practical training and professional preparation for what lay ahead in the schools. The University Training College was seen to be providing neither of these. It gave no systematic teaching practice of an adequate nature. As early as 1903 Scott himself had queried whether the amount of time available for practical work was sufficient and answered his own question:

> Candidly I think it does not, (1) because the hour a week is too short a time for the student to do any serious work in, and (2) because, even with the best intentions in the world, it would be impossible for the headmasters to do justice to their schools and to the students at the same time.[21]

Even the university subjects designed to assist teachers were seen to be of very little practical value. As noted earlier, both Burnard and Williams had seemed to look to the future value of such subjects rather than their immediate application to teaching but a later report of Inspector Neale was much more forthright in its assessment of their value to student teachers. Just prior to the restructure of 1908, Neale reported to Williams that:

> The students go into the schools much better equipped mentally than ever before, but with the methods of University teaching prominently in their minds; and these methods are unsuitable for the primary school. Their study of psychology, logic, ethics is unrelated to education, and the application of these sciences to the work comes to the thinking few, who discover for themselves, only after years of waiting, what should have been theirs before standing in front of a class.[22]

Clearly, in Neale's view, the University Training College was not preparing students through either its curriculum or its methodologies for the practical issues they would face immediately on arriving in schools. In a report in 1909, by which time he had become Director of Education and was justifying his moves to improve the system, Williams himself commented on what he saw as being neglected at the

College:

> Little attention was given to the professional side of their work; none was given to such important questions as school hygiene, physical culture, and child study.[23]

These statements help clarify why dissatisfaction was being expressed so soon after the reforms of 1900. Teachers were taking up their appointments without adequate knowledge of methodology and without the professional educational background that might enable them to understand their pupils or even teach them adequately in those areas outside the immediate academic range of the University. Itn 1898, Sir Samuel Way had promised that when a university education for teachers was offered, lectures would be given 'upon the theory and practice of teaching - upon the science of education in fact.'[24] It would seem that this commitment had not been fulfilled to the satisfaction of those in charge of schools. Clearly there was an increasing divergence between what Williams and Mitchell would have considered as 'the science of education' but the main fault appears to have been in the lack of attention to practical issues at the College. Pupil teachers were still expected to learn to teach by teaching in the period before College in much the same way as they had under the old system. The added problem was that in two years away from all but a minimum of practical teaching, much of the teaching skills learnt in the time in schools could be lost. It would seem that right from the start there had been a serious misunderstanding on how best to operate a system that was based on the premise that the training of teachers was a joint responsibility with the University educating them and the Department teaching them to teach. As has been seen, the regulations of 1900 clearly gave the responsibility for the practical work of students at the University Training College to the Superintendent of Students, a departmental officer, but allowed for only 'at least one hour a week' for this.[25] It would seem that had a more effective approach to practical teaching been worked out from the start, the work of the University Training College might well have been better appreciated by those who had to ease its graduates into the practicalities of classroom teaching.

When the system was out of balance before, it had taken an outside offer of funds to move politicians into the action needed to change things. In this instance, the impetus for change was to come from within politics. At the 1905 conference of the Union, perceived imperfections in the training of teachers were taken up at a political level. J.R. Anderson, the Minister of Education, pointed out that while the new system was securing 'culture', reports to him from Assistant Inspector-General Whitham and the Head Master of the Pupil Teachers' School advised that more was required by way of teaching 'power of control' and 'practical methods'.[26] The Minister had heard too that a visiting English teacher had commented that in South Australia 'They are getting good students but poor teachers'.[27] He indicated that this had to be avoided but added that Ministers rarely stayed in power long enough to venture far on what were seen as necessary changes. This of course, was exactly what happened to him and with the fall of the Conservative Government later that year, it was possible for the new Labor Government to

reorganize the whole Department. Alfred Williams was the man chosen to carry this out and he took up the position of Director from the beginning of 1906. The varying attitudes taken to this appointment by Sir Samuel Way and the Union serve to illustrate well the different levels of thinking about needs in teacher education at the time. Thiele states that Sir Samuel 'was frankly shocked' and that his disapproval was understandable for Williams had no university degree and had virtually ended his formal education after four years as a pupil teacher and one at the Training College.[28] On the other hand, members of the Headmasters' Association (of the Union), most of whom would have been trained in the same way as Williams, waited on him on 3 February, 1906, to congratulate him and to tell him that they 'had long accustomed themselves to regarding him as their leader.'[29]

The second restructure – PUPILS then teachers

As Director of Education, Williams was in a position to remedy the weaknesses in the training system that had been identified mainly by those in charge of schools. In view of his strong criticisms it might have been expected that he would have moved quickly to change things but he did not rush into this in his first year of office. As he explained in his first official report at the end of 1906, he did not consider it advisable to make any specific recommendations as he would have the opportunity while overseas in 1907 to study training systems in various countries at first hand.[30] His comments on teacher training in this report were very much on the same lines as in his address as president of the Union in 1904 but what makes the report notable is his signaling of a return to efficiency in teacher training. The new training system, especially in the time at the University Training College, had moved away from the efficiency model based on value for money and expressed in terms of management and control that had dominated the education system since 1875. Under the heading 'An Efficient Service' Williams listed five things he saw as making for that efficiency and the training of teachers headed the list. His view of what constituted efficiency appears to be a mix of the old demand for value for money and an advance in the sense that he qualified efficiency as 'the things that matter'[31] It is clear that what mattered to him was that the training system should turn out teachers with the requisite academic and professional knowledge for the role together with the skills and capabilities to apply it. Closely coupled with this was the value for money aspect. Williams expressed 'grave doubts' as to whether the best results were being obtained by allowing all young teachers to proceed to the University. While he believed that it was of great importance that primary teachers should be liberally educated, he quoted the N.S.W. Commissioners' view about the training college and its adjunct practising school being '... the only efficient scheme.'[32] It was to be in a later report that he clarified what he meant by the inefficiency in the system introduced in 1900. In his report for 1909 he wrote:

> The ambition of the abler student was to complete as much as possible of the course for a degree in Arts ... Under such a system it was inevitable that the abler students should forget that they were in training to become teachers, and the weaker students, who were unable to reap the full advantage of University teaching, should waste valuable time, involving considerable loss to themselves and to the State.[33]

At the end of 1906, Williams had signaled his intention to make teacher training more efficient by directing it away from University graduation - for primary teachers at least - to studies more relevant to teaching and more closely linked with practical training. At the same time he had to ensure that the cultural or knowledge aspect was not neglected. The scene had been set for a restructuring of teacher training that was to see the pupil teacher time become the main period for acquiring a liberal education with the College concentrating on professional and practical training.

On his return from overseas, Williams moved quickly to establish a new training system. In a preliminary report on the visit he stated that the provision for training teachers in South Australia had never been adequate and moved directly to what he saw as the major problem at the University Training College:

> ... the University scheme of training has never been completed, and has lacked an essential aspect - training on the practical side under expert supervision.[34]

The changes he instituted in 1908 to remedy this lack were outlined in his report for that year.[35] The new system was to provide three years of general education at the newly established Adelaide High School which had replaced the Pupil Teachers' School earlier in the year. This was to be followed by a year of practical teaching as a junior teacher (this was the first official mention of the title 'junior teacher', a term already in use in Victoria by this time) followed by one year at the University Training College for most teachers. Williams justified the extension of secondary education and the curtailment of time at the College as being in the best interests of trainee teachers. He said that experience had shown that the task of preparing for the entrance examinations of the University in two years had involved 'considerable mental strain' on the part of pupil teachers.[36] The additional year would make it possible to allow for a much better general training without the need for overstrain or the temptation to 'cram' for the examinations. He saw as a result that:

> For the large body of teachers this general education will prove sufficient, and when followed by one year at the University Training College, which will be mainly devoted to professional training combined with practical teaching, the State should be supplied with a body of well-informed, well-trained teachers.[37]

Provision was made for an extension of training time for those who showed special ability as students and teachers to take subjects in arts and science as preparation for secondary teaching.

Changes at the University Training College began in 1910 and in his report for that year, Dr. A. J. Schulz, the newly appointed Principal, commented on how it was intended to 'make the college a training college in fact, as well as in name' by providing due emphasis on practice in teaching and 'those more professional subjects ... which are directly important for the work of education.'[38] The University Training College became a separate institution from the University but was still housed within it and its

title was not changed until the end of 1912. Schulz took over the teaching of Education as a degree subject from Professor Mitchell but the ideal of 1900 of the University's responsibility for the education of teachers, was not completely lost sight of in these breaks with what had been established then. According to Edgeloe, the new Teachers' Training College and the University were still to 'nevertheless co-operate in substantial measure in the education of teachers.'[39] The first fruit of such co-operation was the establishment by the University in 1911 of a diploma in education, initially for secondary teachers. Interestingly enough in light of what was done between 1900 and 1907, the diploma was under the control of the Faculty of Arts on the academic side but the College and the State Department of Education were primarily responsible for the practical side of the curriculum. No candidate qualified for the diploma under the set of regulations of 1911, a fact Edgeloe attributes to the impact of World War 1, and it was not until 1921, when a similar primary diploma was established, that the new scheme began to flourish.[40] The other connection with the University remained the provision of accommodation and this proved to be something of a stumbling block in relations between it and the College for many years. In his report for 1909, Williams indicated that the experience of the past few years had made it clear that an efficiently run training college could not be carried on without special rooms of its own.[41] Although he acknowledged that the University was still extending full privileges of University life to student teachers, undertaking a large share of their teaching and always acting most generously in finding lecture-rooms, he had to say:

> The difficulties of management under the present conditions can scarcely be overstated, and the experience of every day furnishes additional evidence of the unwisdom of the present arrangements.[42]

What Williams wanted of course, was a separate building for the College close enough to the University and affiliated with it. At that stage there was no funding available for such a purpose.

In the light of the criticisms of what was available at the University Training College, the changes made there were to be expected. The extension of time at the High School was necessary too, in view of the problems of preparing pupil teachers for entrance to higher studies. The irony of the situation was that it was introduced just as most pupil teachers no longer needed to matriculate in view of Williams's radical restructuring of University studies. Williams had most certainly acted to redress the lack of balance in relation to professional training but he may well have created an imbalance of another kind at least as far as primary and infant teachers were concerned. While teachers may have been seen to have been over-educated between 1900 and 1907, in comparison with secondary teachers and members of other professions, primary and infant teachers were under-educated under the new system. Williams may have gained better professionally trained teachers but whether in doing so he deprived primary teachers of advantages that were to take many years to recover, remains a serious question. The restructure led to a division between primary and secondary teachers where the former were discriminated against in terms of pay, conditions, status and even promotion opportunities well into quite recent times. Such

institutionalized discrimination against primary teachers can well be seen to have its beginnings in the removal of access to university graduation opportunities for them .

This is not to suggest any deliberate attempt in this direction by Williams. Indeed, as will be seen, he set up the first professional certificates for infant and primary teachers. His genuine concern for teachers and students shows up, too, even in areas where he can now be seen to be adding to the well-established stereotype of women as not strong enough to cope with higher studies and best left to teach the lower classes. In his justification for increasing the time at the High School to reduce mental strain he said that this matter was a great concern because 'the majority of the student-teachers there are girls between the ages of 15 and 18.'[43] In his report for 1906, he had justified doing away with university studies for a certain group with 'special qualifications for teaching young children ... for which they are by nature specially adapted ... who find University courses rather a severe strain...'[44] Again, these were women and as worthy and as sincerely based as his action was, Williams was reinforcing the image of women as best suited to lower grades and requiring a minimum of higher education. The basis laid at this time was to serve for many years to come as a justification for giving women wishing to enter infant teaching less access to higher studies, either at the High School for Leaving Honours, or at the University, even when two year courses were eventually restored.

This approach also served to reinforce the view prevalent at the time that to teach the lower grades, only the barest essentials were needed in higher studies. Mr. V.J.Pavia, President of the Teachers' Union, told the Royal Commission into Education as much in 1912.[45] He believed that the raising of the standard of entry to the Adelaide High School, as had been done from 1908, was a mistake as it had restricted the field of candidates for teaching. His concern was that some suitable for infant teaching might have missed out as with a wider scope 'You might find some qualified only to be infant teachers. That does not require an exhaustive amount of study.'[46] Pavia was prepared to differentiate, too, between the standard of secondary attainment for potential primary and secondary teachers. He went on to tell the Commission 'If they [pupil teachers] are only going to be primary teachers then there is no necessity to give them such difficult study as for secondary education.'[47] He based his view on a belief that it was possible to determine at the beginning of high school studies rather than at the end, or after a year at the Teachers' Training College, which pupil teachers were to be primary and which secondary. Had his view been accepted, discrimination against primary teachers, and consequently primary education, would have begun at a very early level indeed!

The apprenticeship system itself reflected a view that to teach infant or primary classes not even professional training was essential. It was seen earlier that most pupil teachers were put in the junior division or lower primary during their practical teaching in schools. This continued in the junior teacher system, especially when shortages of trained teachers forced the Department to staff the lower grades of many smaller primary schools with untrained junior teachers. But that is to anticipate a later and

different role for junior teachers. In the reforms of 1908, at least some attitudes to the professional needs of teachers of infant classes were to change. Williams set in train professional studies that allowed women to proceed to a new qualification to be offered by the Training College, the Infant Teachers Certificate. This can be seen as the beginning of the raising of the status of infant classes and infant teaching that culminated in the establishment of infant schools in 1920. The provision of a Primary Teachers Certificate gave a similar rise in status to primary teaching. While these certificates were a significant step forward professionally, they were no substitute for the access to degrees that had been available before. Now only teachers specially selected for secondary teaching as a result of the quality of their teaching practice and their academic success as junior teachers and student teachers had access to the highest level of education provided by University graduation.

By 1913 the teacher training system had changed significantly. While the major changes were at the student teacher level, the nature of the preparation for the period at the College was markedly different from that experienced by pupil teachers both before and after 1900.

What it was like to be an apprentice teacher after 1908 is best illustrated by the transition from pupil to junior teacher at each of the three levels of training i.e.; 1) for three years at the Adelaide High School (and at other high schools as they were established) as Junior Teachers, Grades 1 - 111; 2) for one year of practical teaching as a Junior Teacher Grade 1V in a primary school; 3) for one year at the Teachers' Training College as a student teacher.

Pupil Teachers to Junior Teachers - At the Adelaide High School

The change here was that pupil teachers were now to have three instead of two years for their secondary education. It was intended, however, that the Adelaide High School that replaced the Pupil Teachers' School in 1908 should continue the dual role of the former institution for the pupil teachers enrolled there. In his report for 1909 Williams explained how this was to be done and why:

> During the first year the pupil teachers will devote themselves to their cultural studies, but in the second and third years they will, in addition, give some time to professional studies and practical teaching. In view of the considerable percentage of young people who do not proceed to the Training College, this has been shown to be highly necessary.[48]

The report of the Minister for that same year clarified this by indicating that a number of pupil teachers on completion of their course preferred to take appointments as acting assistants (unclassified teachers). Of the fifty-six persons eligible to enter the Training College at the beginning of 1910, only thirty-five, or 62.5% had signified their intentions to complete their training at the end of 1909.[49] No reasons are given as to why so many eligible students avoided the Training College or indeed why the Department allowed them to do so. The reasons for both were most likely economic ones. After several years as

pupil teachers, many would be keen to earn an adult salary and their appointments to schools would have been welcomed in a time of continual shortage of staff.

As far as the Adelaide High School was concerned, the Minister went on to say that in the three years' course there 'time would be found for a greater amount of professional training than had been possible in the past.'[50] This was most likely only in reference to the extra year as the list of subjects published in the new regulations of 1908 were in fact the same as those listed in 1900 for the Pupil Teachers' School. Apart from the subjects for the public examinations, both lists contained others for teacher preparation such as Reading, Writing, Spelling, and Composition together with Principles and Methods of Teaching. In the Regulations of 1913 that consolidated the new system, the only addition to the list was 'Practical Teaching'[51]

While it is obvious that the head master would have had to monitor and report on the progress of the junior teachers who were a recognized part of the teaching service, there is little or no evidence, despite the very strong indications from both Minister and Director, that very much was done about their professional or practical preparation. From his reports it seems that William J.Adey, the first head master, concerned himself mainly with the section of the regulations that stated that the course of study in the High School would be directed towards preparing students to present themselves for the public examinations of the University of Adelaide. In his report for 1908, Adey indicated that the school was filling the gap between the primary school and 'the higher halls of learning' and providing a means for students to equip themselves for University or higher technical training.[52] In each report he published the results of the public examinations but no mention is ever made of results in 'The Principles of Teaching', 'Practical Teaching' or of any of the other professional subjects the school was supposed to be teaching. Apart from listing some of these subjects in the curriculum in his first report, Adey made no further references in his reports to the teacher training role of his school except to list each year the number of junior teachers attending.

This is in stark contrast with the Pupil Teachers' School where West had so clearly seen it as his role to prepare the pupil teachers for their practical teaching. There is no evidence to suggest that Adey was not attending to the needs of his junior teachers. He was responsible, according to the Regulations, for their conduct, diligence and practical training and he would have had to monitor and report on their progress. The most likely reason for his lack of detailed reference to them was that the Adelaide High School was not merely a new version of the Pupil Teachers' School. It expanded rapidly in size and was soon catering to a much wider clientele than pupil teachers. In 1908 there were 85 pupil teachers out of 301 students and in 1910, 82 out of 506. By 1913 of the 708 students only 103 were teachers in training. The teachers in training at the Adelaide High School very soon became a small part of an increasing number of general students completing a secondary education. This, coupled with the reduction of the period of practical teaching for junior teachers, may well have made it seem less imperative to be over-concerned

with professional and practical issues at the High School than it had been at the Pupil Teachers' School.

At the same time factors were at work that would have tended to reduce the need for the Adelaide High School, or any of the various district high schools that were being established, to attend to professional and practical training of junior teachers in case they went directly to teaching instead of to the Teachers Training College. The courses at the College were now of shorter duration and more attractive in that they catered for the special interests of student teachers rather than pushing the unprepared or the unwilling into University studies. Also there was a move away from allowing untrained teachers into schools. This began in 1909 with the setting up of a special class to train the provisional teachers who were to staff the very small one-teacher country schools and in 1912 this became a compulsory six-month training course for such teachers.[53] With such changes of policy, the Adelaide High School was probably able to concentrate quite early in its existence on its role of preparing junior teachers for the public examinations rather than for teaching. In any case, although the Regulations of 1913 still contained a list of teaching subjects together with the information that the master in charge of the Adelaide High School was responsible for the conduct, diligence and practical training of junior teachers, apparently there was no requirement for success in these for entrance to the Teachers' Training College. The following course for entry was set out in the supplement to the Education Gazette of February 1912 along with the syllabuses for the junior and senior public examination subjects being taught at the Adelaide High School:[54]

TEACHERS' COURSE

(Qualification for Junior Teachers)

Boys		Girls
(1) English (Senior)	. .	English (Senior)
(2) Arithmetic & Algebra (Senior)	. .	Arithmetic & Algebra (Senior)
(3) Geometry (Senior)	. .	Geometry (Junior)
(4) Latin , French, and German	. .	Latin, French, and German

and one or more of the following : - English History, Trigonometry, Drawing, Physical Geography, or Geology to Senior standard.

No candidate will be accepted who has not passed in English History, Geography, Drawing, and one Science to at least the Junior standard

The significant point is that this syllabus is entirely about public examinations and no practical or professional subjects are mentioned. It is interesting to note, too, the acceptance of a lesser standard in Geometry for girls. Not only did it add to the stereotyping mentioned before of female abilities but worse still, it had the potential for precluding women, who could not manage Senior Public Geometry but who wanted to be secondary teachers, from certain higher studies and, in the long run, possibly from higher promotion and higher pay. The requirements for males points to another kind of discrimination that possibly saw no place in teaching for men unable to manage higher mathematical studies.

The conditions of appointment as pupil teachers and later junior teachers, did not change over the period 1900 to 1913. Candidates still had to have been registered, to have satisfied the District Inspector as to their power to control and their aptitude for teaching and to pass the Entrance Examination for the Junior Teacher Course. Provision was made for those who had passed the Junior or Senior Public examination to enter the High School as second or third grade junior teachers. On completion of third grade, only one year of practical teaching experience was required prior to entry to the College.

Pupil Teachers to Junior Teachers of Fourth Grade - Practical Teaching

The change here was that the period of practical teaching was reduced from two years to one. In his evidence to the Royal Commission into Education in March 1912, Williams explained his plan for an overall reduction of the training period.[55] He had already achieved what he intended for the time at the Adelaide High School and the University Training College and he was able to turn his attention to the period of practical teaching. He told the Commission that he was gradually reducing the time between the High School and the University. He also indicated that he would have a year, or perhaps less of monitorship prior to High School. The reforms begun in 1908 had to be phased in to cater for pupil teachers at various stages of training. By 1913, provision had been made for keeping four grades of junior teachers but with the fourth grade only to be spent teaching in schools.[56]

As the following table shows, the numbers of pupil (to be renamed 'junior' from 1913) teachers involved in teaching in primary schools decreased as the reforms to training were implemented while by the end of the period monitors numbers again began to increase..

TABLE 4.1 Pupil Teachers and Monitors in the Teaching Force 1908 to 1913 [57]

	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
Pupil Teachers	113	109	95	69	66	76
% of the Teaching Force	8.5 %	8.4 %	7.2 %	5.5 %	4.4 %	4.9 %
Monitors	143	109	86	87	114	177
% of the Teaching Force	10.8 %	8.4 %	6.5 %	7.0 %	7.7 %	11.5 %
Senior Monitors	-	-	-	-	11	9
Total Teaching Force	1322	1294	1316	1241	1473	1529

The role of monitors in the new system is of particular interest as their situation changed so markedly between 1908 and 1913 that they could well be regarded as the real apprentices in the system and as having largely taken the place of pupil teachers in the teaching force. Monitors seem to have served two purposes. One was a preliminary step towards being a junior teacher and monitors were registered for this purpose and could proceed to the Adelaide High School on passing the entrance examination. Indeed by the end of 1913, being a monitor had become an essential preliminary step according to a Gazette notice in November that stated 'Monitors only are eligible for registration.'[58] Their other purpose was to assist in schools, and as has been seen, their numbers increased as the period of practical teaching for

junior teachers was reduced to just one year. The position of senior monitor that was introduced in 1912 even allowed for such an apprentice to become a provisional teacher on reaching the age of seventeen and a half without any further training whatsoever than that already received on the job. Such positions were obviously allowed in order to cope with the shortage of teachers but few monitors appeared to have taken this pathway into teaching.

As ordinary monitors became more significant both in the teaching force and as potential junior teachers, control over them was tightened. In 1908, twice yearly examinations were introduced and the half an hour required for daily lessons was increased to no less than forty minutes.[59] In 1913, however, a system was begun that made monitors very much resemble what pupil teachers had been when they were introduced. Candidates for a monitorship had to have reached the age of fourteen years and the District Inspector had to be involved in their selection using the criteria of physical fitness, character and general academic ability at Fifth Class level. For the first time it was officially stated that monitors were required 'to teach during the recognised school hours' but provision was made for them to have some free time for study.[60] The Union was quick to respond to what must have seemed like a return to the very worst features of the old apprentice system. A motion put to the Annual Conference of 1913 calling for reforms of the monitor system reads almost like one from the earlier times of the pupil teachers system. It drew attention to the unsatisfactoriness to the pupils, the monitor himself and to the teacher of putting a child who had just qualified for the final primary years in a position where that 'child in fact, became a teacher.'[61]

As for the junior teachers who were put in the position of becoming a teacher after three years of high school, the regulations of 1913 showed a concern for protecting them from overwork and strain that had not been evident in the past, although, as has been seen, this aspect had been raised regularly as a serious problem in the system since the mid 1880s. They were required to teach during the recognized school hours and to perform other duties as required but they were to be 'quite free from school duty of any kind' for at least one half of the interval between morning and afternoon school.[62] This probably meant that they had at least half the lunch hour free from yard duty. Their leisure time was further protected by a ruling expressly forbidding them from remaining in the school room or engaging in any work on the school premises for more than half an hour after the school closed. The daily lessons from the head teacher on the theory and practice of teaching were reduced to two per week but special subjects were to be prescribed for such instruction each year. In the Gazette of February 1913, for example, heads of schools were informed that junior teachers were to be instructed in all aspects of English as set out in the Course of Instruction and Suggestions for Teachers.[63] Any junior teacher who had not completed the Senior Public examination was required to have two additional lessons per week in whatever subjects were needed. Where the school could not supply these subjects evening and correspondence lessons were available from the Adelaide High School.

Junior teachers were still of some importance for staffing the schools. The Regulations issued in January, 1913,[64] indicated that a junior teacher could be appointed to a school to assist with an average of 30 pupils so the 76 junior teachers in schools in that year could well have taught some 2280 students. With an assistant responsible for 60 students, these junior teachers could have been replacing 38 assistants had they all had the full class sizes for which they could legitimately have been given responsibility. The importance of pupil teachers to the system as late as 1912 is clear from the final report of the Royal Commission. In a section on class sizes, the Commission reported that in commenting on how the shortage of teachers was affecting his efforts to reduce the size of classes, Williams had stated that:

> In many schools the headmasters have not obtained the services of an adequate number of young people as pupil teachers; whenever they have applied for an additional pupil teacher, whose services they have secured, the request has always been granted.[65]

So the Department was prepared to employ pupil teachers as part of the teaching force but numbers were insufficient to meet the demand. The evidence of Pavia as to why he believed few candidates were being attracted into teaching gives an indication of what teaching as a pupil teacher was like. He told the Royal Commission that:

> Young people get in different ways to hear about the hard life of a teacher. The teaching career for young people is a studious one. Candidates have to pass a monitor's examination and then an entrance examination before they can go on to the Training School. Even with these two stiles in front of them to get over they may have to teach for months and yet not pass the skill test. ... For a bright child - a boy especially - our service is not particularly attractive just now, and that is just the boy we want... [66]

As has been seen in Table 3.2, increasing numbers of males had been attracted into teaching between 1900 and 1907. In 1911, however, the number of male pupil teachers dropped to less than half of what it had been over the previous few years. In further evidence to the Royal Commission, Pavia commented that 'the prosperous times in South Australia' had led to many potential pupil teachers accepting better paying jobs involving less strain than teaching.[67] He pointed out that boy monitors got 5s.9d. a week and girls 4s.7d. whereas the Savings Banks and commercial firms were offering up to 18s. or 19s. per week for beginners of the same age. Even more telling was his point that the pay of pupil teachers was such that at the end of seven years of training a boy got just 19s.2d. and a girl 15s.4d. a week thus making them dependent on their families until they were over twenty years of age. It would seem that little had changed in this regard despite the arguments that had been raised in various reports and at public forums for improved monetary incentives to attract promising candidates, and especially male candidates, into teaching.

The period of practical teaching was a very important one for junior teachers as entry to the Teachers' Training College was granted only to those who received a satisfactory report on their ability to teach.

This was made clear in a Gazette notice in January, 1909 which indicated that the Inspector would call for and examine the pupil teachers' notebooks which showed the daily lesson preparations.[68] This notice also introduced a text book, the first of several to be studied by junior teachers engaged in teaching over the next 50 or so years. In 1909 it was a 'Primer on Teaching' by John Adams, Professor of Education in the University of London. There was an examination at the end of the year and a pass of at least 60% was necessary to qualify for the College.

The problems with teaching before training in ordinary schools remained much as they had since the system began. That there was real concern for pupil teachers working in schools is evident from the annual report of Inspector McBride for 1910. He had special responsibilities for teacher training and he pointed out that amongst the duties 'demanding more earnest attention' on the of part of some heads was that of training pupil teachers and monitors in sound knowledge of the principles of teaching and skill in applying them.[69] He urged head teachers to give model lessons, to watch carefully how various subjects were treated and to give kindly, encouraging criticisms of efforts made. He advised that on no account should pupil teachers be placed in sole charge of those classes where special tact, great patience, and much skill were necessary and warned particularly against making them responsible for a 'division' (a mixed class) where the energies and matured skill of adult teachers were required. He concluded that he was very pleased to say that '... on the whole, in our best schools the professional training of the apprentices is well attended to.'[70] Those junior teachers who survived the apprenticeship period, obtained the academic requirements and succeeeded at classroom teaching, could expect to have at least a year at what from 1913, had become the Teachers' Training College.

University Training College to Teachers' Training College

As has been seen, the main change at this level was the reduction of training from two to one year for those training to be primary teachers. Other changes at the Training College level were set out in the report of Mr. A H Peake, the Minister of Education for 1910. After noting that the important work of training teachers had received special attention with many changes being made, the report contains the remarkably forthright statement that:

> Above all, a serious defect, the evil results of which had been felt with increasing force for the last ten years, has been removed.[71]

This serious defect was that the students had devoted themselves almost exclusively to academic studies. This alone was considered to be 'Quite an inadequate preparation for the profession of teaching'[72] with the 'evil result' being what various critics have been seen to have described so clearly as resulting at the school level regarding management, control and teaching approaches. While 'evil' might sound a strong word for the Minister to use, the reminiscences of Inspector McBride in his report for 1910 reveal other

quite serious defects in the system:

> In 1900, the training of teachers was transferred to the University. As head teacher, and subsequently as inspector, I was very much struck with the fact that the want of practice in teaching while the students were at that institution was a distinct hindrance to their future usefulness to the Department.
>
> With a few notable exceptions the students in training manifested – (1) Want of right fibre to appreciate the atmosphere of the University; (2) a decidedly wrong attitude towards the Department; (3) an exaggerated sense of their own importance and attainments; (4) a presumption both dangerous and pitiable – they mistook their little knowledge for a great deal; (5) a disinclination to resume elementary teaching.[73]

The report indicated how such problems were to be remedied. Provision had been made for systematic training, both theoretical and practical, in the technique of the art of teaching. Courses of lectures were being given on school management generally, and on the methods of instruction in all ordinary school subjects, with opportunities in schools for actual practice in teaching and class management. Distinct courses had been established to prepare teachers for work in infant and primary schools. In this particular report the course leading to the Infant Teachers Certificate was set out and the detail in it shows very well the contrast between the previous concentration on degree subjects and the new professional approaches. The course included one or more University subjects (including Education), together with the College subjects of English Literature, Psychology, Hygiene, Physical Culture, Drawing and Brushwork, Music (instrumental and vocal), Elocution, Nature Study, Civics, Sewing, and Infant and Lower Primary School Management and Methods of Instruction (theory and practice). A similar course was available for the Primary Teachers Certificate and plans were in hand for an advanced course for future teachers in high schools. The 'evil' influences of the cultural studies that had benefited only those with the requisite ability to profit by university work had been replaced by 'good' influences of practical and professional value to all teachers! All of these studies and practical work had to be fitted into what must have been a very busy one year for student teachers. In his report for 1913 when the restructure was practically complete, Peake, who was still the Minister, explained the changes at the College level in a rather more restrained way than he had in 1910:

> The former name well emphasised the close connection between the college and the University ... the college students being at the same time University students ...; on the other hand, the name was somewhat misleading, since the college has at no time been under the actual control of the University Council. [74]

By 1913, the role of candidates for the Teachers' Training College had changed, too, and their new title indicated a break with the past.

Junior Teachers - Not Pupil Teachers

By 1913 pupil teachers had become junior teachers. They received three years of secondary education and had to pass the Senior Public in specified subjects to be eligible for the newly renamed Teachers' Training College. In addition they had to complete a successful year of practical teaching and pass an entrance examination on the textbook and the curriculum. The connection with the system that began in 1874 was that they were still regarded both as students and as teachers. By 1913, for their first three years at least, the title was simply a convenient label for a certain group of students at high schools - students who had begun what was still a type of apprenticeship by signing an agreement to enter training as teachers. The change of title to 'junior' did away with much of the odium attached to the old system without changing much of the substance apart from the increase in student time and the reduction in teaching. Young people were still taken into the system at an early age and their abilities tested as monitors in the classroom while they were still pupils themselves. Certainly they now received a sound secondary education but they still had to take up practical teaching for a time as an integral part of their preparation for professional training. From 1908, they appear to have been nowhere near as prepared for this practical work as had the pupil teachers coming from the Pupil Teachers' School.

While better opportunities for a secondary education were now provided, what was lost for most teachers was the opportunity for higher academic studies, let alone University graduation. Only those who could show more than ordinary ability as students could hope to be selected for training as high school teachers and so have access to University degrees. Williams provided the system with a professionally trained group of teachers but whether in doing so he deprived primary teachers as a whole of certain advantages that took many years to recover, remains a serious question in the restructuring in 1908 and 1913. Whether an adequate balance between the cultural and the professional aspects of training had been achieved is open to question too. Most certainly the 'liberal culture' aspect of training put forward by Dr. Smyth in 1904, could not have received a great deal of attention in the one year that primary teachers were allowed at the new Training College.[75] Whether adequate attention could be given to the professional and practical aspects in just one year is also highly questionable. In 1897, the Master in charge of the old Training College, in making a plea for a two year course there in place of the one year, had complained that '... anything like an adequate equipment for a teacher's work is out of the question.'[76] The situation resulting from the 1908-1913 reforms could not have been very different in this respect, especially in light of the greatly increased attention in the new system to professional studies. Perhaps the most telling evidence that the system was still out of balance is that within just another eight years it was found necessary to restore two year courses for most teachers in yet a further restructure.

But the benefits of the new system must not be overlooked. In contrast to the first attempts to train them as pupils and teachers at the same time, teachers now had a sound educational background that put them

well ahead of those they had to teach. In contrast to the system introduced in 1900, they now knew much better how to communicate that knowledge through their professional and practical studies. The benefits of this to the young teachers themselves, to their pupils and to the schools must have been considerable. The Government could be assured that efficiency had been restored by attention to the professional aspect of training and that the State was getting better value for the money expended on teacher preparation. Indeed the whole exercise can well be seen as having two main aims. There seems no doubt about Williams's wish to get better teachers into the schools but by reducing the length of training he was able also to save money for improving other aspects of schooling such as smaller class sizes and the expansion of secondary education. In terms of what was done in teacher training between 1908 and 1913, it would be easy to interpret the purpose of the state primary schools as being merely the efficient transmission of information by means of a secondary educated and professionally skilled teaching force. Certainly the philosophical driving force had been re-focussed on efficiency with departmental policy directed and governed by this. However, Williams revealed an interest in more than mere efficiency. In his report for 1908 he explained that his aim in the new regulations was:

> To improve our schools, to make them places where children are truly educated and given a strong bias towards goodness, ... In achieving this object nothing will count so much as -
> (1) Providing better professional training for teachers.
> (2) Making the classes of a reasonable size.[77]

He explained that smaller classes would reduce unfair demands on teachers as well as allowing them to respond better to the individual needs of students. His mention of 'truly educated' children and 'goodness' resulting from the better professional training of teachers adds something of a new dimension to his restructuring efforts and helps to clarify his emphasis in 1906 on 'the things that matter'[78]

No doubt Wiliams expected that his reforms would result in a truly educated teaching force, too, through the provision of a better balance between the cultural and the professional aspects of the training system. As will be seen in the next chapter, some heads of schools believed that there was still too much emphasis on the cultural and professional and not enough on actual practical training in his restructured system. Williams was not able to cater for all requirements in his attempts to provide what was proving to be a very elusive 'properly balanced' training system. However, his attention to professional studies meant that beginning teachers were better prepared for the rigours of the classroom. The reduction of teaching before training to just one year allowed for a further decrease in the unfair demands that had been put upon young apprentice teachers for over thirty years. It was also a most important step towards the abolition of the 'learning to teach by teaching' component of training. By the end of the decade the removal altogether of the untrained from the teaching force was to become official policy.

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Chapter 5

SEARCHING FOR A BETTER BALANCED TRAINING SYSTEM - 1914 to 1918

> *There are two radically extreme systems possible in training. Under the one, liberal studies are subordinated, while the directly technical aspect is stressed from the beginning. Under the other, the technical aspect is, not indeed subordinated, but not specially emphasised until later in the total course, ...*
>
> Dr. Schulz
> Annual Report - 1916 [1]

It seems remarkable that within three years of the finalization of the reforms introduced by Williams in 1908, Schulz found it necessary to defend what he termed 'the second more modern system' of the two radical extremes he saw possible in teacher training. In comparing the two systems he went on to say that those trained under the modern one, of which he saw the restructured junior teacher and student teacher system to be essentially an example, 'although at first, when compared with those trained under the other system, unmistakably inferior in direct routine efficiency, yet after a few years overtake their rivals, and then outstrip them.'[2] Schulz's defence of the modern system had been prompted by a bitter attack made on the whole training system by Mr. W. Bennett, President of the Teachers' Union, in his address to the annual conference in 1915. It seemed from what Bennett said that those in charge of primary schools were in fact looking for direct routine efficiency in beginning teachers and that they were not prepared to wait for several years for this to develop. Yet Williams's reforms had been intended to bring a better balance into training by introducing a strong emphasis on practical and professional aspects at the newly re-named Teachers' Training College in place of the very strong concentration on University studies that had characterized that institution since the earlier reforms of 1900. What then had gone wrong to the extent that by 1915, Bennett could remind his Union members that those emerging from five years of teacher training had 'comparatively little fitness for ... practical work.'?[3]

Three of those five years of training were devoted to preparing for the University examinations at the Adelaide High School and one year was available for teaching in primary schools as a junior teacher of fourth grade. Primary teachers now had just one year at the Teachers' Training College while the very few selected out after that as likely high school teachers could expect at least one or two more years there undertaking University work. As has been seen in Chapter 4, Williams had envisaged that in one year at the College devoted mainly to professional training combined with practical teaching, it would be possible to supply the State with a body of well-trained primary teachers.[4] Even if it had been possible to achieve such an aim in just one year, an unlikely prospect in any case in light of the

pre-1900 experiences, the Teachers' Training College with its limited facilities within the confines of the University of Adelaide lacked that one essential element of the Williams's plan, the adjunct practising school. The College, unable to satisfactorily combine professional training with practical teaching, had to concentrate on what it could do reasonably well and so came to be seen as essentially concerned with theoretical rather than practical training. The fault was seen to lie with the ill-equipped nature of the University location. In the demand for a new and well-equipped college building that dominated the first five years of the decade, the building itself and the style of training it would allow came to be almost inextricably linked.

Following the strong case put to the Royal Commission into Education of 1911-13, it seemed that the provision of a new and well-equipped college building would remedy this lack of attention to the practical aspects of the art of teaching. Such a provision was allowed for in the Education Act of 1915 but by that stage it was obvious that a new building was unlikely while the war effort lasted. Attention then turned to the one remaining year of the apprenticeship system, the fourth grade of the junior teacher system. Discussion centred on how such practical teaching could be better used, or even increased in length in order to correct what was seen as a serious imbalance in the system between academic and professional training on one hand and practical experience on the other. Such thinking attracted interest within the Department anxious to get the best value from the money available for training. By the end of 1918, a Departmental plan was in hand for re-introducing a form of the apprenticeship system for the practical training of those teachers undertaking a short course at the Observation School in preparation for teaching in small country primary schools, a plan which was to be subsidised by eliminating the first three years of the junior teacher system.

The period 1914 to 1918 was one of much discussion and planning about how best to steer some kind of mid-course between the two radical extremes of teacher training postulated by Schulz. However, the economic situation during the war prevented much in the way of practical achievement and it was not until the beginning of 1919 that the Department was ready to restructure the training system. Just as some action seemed possible, the arrival, late in 1919, of a new Director of Education with very different views on the place of practical teaching in training ushered in a quite new era for teacher training in general and the junior teacher system in particular. The discussion and planning that went on during these six years about the best way of providing practical teaching experience reveals a great deal about what it was like to be a junior teacher immediately before the system was yet again to be changed quite radically.

Planning for a new Training College

The problem of academic domination of teacher training at the University Training College had hardly been settled by the reforms of Williams when a new concern arose over that institution, this

time regarding its physical limitations. The limited facilities that could be made available by the University, itself cramped for space, meant that the full implementation of the new professional and practical requirements of teacher training were not possible. In 1913, the name was changed to 'The Teachers' Training College' but, as has been seen, the College remained very much beholden to the University for its accommodation which consisted of a single small office for the principal and staff and whatever lecture rooms could be made available from time to time.[5] There was certainly no room for the adjunct practising school that was to have been such an important feature of the new approaches to teacher training. Despite this, Schulz managed to introduce most of the new professional subject requirements but by 1918 even he was moved to make a strong indictment of the progress in South Australia towards providing adequate teacher training facilities. In his report for that year he wrote of his doubts as to whether there was another college in the Empire 'so imperfectly equipped' as the one in South Australia.[6] He went on to say that the lack of space had been felt more and more painfully each year on account of the increased number of students, the growth of staff, and the development in the number and complexity of courses, a situation he regarded as 'deplorable' in view of the high importance to the Department of efficiently-trained teachers.

Yet the period had begun well enough in this regard. The Royal Commission into Education had recommended the establishment of a new training college and provision for it had been made in the Education Act of 1915.[7] However, the war effort and the associated economic downturn prevented any progress towards an actual building. It was not to be until 1920 that government approval could be given for the building of 'a Training College, in the vicinity of the University, at a cost of £20,000.'[8] Thus the Teachers' Training College was forced to retain a direct physical link with the University throughout the second decade of the new century. As was seen in the previous chapter, the high hopes for better teacher training that had been expected from such a union between the University and the Education Department had been dashed in the first decade by fears that a University education could only be at the expense of the professional and practical needs of trainee teachers. The second ten years were dominated by the concern that the location within the University was preventing full advantage being taken of the gains intended in these two areas by the reforms between 1908 and 1913.

Apart from restrictions of the nature described by Schulz, there were two other pressing problems regarding the training possible within the University. Without the adjunct practising school that was to have been such a significant feature of reforms to practical training there, the students had to travel to various ordinary primary schools for this work. Nor could the College accommodate all student teachers. When a compulsory training period for the provisional teachers who staffed the small country schools was introduced in 1911, this had to be carried out at the Observation School in Currie Street. Accommodation there was limited, too, and to cater for the large numbers of teachers required for the rapidly expanding country service two six-month courses (known as the Short

Course) had to be run each year. Those trained in this limited way had to go into schools as unclassified teachers. The Royal Commission into Education of 1912 proved to be an ideal forum for both the Education Department and the Teachers' Union to present strong evidence for a new training college building that would accommodate all trainees and allow for their full professional and practical training. In its final report the Commission found that there was '... a strong demand from both the department and from the teachers for the establishment of a training college on the lines of those existing in other States.'[9] This statement was prefaced by a reference to the inadequacy of the six months' course, an aspect about which Williams had greatly influenced the Commission. The impression he made is reflected in the final report which quoted in full his response to the question of what developments in education he regarded as of the greatest importance for his department to undertake. He had said :

> I think the first is a proper development of a training college on a scale big enough to include the teachers who are going to the small country schools. I think the outstanding question in South Australia is the better education and training of the teachers who go to the country. At present we have some of our teachers at the University, where the accommodation is very limited, and we also have 60 or 70 at the Observation School ... where there are 500 children. ... It is very inconvenient; but I think what is of more importance is the consideration that our teachers are being trained in two groups. There is a complete line of demarcation between the teachers who are in the public school service and those who are in what is called the provisional school service. I think that is rather a bad thing.[10]

The Commission had been impressed, too, by evidence put by Mr. V.J. Pavia, President of the Teachers' Union in both 1912 and 1913, whom they reported had 'strongly urged' as a policy that the courses of study for trainee teachers be varied according to the class (type) of the schools into which the teachers intended to go.[11] While taking evidence at the Training College at Blackfriars in Sydney, the Commissioners had seen such a training system in operation. The New South Wales system of training teachers had impressed them as being 'a very complete one' and they concluded :

> We are of the opinion that the South Australian system of education will not be complete without a well-equipped training college, and we recommend that one be established.[12]

It would seem that the 'well-equipped' nature of the proposed college was meant to provide for the adjunct practising school for which there was no space at the University. Pavia had mentioned this matter to the Commission in a roundabout kind of way in listing things he thought would make training easier for primary school teachers. One such way he believed would be to 'Avoid the present waste of time and strength in allowing trainees to travel to the various schools in and about the city for the purpose of obtaining teaching practice.'[13] He took this matter up in greater detail at the annual conference of the Teachers' Union in 1912 while the Commission was still sitting when he spoke of the lack of opportunity at the University for '... practice ... in the art of teaching.'[14] He believed that

such practice required demonstration lessons given by expert teachers to be followed by criticism lessons by the student teachers. For this practical work to be done effectively he saw the college needing a number of classes of school children at hand, one advantage at least of the Observation School. He went on to give the impression that a college without an attached practising school was barely a training college at all:

> At present, without a college, ... students had to visit local schools to obtain this practice, and their supervisors had to follow them about. Thus time was lost and energy wasted. One had only to see the fine work being done at the Observation School by and for provisional teachers to realize what a college would mean to students generally.[15]

Interestingly enough, the Union had not included a new college on its policy document but Pavia introduced the idea to the Commission by way of the pupil teacher system. He stated that it was Union policy to abolish the pupil teacher system and went on 'A much better system would be a Training College for teachers ...'[16] As it turned out this was the only reference to pupil teachers at the Commission and no recommendation was made about abolishing the remnant of it that was still an integral part of training. It may well have been thought that the new college would provide adequate practical training that would lessen the need for even the one-year of the old apprenticeship system. However, as later evidence will show, a strong belief in some practical teaching before training characterized educational thinking throughout the decade with calls for revising the nature of, and even increasing the practical component of what had become the junior teacher system by 1913. Indeed Pavia, immediately after his statement on abolishing the pupil teacher system, went on to tell the Commission, in what was clearly a call for retaining some probationary period, that '... before these people (intending trainees) enter the Training College a sufficient time should be given to them in the public schools to show whether they posses the natural teaching instinct.'[17]

It was expected that a new Education Act based on the work of the Commission would be put to Parliament in 1914 but the worst drought in the State's history, together with the tense international situation that resulted in World War 1, determined other priorities.[18] At the annual conference of the Teachers' Union that year there was an indication of not only wider support for a proper training college but of its significance for the whole education system from outside that system. In his address the Governor, Sir Henry Galway, said:

> With all its fine institutions, I must confess to being somewhat surprised that South Australia does not yet possess a training college for teachers. The want of such an institution is patent, and if such an academy was established it would prove to be the cornerstone of those reforms in education which so many of us wish to see effected.[19]

This is yet another indication that despite now being called 'The Teachers' Training College', the institution within the University was hardly regarded as an adequate one, capable of providing training for teachers whom the Governor went on to say should be moving away from teaching from text books and adopting more 'technical education' approaches while attending to individual needs to produce useful citizens. Again the college building appears to be what was to determine the type of training that could be provided.

The establishment of the long-awaited college for which such high hopes were held was allowed for in the Education Act of late 1915. The Minister could now '... continue and maintain the Training College for the education of teachers existing at the commencement of the Act, or ... establish and maintain other institutions and make such other provisions as he deems advisable.'[20] thus giving him the opportunity to set up a new college outside of the University.

However, it was one thing to legislate for a new college but quite another to have it built. Williams, the driving force behind reforms to teacher training, was dead before the Commission published its report and in any case by 1915 there was a severe shortage of government funds due largely to the war effort and its general effect on the economy. The building of a new college had to wait and the lack of the facilities it would have provided continued to draw criticism from the Union and from within the Department.

Criticism from the Union was muted at first on account of the war effort but it became increasingly trenchant as the effects of the Short Course at the Observation School and the lack of adequate opportunities for practical training at the Teachers' Training College continued. In his presidential address to the 1918 conference of the Teachers' Union, Mr. J. Moyse took up the issue of the inadequacies of the two training institutions raised six years earlier by Williams by stating that the training of teachers 'is a burning question, for the proportion of the unclassified (from the Short Courses) is increasing year by year. This fact needs only to be mentioned to make clear the danger not far ahead.'[21] He had to admit, however, that the dangerous situation of having the schools staffed by too many ill-prepared teachers could not be avoided until after the war. By 1919, the then President, Mr. G.S. Berriman, was able to take a stronger line. With the war over and the economy improving he stated quite bluntly that the answer 'No money available' was no longer an acceptable one to Union calls for improving teachers' disabilities, amongst which he listed 'inadequate training'[22]

In 1917, the Inspectorate had joined in the call for a new college. Inspector McBride was the person responsible for directing and supervising the practical training of students from the Teachers' Training College and so had a vested interest in turning out efficient beginning teachers. In his report for that year he explained why he believed efficiency was not possible in the current circumstances:

> I conclude my report by expressing the hope that a thoroughly equipped training college will soon be established. We have been too long without such an institution, and the results are unmistakable. The young persons who take the six months course at the Observation School cannot be sent out as efficient teachers ... At the University the student teachers do not, and cannot, devote anything like adequate time to fit themselves for practical work in school. In my opinion the system of training is defective ... it should be remedied.[23]

In his next report he recommended one such remedy, the attachment of a 'Practising School' to a well-equipped college.[24] In 1918, too, a whole section of the Appendices to the Ministerial Report was devoted to extracts from the reports of the Inspectors on what they thought about the training of teachers. In these the Short Course came in for particular criticism. Inspector Harry, for example, in reflecting that these courses had been introduced as 'only a temporary expedient' expressed a similar view to that of Moyse, by adding that 'it would be disastrous if it became our principal source of supply.'[25] Inspector Darke's report revealed that many of the candidates entering the courses at the Observation School did not have sufficient education or experience to profit fully from the six months of training. He believed that the time had come therefore for the establishment of 'an up-to-date Training College ... (as) ... we are the only State that has not this important institution.'[26]

It would seem that opinions differed over what kind of new college should be established. In his report for 1917 Schulz gave an indication of the conflicting opinions as he outlined views for and against what he termed 'a radically separated training college', separated that is from the University.[27] He believed that many would regard the intimate connection between the College and the University (which he felt was unique in the Empire, and indeed the world) as not lightly to be thrown aside. On the other hand, he accepted what was obviously the view of those opposed to the University connection, that a primary training college should have its own 'atmosphere' based on the art of teaching. In contrasting the two kinds of training college that might be established, he concluded:

> The 'radically separate training college' would obviously not be able to provide the same breadth of culture and general outlook as would a University, but it would undoubtedly be more favourable for the early acquisition of immediately practical 'power to handle a class'...[28]

This would be in comparison with a training college with a broader foundation of general culture and an acceptance of a later ripening of professional power. Schulz linked the two kinds of colleges with the antithesis of the two ideals of training which he had expressed in his previous report and made it very clear that a college would 'be the better for being broader-based and later maturing ...'[29] He was realistic enough however, to look to some form of intermediate arrangement which combined as many as possible of the advantages of each of the two extremes to provide 'a college more liberally equipped than the present one, yet maintaining an intimate union with the University.'[30] The input of

Schulz in this regard turned out to be of particular significance as the new building that finally came about as late as 1927, did seem to resemble that ideal rather than being quite 'radically' separate from the University.

Schulz's views on practising schools prevailed to an even greater degree. In the course of the argument on the type of college needed, he had managed to demolish the long held proposition that a viable practising school could be attached to a new college. He saw that even for 100 students, a very large school would be needed and that in any case such a school would be an 'abnormal' one, not nearly as serviceable for training for regular school work as the normal city and suburban schools currently used by the College.[31] This contrasted with the much earlier views of Williams and Pavia but the revival of the idea of an adjunct practising school by McBride in the following year is evidence of continuing tension amongst educators as to the best type of practical training for teachers.

From the debates over teacher training that took place at the annual conferences of the Union from 1915 on, and from the comments of the Inspectors, it is clear that direct routine efficiency and the power to handle a class were what were required most of beginning teachers. Dissatisfaction with the practical training being given at the College continued in the second half of the decade. The situation came to mirror that of the early 1900s when teachers were seen to have too much culture at the expense of practical. Now the view was that while those graduating from the College might have adequate professional knowledge, they had not had sufficient practical experience to apply it. However, with only one year of training available at the College for primary trainees, there was a limit to what could be expected there. This, together with the realisation that the new college building that would allow for a combination of professional and practical training was some years away in any case, caused attention to turn increasingly to how time prior to College might be better utilised for practical experience. From 1915, both the quality and the quantity of practical experience junior teachers were seen to need became major issues for the Union and the Department. While the emphasis was mainly on looking back to practices that had seemed to serve well in this regard in the past, a few more forward looking alternatives were proposed for consideration.

Pre-College Practical Teaching Under Scrutiny

The practical teaching component of the junior teachership had been reduced to just one year by 1913 but this experience remained an integral part of training and a pre-requisite for entry to the Teachers' Training College. The revised Regulations of 1913 required junior teachers to have completed their term of service with respect to 'conduct, scholarship and practical teaching' before being admitted to the College and persons from outside the service who had passed the senior public examination also had to prove their fitness for the work by having at least one year's experience in teaching.[32] The

Regulations and the various departmental instructions give the distinct impression that the period of practical teaching for junior teachers was meant to be a rigorous one requiring attention to both the theory and practice of teaching under the supervision of a head master. As was seen in the previous chapter, junior teachers of Grade 1V were required to teach during the recognised school hours and to attend two forty-five minute lessons per week to receive instruction from the head teacher in the theory and practice of teaching. In addition, particular aspects of the Course of Instruction were gazetted each year for special study during these lessons. For a time those junior teachers who had completed all entry requirements for the College were permitted to enrol for one half-subject at the University in lieu of the second weekly lesson. Those who had not fully qualified were to be assisted by the Adelaide High School in evening lessons in a number of Senior Public subjects and the school had to supply correspondence lessons to junior teachers attached to country primary schools.

In 1914, however, the opportunity to begin University studies was removed in the interests of junior teachers getting greater benefit out of the reduced opportunity to learn how to teach. The March Gazette of that year contained a 'Special Notice to Junior Teachers of Grade 1V' which stated:

> As Junior Teachers of Grade 1V are to 'teach' for one year only, it is evident that their attention must be entirely devoted to that work, and that it is not desirable that they should be occupied by anything else during that year.[33]

This was a very clear indication that the year was meant for practical work in the classrooms. No other work was prescribed except for a text book 'Parker's Talks on Teaching' for study under the direction of the head teacher. Those who had not completed the Senior Public still had to do so by private study with whatever help their own primary school could give. As they had already studied the subjects they were repeating, the Adelaide High School no longer had to provide evening or correspondence lessons. This notice stressed that no junior teacher would be admitted to the College without the higher qualification.

A similar notice appeared each year and progressively the requirements for both study and practical teaching were tightened up. In 1915, the notice concluded with a message in bold print adding that in addition to the academic requirement, entrants would need to have obtained 'satisfactory reports on their Practical Teaching.'[34] A separate notice in this Gazette drew attention to the need for junior teachers to be 'well acquainted', too, with the details of the current 'Course of Instruction'[35], a message that was also to be repeated each year together with the information that they would be examined on both this and the set text.

In 1917 a new textbook 'A Primer of Teaching Practice' by Green and Birchenough, was introduced. This publication, a copy of which is still available,[36] was from England. It explained and illustrated such aspects as work and play, narration, description, observation and expression and it introduced

the student to investigation-heurism, questioning, and approaches to discipline. It also outlined notes on lessons and the Preface indicated its purpose as 'To give a first survey of the variety of activities which enter into the complex work of class teaching.' It is an easy to read and attractive book but these very attributes were seen as its weakness. It was regarded as not explaining complexities enough for beginners to understand fully while the illustrations (written not pictorial) '... are so interesting that the student tends to leave unconsidered what the illustrations are to illustrate - what they have to do with the essential argument of the chapter.' So wrote Dr. Schulz as the introduction to a series of 'notes' he was commissioned to prepare as '... a slight help towards understanding the 'main argument' of each section.'[37] The notes, which were published in the Gazette from July, 1919, led the junior teachers through each chapter explaining difficult concepts, showing how to match ideas to their own teaching and warning of extremes such as an overemphasis on the pleasure side of a 'play'approach. They illustrate well the difference between what Schulz called the 'old education' and the 'new education' in a way that tended to steer the beginning teacher towards a sensible, middle-of-the-road approach to teaching that should have satisfied the progressive as well as the more conservative members of the profession. These notes appear to be quite useful, not only for the junior teachers but for their supervising head masters as well and rather more than the 'slight' help Schulz somewhat modestly suggested they might be.

In the 1919 'Special Notice To Junior Teachers Of Grade 1V', a third condition was added to the entry requirement to the College. Now junior teachers had to obtain at least 60 per cent of marks in the examination on the Principles of Teaching.[38]

The intention in the reforms of 1908-1913 would seem to have been that the Adelaide High School should take some responsibility for preparing junior teachers of the first three grades for their practical teaching rather on the lines of the former Pupil Teachers' School. As has been seen in the previous chapter, the reports of the principal give no indication of this having received attention even though the Regulations of 1913 listed the teaching subjects of Reading, Writing, Spelling and Composition together with a subject 'Principles and methods of teaching' and 'Practical teaching' as being available at the High School. However, in the Regulations following the Education Act of 1915, these subjects were no longer mentioned. These Regulations simply stated that the principal of the Adelaide High School 'shall be responsible for the conduct, diligence, and practical training of first, second, and third grade junior teachers.'[39] The 'practical training' aspect appears to have been interpreted by the High School as attending to the academic subjects required for entry to the College. The report of Inspector McBride for 1917 confirms that no attention was given to the professional or practical training of the first three grades of junior teachers. In his general complaint about the defectiveness of the training system he wrote that 'the junior teachers at the Adelaide High School do not receive any instruction in the theory and practice of their profession.'[40]

It was only during the fourth year that junior teachers were expected to learn to teach by teaching and to study the principles of teaching and the content of the courses under the direction of an experienced head teacher. However, the new system, as had been the case with previous innovations in this area, quickly came in for criticism. As usual, too, the criticisms tended to both reflect the vested interests of those making them as well as exposing some of the real problems. As has been seen, the first salvo against the new junior teacher system came at the annual conference of the Teachers' Union in 1915. The President, Mr. William Bennett made a stinging attack on the whole training system from what he saw as 'careless, haphazard methods' of selecting candidates as monitors and junior teachers to the end product of training whom he believed emerged from the College 'proud of his pass in a number of University subjects, but, sad to say, with comparatively little fitness for his practical work, without much enthusiasm except for study.'[41]

Bennett harked back to the old four-year pupil teacher system that had been criticised for paying too much attention to the practical side of training. His view was that by 1915, the pendulum had swung too far the other way and that 'Far too much time is spent in academic training, and far too little in the preparation for the life work of teaching.' and he backed up his argument thus:

> Under the present system the candidate spends two, three, or four years at the Adelaide High School as a student, mostly away from home, and he returns to his school at 18 or 19 years more or less estranged from the conditions of his work, while much of his interest in teaching has been lost in the absence from it.
>
> When he returns as a junior teacher for a year he is quite a novice at his work, and the exigencies of school probably prevent much teaching being done. Then he goes to the University where necessarily all his interest is in his studies, and the teaching part of his student days is looked upon as drudgery.[42]

Such comments bear a striking resemblance to those being made barely ten years earlier by critics of the University Training College. It is hard to understand Bennett's comment about not much teaching being done in light of the seemingly very strict departmental rulings since 1913 on how the year was to be used. It is possible that Bennett meant that very little real teaching could be done by novice junior teachers grappling with such urgent matters as discipline or even with knowing what to teach or how to teach. The interest in teaching would have been gained as a monitor at a local school prior to being accepted as a junior teacher and it is easy enough to see how this, and any skills learnt in that time, could be lost after three years at a high school where success in the public examinations was the only objective. In referring to the retention of monitors in the system, Bennett went on to make a suggestion that will later be seen to have had significant repercussions. While admitting that the monitorial system was generally condemned in most educationally advanced countries, Bennett attempted to capitalise on the fact that South Australia still had remnants of it in the monitors and junior teachers by stating:

> If, however, we must have this system, a reversion to the old system, or to a modification of it, should be preferable. [43]

He made it clear that in his opinion the old system of a longer practical teaching time was preferable for two main reasons. One was that suitable candidates encouraged by the head teacher and successful at the entrance examination 'while thus keenly interested in the work, ... began the practical duties pertaining to the professional life of a teacher under the guidance of the head of his school.'[44] The other revealed what was probably the real reason why many head teachers hankered after the old scheme, incidentally the one in which most of them would have been trained. He stated that the majority of those who continued on in this way for the four year term were fitted for the work for '... in the plastic years [they] had been moulded to the condition.'[45] Very young teachers moulded to the conditions required by head teachers in traditionally accepted ways of teaching and classroom management were likely to be of more use to them than the well-educated junior and student teachers Bennett and his colleagues now saw as less well fitted for the practical aspects of classroom teaching in primary schools.

Bennett concluded his address by assuring the conference that his brief sketch of the present training of teachers was '... not overdrawn. It is the actual practice today, and loyal men of the service can view it only with alarm.'[46]

This of course was the conservative voice speaking and the 'loyal men of the service' were the senior ones, who had risen to their positions in primary schools from the old pupil teacher system. Many were still suspicious of University education and their 'alarm' about the new ways of training while no doubt based on a real view of its inadequacies for the practicalities of the classroom, also reflected their own meagre education and their inability to see that beginning teachers could no longer be expected to know everything about the job. It was no coincidence that it was immediately after Bennett's tirade that Schulz begun to promote the view that while the new product of the College might take longer to come to grips with teaching, in the long run he or she would be better a teacher for their broader training.

Mr. John Moyse, President of the Union in 1918 has already been mentioned for his concern that far too many unclassified teachers were entering the service because of the lack of an adequate training college. He followed this up in his address to the annual conference by a reflection on the value of the tertiary education for trainee teachers and a demand for an extended junior teacher period to remedy the lacks in it. He believed that some of the short course trainees were more capable than some of those who had had the advantage of a University course, 'probably because of their attitude of heart and mind towards their profession.' and he went on to say:

> The University does not make teachers; one who goes in a fool comes out a bigger fool, while he who enters full of zeal for his work rightly discerns the advantages of a wider knowledge, comes forth more fully equipped for his vocation.[47]

Moyse saw such zeal being engendered in a two year rather than a one year junior teacher period prior to entering what he insisted on calling the 'University' instead of the 'Teachers' Training College', an attitude which in itself was something of an indication of a fairly strong view that little had changed at that institution apart from a new title in 1913. He believed that in the first three years of the system the candidate thought 'more of books than children' and that in one year of practical teaching, lack of previous teaching practice and unfamiliarity with the ways of children made the work 'irksome' and hardly allowed the teacher to get 'into his stride.' He went on '... therefore a two year's course would be a great advantage, for it would familiarise the teachers with their work; give them practical knowledge and skill; ...'.[48] It would, of course, make them more useful beginning teachers 'moulded' more into the style heads of schools wanted.

There is evidence that Moyse's suggestion attracted support from outside the Union. In his report for 1918, for example, Inspector Harry wrote 'At present an extension of the period of junior teachership for one year, to be devoted mostly to actual teaching, ... appear[s] to me to be [one of] the best methods to improve the teaching power of our young people.'[49] This remark is particularly interesting as it appears to support the earlier contention of Bennett that junior teachers did not in fact, devote full time to actual teaching despite the apparently strict rulings from the Department about this. Apart from the other advantages, Moyse saw the longer period as also giving the Department more scope for weeding out those unsuitable for sending on to the University as well as a better chance for the junior teachers themselves to see if they were suited to teaching, or, as he so bluntly put it, to '... decide whether the real thing is equal to what their fancy pictured it.'[50]

It seems that there was a real concern amongst Union leaders that faulty selection procedures were allowing unsuitable young people into teaching. Bennett's view of a careless, haphazard method of selection was noted earlier and at the 1919 conference the President, Mr G.S. Berriman was equally outspoken on this matter:

> The old pupil teacher system went by the board yet one does not hesitate to say the finished article is not at present a satisfactory one. This may arise from the fact that at present adaptability for the work of a teacher has not been tested by a preliminary term of probation, before the literary training has been initiated.[51]

At that very time a scheme had been prepared within the Department that would have re-introduced just such a preliminary term of probation, very similar in nature to the old pupil teacher system, for trainees destined for the Short Course and service in country schools. Before looking at how this very

significant proposal for a return to an outmoded system based on ensuring direct routine efficiency was presented and justified in 1918 and 1919, it is important to examine the alternatives that were also being touted about.

As would be expected, Schulz was the main proponent of schemes that instead of looking back to outmoded systems, capitalised rather on the belief that modern training approaches produced teachers not yet at their full potential. He believed that the real answer to ensuring well-trained teachers involved systematic supervision in what would now be regarded as an internship. However, even he was prepared to compromise, not so much because of Union demands for a more utilitarian approach to training but rather because of the difficult financial situation of the Education Department in 1916 with a shortage of both teachers and funds to train more of them. Immediately after his outline of the radically extreme systems possible in training and his defence of the modern approach in his report for 1916, he described a possible alternative way of training at least some of the candidates for teaching. He stated that consideration could be given to the fact that with an average of 75 to 80 per cent. of the teaching force being women and a high proportion of them leaving the service due to marriage after just two or three years of teaching, the present system might not be the ideal one for the Department to obtain 'a more immediate and obvious (at least, outwardly obvious) return for the outlay incurred in the training.'[52] He believed that if such a judgement could be accepted as valid, the present system could be readily modified. Just as with his aside in brackets above though, he again revealed his own feelings by adding that this modification would be 'less a matter of change of outward organisation than of inward spirit.'[53]

Schulz then described such a possible modification as the provision of a Junior Teachers' School as a separate institution with the course limited to what he termed 'ordinary' school subjects such as Arithmetic and Geography (but without Latin), with these subjects dealt with in a way which at every stage emphasised the principles of teaching involved. The object would be the 'directly utilitarian' equipment of teachers instead of preparation for University examinations. Such a scheme would involve a separate Training College, entirely removed from the University, in which the course would be less liberal than the present one but '... more definitely directly to the 'immediately practical' end in view, and, in the light of this specific ideal, indisputably much more effective'.[54]

It is difficult to imagine that Schulz was at all serious about a Junior Teachers' School that would result in a change in the 'inner spirit' that had marked the reforms of Williams. He was describing a return almost to the worst features of the pre-1900 situation when pupil teachers learnt little more than they might have to teach. The graduates of such a course of training could be little better than the unclassified teachers being turned out of the short courses and as has been seen, concern over this trend was increasing. It could well be argued that Schulz was exaggerating this modification to justify the retention of the current system at a time when harsh economic realities could well have

swept away the gains that had been made since the time of Williams. If his aside comments were not enough to confirm such a possibility, his final statement on the matter was. He concluded:

> ... if ... the more modern system of training is definitely recognised as ultimately the superior one for the teaching profession as a whole, ...it is well to bear in mind that it is the fundamental and inevitable characteristic of this system that the fruit it brings forth, if more valuable than that yielded by the other, is also later in its appearance.[55]

The clear message for the Union and the Department was that if the modern system was indeed the better one, then it had to be accepted that immediate practical results of training were not possible.

Schulz was not content to suggest compromises for a modern training system that he readily admitted was not perfect, especially in relation to the critical issue of practical training. He saw that with a single year of actual teaching and the limited practical available in one year at the College, '... the more specifically 'practical training' ... [was] in a sense cut short in the middle.'[56] The remedy he suggested was a forward looking one rather than one involving a return to an outmoded system of apprenticeship. He believed that the problem lay in appointing graduates of the College as fully responsible assistant teachers expected to be able to cope in every way with the complex situations of the classroom. He urged instead that beginning teachers should be considered as promising 'improvers' rather than 'fully skilled teachers' and in order to assist them he proposed a type of teaching internship. While being careful not to disparage the work of headmasters whose supervision of beginning teachers he saw as 'in itself so valuable', he stated that a modern system of training should continue to give the young teachers at this critical formative period '... a not inconsiderable amount of direct and systematic assistance of a special kind...as a natural complement to the preceding part of the training course.'[57] His view was much the same as that put forward by Andrew Scott in 1903, when the University Training College was under attack from those who believed that it should be preparing beginning teachers fully for the practicalities of the classroom. [58]

Schulz saw such direct and systematic assistance consisting for one or two years of further reading on educational topics, detailed study of the concrete problems of everyday teaching with records of such study being kept in special diaries, and 'perhaps some form of special supervision ...'[59] However, he, like Scott before him, realised that in the circumstances of the times, the attainment of a 'perfect form' of training was impracticable. While he stressed the greater importance of this post-college assistance to trainees, he was prepared to accept that the system could be made better, too, by a 'somewhat fuller utilisation of the period of a one-year junior teachership ...',[60] an aspect he saw as more likely of realisation than the other largely it would seem because it was already part of the system and so would involve little additional expense. Unfortunately he gave no details of how he believed the junior teacher year could be better used but it can probably be assumed that it would have been on the same lines he proposed for a post-college period of further systematic training.

There seems to have been no immediate response to Schulz's proposals for a more direct and systematic approach to assisting inexperienced junior teachers and beginning assistant teachers cope with the practicalities of the classroom. At the 1919 annual conference of the Teachers' Union however, a suggestion from Berriman showed that at least some sections of the Union had moved on from the idea of a return to outmoded practices. He suggested dividing the State into districts with each having certain centrally located schools 'set apart as post-graduate schools, where lectures on principles and model lessons should be given systematically' to beginning teachers from the locality.[61] His scheme also envisaged the head teachers of these special schools visiting the small schools in the area for demonstration purposes and helpful advice to novice teachers. The influence of Schulz is clear here but both men were way ahead of their time. In any case moves were already under way within the Department for significant changes to the training of teachers for both the short course and for those preparing for entry to the Training College.

While nothing eventuated in the way of post-graduate training, the question of the place of pre-training practical experience continued to exercise the minds of those concerned with education. It seems however, that even at the highest levels, educationalists were unsure about the proper sequence of theory and practice in teacher training. In 1918, a conference of Directors of Education from the various States was held in Adelaide and the issue of the place of practical experience was debated. Schulz referred to the two viewpoints taken by the Directors in his 1918 report:

> The one view was that "a training school or college" should precede the teachers' regular daily school work. The other view was that some practical experience in schools should precede the "training school or college" course. In justification of the first, it was urged that thus the young person's earliest work would be under specially trained supervisors and correct habits formed from the beginning. The advocates of the second scheme urged that educational ideals and problems could have comparatively little meaning for trainees unless their background had been gained by preceding activity in classrooms These views divided the meeting and no agreement could be arrived at.[62]

It seems that there was a similar divergence of opinion in the Teachers' Union in 1919. The matter of the training of teachers and conditions of entry to the service was raised during the business session of the annual conference in July and it was recorded that 'Members could not agree on any scheme, but finally a scheme was drawn up by members of the committee, with three dissentients.'[63] Unfortunately no details were given of either the discussion or the proposed scheme and how it fitted in with the previous thinking of the Union remains a mystery. What is of interest is that the motion proposing it was seconded by no other than Mr. W. Bennett who, four years earlier had set in motion the discussion on the quantity and quality of practical training prior to Teachers' Training College. The only decision recorded was that it was to be dealt with by the executive of the Union with a view to bringing it before the Director of Education.

Meanwhile within the Department two significant changes were in train in 1919. In February, the Advisory Council of Education had approved a restructure that would have altered quite radically the training schemes both for junior teachers and for candidates prepared to take the Short Course. In May 1919, the Director of Education, Mr. M.M. Maughan, retired due to ill-health and his replacement, Mr. W.T. McCoy, came from outside South Australia. The new Director had particular views on teacher training that allowed him to accept part of what had been planned just prior to his arrival, to reject a major part of it and to move to phase junior teachers out of the teaching force and out of the training system. In the period 1919 to 1921, the whole face of teacher training was to change and the change was to be in many ways a very different one to what might have been expected from the discussions and planning that had dominated the period from 1913.

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Chapter 6

PHASING OUT JUNIOR TEACHERS 1918 to 1921

I ... suggest the suspension of the present system of appointing Junior Teachers of Grades I., II., and III.

H.A.Curtis,
Registrar, Advisory Council of Education,
January, 1918 [1]

The new courses came into operation in January 1921, and the Junior Teacher, as a teaching force, practically disappeared from that date.

W.T.McCoy,
Director of Education,
January, 1921[2]

The phasing out of the junior teacher system occurred in two quite separate stages. The first, instigated by Curtis on behalf of the Advisory Council of Education, a body recommended by the Royal Commission of 1912 to bring a wider cross-section of advice to the Education Department, would have resulted in the retention of Grade IV junior teachers in keeping with the time-honoured tradition of accepting into the Teachers' Training College only those who had shown themselves suited to the job during at least a year of practical teaching. It would also have allowed for a much more extensive practical training for candidates for the Short Course at the Observation School in what can best be described as a revival of an apprenticeship system for a new kind of monitor. However, McCoy, who became Director of Education in October 1919, believed that no one should teach before completing a professional course of training. The second phase therefore involved the removal of junior teachers and monitors from the teaching force and from the training system.

Phase One - The Curtis Plan 1918 - 1919

As was seen in the previous chapter, the search for a better balanced teacher training system after the reforms of 1913 resulted in increasing dissatisfaction with the time and attention available for practical aspects of teaching both for those at the Teachers College as well as for those undertaking the Short Course at the Observation School. The disquiet at Union level, and even amongst some of the Inspectors, can be seen to have paved the way for a serious consideration in the final years of the decade for quite radical changes to teacher training. One such consideration was to re-introduce a type of pupil teacher system for those suitable for training in a short course. These candidates would be employed as monitors to assist in staffing small country schools where they would obtain practical teaching experience for several years instead of attending a secondary school. Such a scheme had to be paid for and at a time when there was a general want of money due to the effects of the war, funds

had to be found from reductions elsewhere. One very obvious area where savings could be made was in the amount of time spent by junior teachers at the Adelaide High School, time that some influential critics believed could be better spent on practical training. The change was therefore to be at the expense of the first three grades of junior teachers, those not really 'teaching' at all. At first it was proposed to eliminate all payments for candidates at secondary school but later this was altered to a teacher scholarship system for a very reduced number of them.

The architect of these bold schemes was Mr. Harry A. Curtis, a public servant who had risen from the position of Chief Clerk to Secretary of the Department and who, in July 1916, was appointed Registrar of the newly established Advisory Council of Education.[3] His involvement with the junior teacher system came about through Maughan, the Director, who in his Report for 1916 noted that the number of applicants for admission to the Adelaide High School as junior teachers was now greater than ever before. He acknowledged the role of the Inspectors in impressing on head teachers their responsibilities for recruiting and went on:

> and in this way they have been very effectively supported by Mr. Curtis, ... to whom I have entrusted the admission of junior teachers, with the most satisfactory results. I attach a statement from him which shows the development of the last five years.[4]

In view of this it is somewhat ironic that within a short time of being given this trust, Curtis was to use the very success of the junior teacher system to justify the elimination of Grades 1 - 111.

The statement 'Supply of Teachers' that Curtis prepared for Maughan in January, 1917, regarding developments in recruiting junior teachers is of interest for more than the actual numbers involved.[5] It also reveals a great deal about how the system operated at that time, what made it attractive to candidates and what it cost the Department. Firstly Curtis drew attention to the improvements that had occurred since 1913 in recruiting for classified teachers through the junior teacher system. At the beginning of 1913, 46 new junior teachers had been admitted to the service, 28 of them into Grade 1 and just one into Grade 1V. In January 1917, 180 new junior teachers were admitted, 114 in Grade 1 and 19 directly into Grade 1V. Overall at the beginning of 1917, there were 397 junior teachers at the Adelaide High School and 117 teaching in schools. In 1912 there had been just 40 registered candidates awaiting admission as junior teachers, all from public (primary) schools. By the end of 1916 there were 416 such candidates, 209 from 118 primary schools and 207 from 22 high schools. Curtis saw the increased numbers entering teaching as an indication that although there had been a great dearth in the supply of certificated teachers, the future was 'decidedly bright' in this regard. Indeed recruiting had been so successful that he anticipated that from then on there would be 120 to 150 students each year at the Training College.

He explained the ten-fold increase in candidates for teaching largely in terms of the strong and attractive nature of the recruiting approaches instituted by Williams. Teachers at the high schools had been asked to bring to the notice of their pupils the advantages of the teacher-training scheme being offered by the Education Department. Inspectors had been told to inform head teachers that if they wanted their schools to be properly staffed in the future, they must secure candidates who would make teaching their life's work. Parents, too, had begun to realise that the Education Department's offer to undertake the training of their children as junior teachers was a 'very liberal one'. Curtis went on to explain just how liberal it was in financial terms:

> As it may not be known how generous this offer is, I would point out that a lad entering as a Junior Teacher of the First Grade whose home is in the country, receives during the three years he is at the Adelaide High School, £150 in cash in addition to free education, free books and free admission to University examinations, a total of £191, besides travelling as a scholar on the tramways or at a quarter fare on the railway. A girl under similar circumstances has £173 spent on her by the Department. This is equivalent to a Bursary or Scholarship of £60 per annum, as these Junior Teachers do nothing but study during the whole three years. Those whose homes are in Adelaide and the suburbs cost £20 per annum less.[6]

His comment 'nothing but study' and his emphasis on the costs involved in this were significant as within a year he was to recommend that the Department cease paying altogether for the years at the Adelaide High School but rather get value for money by supporting only those who taught, the monitors and the junior teachers of Grade 1V.

Curtis gave further details about the recruiting of junior teachers in 1916 and the alternatives available to them that add considerably to the picture of how the system operated. He noted that a little over 50 per cent of them came from the country, an important social and economic aspect, as suitable lodgings had to be found for these young people and the special additional allowance paid. Altogether 151 of the 416 registered candidates failed to gain acceptance as junior teachers because of the entrance examination, an inspector's check of their ability to teach, or the medical adviser's opinion of their suitability for the special work of teaching or for joining the Teachers' Superannuation Fund. 84 others withdrew, some to become senior monitors, or to take the short course, or to continue studying with the intention of re-entering at third or fourth grade.

By the beginning of 1917, the 397 junior teachers at the Adelaide High School were almost too many for the system to absorb and the scene was set for the Department to be even more selective as regards entrants to the system. In a blunt statement that was clearly a major step towards ensuring greater efficiency and better value for money, Curtis warned that while all candidates from 1916 had been placed, if the number continued to be so large:

> ... it will be necessary in future for those who, as Monitors, have shown ability to teach, to be given precedence as Junior Teachers of First Grade over those who have not served the Department.[7]

In the very next year, in another report on the supply of teachers, Curtis felt obliged to 'cry a halt' to the number entering the service for training as classified teachers.[8] In January, 1918, with 422 junior teachers at the Adelaide High School, 166 teaching in schools and 104 student teachers at the College, together with about 120 passing through the short courses, he believed that it was time to 'disperse the bogey of "A Dearth of Teachers" in this State'.[9] He therefore made the drastic suggestion for altering the training system by suspending the appointment of any further junior teachers of Grades 1 - 111 and the retention of Grade 1V only for '... those who have already passed the Senior Public, who start "teaching" and so earn the salary paid to them.'[10]

He defended this very clear emphasis on value for money from 'teachers' rather than 'students' on a number of grounds, the first of which was that there was 'no need' to engage them. He made it quite clear that he believed that the Department had enough trainees to see it through the next five years and could quite easily dispense with the very large number who were merely studying and therefore seemingly not deserving of a junior teacher allowance. As well, an average of about 20 persons who had already passed the Senior Public at no cost to the Department, had been recruited directly as Fourth Grade junior teachers in each of the previous three years. Curtis did not explain why there were so many entrants from outside the junior teacher system, but as it was wartime, it might be thought that perhaps they were mainly young men seeking to avoid the armed forces. As with normal recruiting, however, the majority of them were in fact women. The list in the Gazette of February, 1916,[11] shows that of some 20 recruited directly into Grade 1V, only 5 were men and in 1917, of 19 such recruits again 5 were men.[12] Indeed, a quite large number of junior teachers enlisted for war service in these years. In 1917 for example, 19 junior teachers were listed amongst those in the Australian Imperial Forces including one killed in action.[13]

Curtis put forward three other reasons for abolishing the first three grades of junior teachers. One related to default over agreements and was insignificant as few such cases occurred. Another related to the risk to the Department and the anxiety to parents of having such a large number of young persons aged between 14 and 17 years of age away from home. In 1916, board had to be found for 228 junior teachers from the country at the High School but Curtis was able to say that so far there had been little trouble because of '... the excellent influence of the Principal ... and his staff together with the good conduct of these young students...'[14] That the potential for problems here was well known is clear from the remark of Bennett in 1915 that an important part of the old pupil teacher system was that those young persons were '... living under parental influence instead of being away from home.'[15] Curtis's remaining reason for suspending the first three years of the system related, not surprisingly, to cost savings and cost effectiveness. The cash allowance and the cost of tuition and

books for the first three levels of the junior teachership amounted to £21473-7s and this of course would be saved by abolishing the system. Curtis argued that some of this saving could be used to boost the allowances for junior teachers of Grade 1V and student teachers but he intended at least half of it to go into setting up the extended monitor system to better prepare candidates for the Short Course and service in country schools.

For Curtis this was a natural progression from doing away with the early part of the junior teacher system as he had to then look to the future of the monitors who would have fed into that system. He asked 'What is to become of the 300 odd monitors employed? Are they to be led, professionally, into a blind alley?' and answered his own question 'Not at all'[16] They should be encouraged, he believed, to remain as monitors for two years (at slightly increased pay), then become senior monitors for another two years, remaining at a local school, and so at home under the care of their parents, receiving lessons to prepare them for the Junior Public and :

> ... getting that excellent practical training in their work which most authorities will admit makes them more valuable teachers in primary schools than those who have spent three years as Junior Teachers at the Adelaide High School as scholars.[17]

This scheme seems very much like the 'reversion to the old scheme, or a modification of it' as put forward by Bennett in 1915[18] and there seems no doubt that he and other like-minded Union leaders were the 'authorities' to whom Curtis referred.

The Regulations following the Education Act of 1915 had allowed for the continuing use of monitors and senior monitors. As has been seen, the latter were monitors who had passed the entrance examination for the junior teacher course but who had taught successfully for two years instead of proceeding to one of the training institutions. On reaching the age of 17 years 6 months, these senior monitors could become unclassified teachers in charge of very small schools or acting assistant teachers without any other formal training. Apart from the relatively few who did this, the monitor system was intended as the entrance point to the first grade of junior teacher at the High School. Curtis now appeared to be suggesting a quite different type of monitor, one not intending to be a junior teacher at all, but rather to follow the path of the senior monitors. However, his scheme was an advance on the current one, as he intended that his 'new' monitors should go further by having at least some professional training through a Short Course before taking responsibility for schools or classes as uncertificated teachers. The scheme had all the worst features of the old pupil teacher system - teaching before training, going into the job straight from primary school, studying for examinations while teaching, receiving a minimum of professional training and being condemned, in the main, to remaining unclassified, second class teachers unless they were prepared to take on further studies. In effect, it was a suggestion for a return to pre 1900 days as the monitors would not attend a secondary school at all. Overall it would perpetuate the dual system of training against which

Williams had argued so strongly and effectively before the 1912 Royal Commission on Education and which the proposed new training college was supposed to eliminate.

However, there were enough reasonable aspects in the proposal to make it attractive to certain power groups. As has been seen, one of the problems of the Short Course was that those entering it generally had insufficient educational and teaching background to profit from six months of training. The new scheme would have ensured that future students taking the course would have been at least fully technically prepared for work in the rapidly increasing number of very small schools. A significant feature of such schools was that they generally had just the one teacher and it was essential that that person was able to control a class and that he or she had acquired adequate direct routine efficiency. Apart from conservative Union leaders, the scheme might well have satisfied Inspector Harry who in criticising the Short Course in his report for 1918 wrote, 'It is unfortunate that we have so many young teachers whose period of training and especially whose experience in actual teaching are so limited'[19] or Assistant Inspector Gartrell who also in criticising that course said, 'I wish that one of the following remedies could be applied: Either an extension of the period of training, or a considerable stiffening of the entrance test.'[20] Gartrell was realistic enough to add that the latter would exclude so many as to leave the service undermanned!

A constant supply of monitors assisting in staffing the rather larger country schools while learning to teach would also have appealed to the departmental officers responsible for finding staff for these schools. The financial benefits of a scheme involving lowly paid monitors would have been a strong incentive, too, for a Department with limited funds for salaries and for training. Administrators had to weigh up whether to fully train all teachers knowing that many of them, particularly the women, would be unlikely to make teaching their life's work. As unattractive as the scheme would have been to supporters of modern approaches to training, at least it allowed for an alternative to the Junior Teachers' School and the radically different College that Schulz had seen as a possibility, in light of the criticisms of his College. Furthermore, the scheme did not interfere with Schulz's modern system either as academically well qualified students from various high schools would be able to enter as junior teachers Grade 1V, progress to the Teachers' Training College, and go into schools as classified teachers. This in itself was intended to save the Department money as these people would be recruited free of cost. Indeed, the savings in the plan in all kinds of ways must have recommended it highly to the Departmental officials concerned with financing training. In addition, Curtis listed several other advantages to further recommend his scheme.

He saw particular value in recruiting his monitors from country schools for he believed that 'Being brought up in the country, they would more readily and with greater contentment go to country schools than those who have been town bred.'[21], a probably very realistic reflection on the great difficulties that had been experienced for so many years in encouraging classified teachers into the

more remote country areas. It is clear, too, that Curtis saw little problem for the monitors in managing to study for the Junior Public in primary schools as he believed:

> The number of head teachers of the smaller schools (where the majority of monitors, 252 to 74 in 1917, are and should be employed) who have been through the Teachers' Training College will now increase each year, they will have the necessary attainments to instruct their monitors up to the University Public Examinations' standards.[22]

He would have been referring to the Junior Public but it seems that he believed, too, that in due course, those trained in this way would be able to escape from their unclassified status by studying for the Senior Public after beginning teaching. However, he was on particularly shaky ground here. Only five years earlier Pavia had told the Annual Conference of the Union that 'Experience is totally against the idea that teachers trained in the short course will go through the grades and become higher grade teachers.'[23] [by grade here he meant higher classification, not teaching level] Indeed, Pavia had gone on to say that the acceptance of short courses was a negation of the need for a fully equipped training college. It is not surprising then that Schulz entered the debate by suggesting in his 1918 report that the monitorial system should be abolished altogether and the savings, which he estimated as between £10,000 and £15,000 a year, be put towards a 'well-built and fully-equipped Training College'[24]

Well before this however, certain of the proposals in Curtis's 1917 report must have met with opposition. It would appear that the matter of doing away with allowances for junior teachers of the first three grades was unacceptable in some quarters when it was realised that there would no longer be a guarantee of sufficient numbers for the one remaining year of the junior teachership. Very likely it was realised, too, that without supporting allowances, a number of good candidates for teaching might not be able to continue on at school. Some idea of the strength of the opposition to this particular aspect can be gauged from the fact that in March, 1918, only weeks after the report was published, Curtis was obliged to prepare an addendum to it for submission to the Advisory Council.[25] In this additional section he made a number of further suggestions, the most significant of which was that the term 'Junior Teacher' be abolished as far as Grades 1, 11, and 111 were concerned but be replaced with a new system to still encourage and assist candidates for teaching. This was the aspect missing from his previous recommendations and the new term to be used was 'Teachers' Scholarship Holders'. 125 such scholarships were to be awarded each year, 75 for three years for those who had served as monitors and 50 for those who had passed the Junior Public, whether monitors or not. Curtis anticipated that this would ensure at least 100 students per year for the Training College. The scholarships were to be worth £40 per year and this was to produce a significant cost saving. Curtis anticipated that when the scheme matured in three years, the total cost would be '... a total of £16,000 as against a total of £21,500 spent now - a saving of £5275 per annum.'[26]

It would appear that the proposed new monitor system had been questioned too. For the addendum, Curtis had canvassed the views of the monitors and had found that over 58 per cent of them wanted to do the full, rather than the short course, hence the provision of three-year scholarships for current monitors. He justified the retention of his proposal for a new monitor system on the grounds that 107 monitors (ie. 42 per cent.) were 'expressing a desire' to do the Short Course.[27] It seems strange that a decision to extend a generally outmoded teacher training scheme should be justified on the grounds that a significant proportion of the monitors themselves wanted it! Many of these young monitors would have had very little real understanding of the professional issues involved. Their main interest was probably in getting through training to a permanent job, many of them knowing that in view of their academic status, this could best be achieved through the Short Course. Curtis made it clear, however, that progress in studies was to be an important aspect of the new monitor system, an aspect he noted '... is not done now.'[28] In other words, the monitors remaining in primary schools would be required, rather than just given the opportunity, to keep studying to complete Junior Public subjects.

Curtis resigned from the position of Registrar in the middle of 1918 and left the Education Department in order to accept the position of Secretary to the Department of the Minister of Education[29] but his scheme was accepted in the form in which he had revised it in March, 1918. The Report of the Advisory Council for 1918 published on 4th February, 1919, indicated that after being considered on six consecutive occasions during 1918, the report on 'The Supply of Teachers' and the addendum to it prepared by the Registrar, were adopted.[30] In February, 1919, a notice appeared in the Education Gazette under the heading 'Monitors and Junior Teachers'[31] It explained that it was proposed to abolish the term 'junior teacher' for Grades 1-111 '... for the reason that those who enter the Adelaide High school do not 'teach' but are 'scholars'...'. It outlined the scholarship scheme proposed by Curtis and, in clear affirmation of the principle of efficiency and value for money in the training system, stated 'This plan means that only those candidates will be selected who show themselves to have sufficient ability to justify their being prepared for admission to the Teachers' Training College at the University'. It outlined, too, details of the scheme for those teachers who did not have those abilities (or who perhaps did not desire full training) to proceed as monitors on the lines already set out by Curtis, except that the period was reduced to three rather than four years.

At the beginning of 1919 then, the dual system of training teachers that had been in existence since the Short Course was introduced in 1912 was to be cemented into place. Those who had the ability to pass the Senior Public Examination either with a teaching scholarship or without such help, were eligible for one year as a junior teacher prior to entering the Teachers' Training College. Those unable or unwilling to do this could become teachers by undergoing on-the-job training that assisted in staffing the schools followed by a minimum period of professional and further practical training. Both schemes entrenched the idea of teaching before training as an acceptable part of that process, a

view directly at odds with that of the new Director, W.T. McCoy, whose appointment was announced on 7th August, 1919.

A final question about the new scheme was raised shortly after the announcement of McCoy's appointment. A document dated 23/8/19 from the Minister of Education to the Attorney-General asked for a legal opinion as to whether the term 'Teacher Scholar' or 'Holder of a Teachers' Scholarship' could be used instead of 'Junior Teacher' from January, 1920, without invalidating the formal agreement system as '... the so-called Junior Teachers of Grades 1, 11, and 111 are not teachers. They do not do one day's "teaching" during the whole three years...'[32] Predictably enough, the Crown Solicitor replied that it would make no difference as 'it is merely a question of terms not of substance'[33]

The appointment of McCoy meant that the teaching scholarship - a matter of mere terms rather than substance - was to be the main part of Curtis's proposals that survived. This does not detract to any great degree from the contribution of Curtis to the debate about reforming teacher training. As an influential public servant he managed to bring the debate into prominence at the Department level in a way that had not been possible since the time of Williams. In the addendum to the 1918 Report, he explained his object as not only to effect savings in the total expense of training teachers, but to obtain a sufficient allowance to induce and to keep a sufficient number of desirable candidates to become 'classified teachers.'[34] At the same time he was responding to the demand for better practical training, especially for teachers into the Short Course, that had been gathering force since 1915. As has been seen, the Union entered the training debate with renewed vigour in 1918 and 1919 and some of the credit for this can be attributed to Curtis just as he seems to have drawn some inspiration for his proposals from that call of Bennett in 1915, for a reversion to, or modification of the monitorial system. It is important to note that Curtis had the backing of the Advisory Council for the addendum. Maugham himself was a member, as was Charles Charlton who acted as Director when illness forced Maugham into early retirement in May, 1919. Had Maugham continued on, or had Charlton taken his place as some of the head masters and inspectors apparently wanted,[35] it seems very likely that junior teachers of Grade 1V would have remained as part of the work force as Curtis and the Advisory Council, and no doubt many teachers and head masters, believed they should. The appointment of a person from outside the State served to bring about a complete change of direction in this regard.

This, then, was the situation that the new Director was to find. The debate over theory and practice in training was still raging. The building of a new Teachers' Training College had not yet been approved and the College remained in its restricted quarters in the University. The dual system of training was still in operation and plans were in hand for formalising the monitorial system on lines similar to the old pupil teacher system. The main reform under way was the acknowledgment that the junior

teachers of Grades 1-111 were de facto scholarship holders and not 'teachers' at all. The educational system was ready for action to be taken on this and the many other training issues that had been awaiting implementation for so long.

Phase Two - The McCoy Reforms 1920 - 1921

Mr. William T. McCoy arrived in South Australia in October, 1919. He had been Director of Education in Tasmania since 1910 and prior to that, an Inspector in the New South Wales Education Department. He lost no time in getting together his plans for reforming a number of aspects of the education system, foremost amongst which was the teacher training system. By the end of 1920, a plan for a restructured teacher training system was ready for implementation from the beginning of 1921. Some of the items in this plan had been waiting for action since the Education Act of 1915 had incorporated the recommendations of the Royal Commission, while others, such as the Teachers' Scholarship, were practically in place when McCoy arrived. Significant aspects, however, were entirely McCoy's idea, the most important of these being his views on the place of practical teaching in training which led him to announce in January, 1921, the virtual disappearance of junior teachers.

The key words in his statement about the disappearance of junior teachers 'as a teaching force' clearly implied that such untrained persons were no longer to have a place in the teaching service. It can be argued however, that McCoy's real contribution to teacher education was to remove the year of practical teaching as a basic part of the training program and as a prerequisite for entry to the Teachers' College. In this way he broke with the established custom by allowing students to proceed directly from high school to the Teachers' College. Until then, as has been seen, all candidates for the College were required to have had some teaching experience, generally of at least a year, and to have given proof of ability to control and teach a class. The removal of this requirement was a most significant change in the system and it was a change that lasted. In due course many junior teachers did again engage in practical teaching as part of the teaching force in times of teacher shortage and economic recession. However, such classroom involvement was no longer regarded as an official part of their training program in the way that it had been since the apprenticeship system had been instituted.

McCoy's biographer, W.G. Richards, maintains that his abandonment of the pupil teachership system '... caused many hard bitten practical teachers to raise their eyebrows and created the suspicion that the Teachers' College and its distinguished Principal were too academic to produce satisfactory practitioners.'[36] Consternation amongst such stalwart defenders of practical teaching as Bennett and Moyse can well be imagined, but suspicion about Schulz and practical training at the College was hardly 'created' at this time. As has been seen in the previous chapter, the debate about the role of the Training College and the question of culture versus training that had been going on for decades

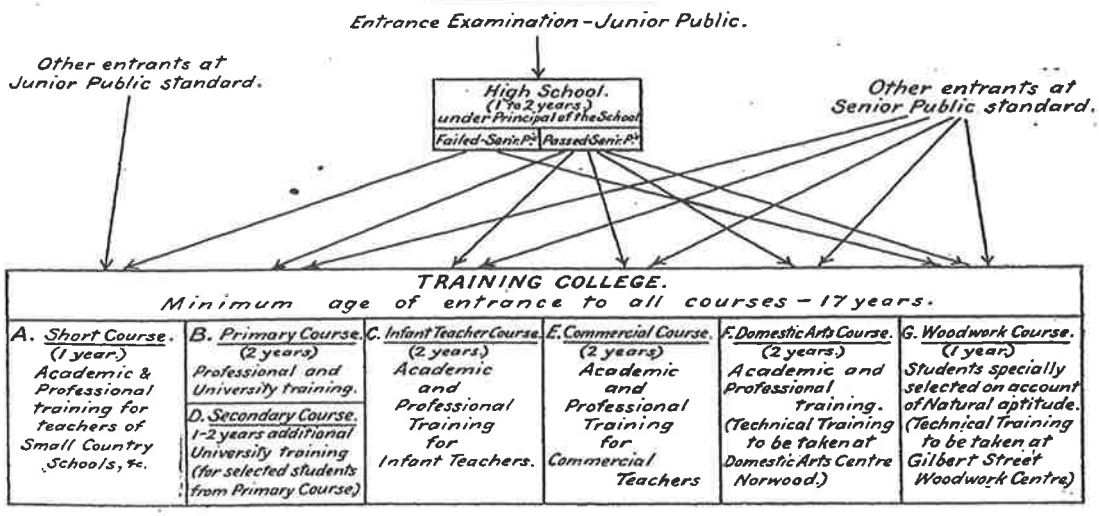
became particularly acrimonious from 1915. McCoy's action simply settled it by making the College alone responsible for both the professional and practical aspects of training and by giving proper scope for the latter by instituting the practising school system. McCoy based his changes to the teacher training system on what he termed 'three fundamental principles'[37] The first of these principles took up the issue of a proper secondary education for all aspiring teachers, a matter which as has been seen, had been of concern since the 1890s. McCoy determined that candidates for teaching should have completed, or at least practically completed, their ordinary education before entering upon their professional course. He raised the lowest standard of entry for both the Short Course and for those taking up the new teaching scholarships to at least that of the Junior Public Examination. Those aspiring to two year or longer courses at the Teachers' College had to have passed the Senior Public.

His second principle broke quite new ground. It stated that '... he [the trainee teacher] should complete his professional course before he is permitted to teach'[38] thus effectively doing away with the untrained teaching force which had been a feature of the Education Department and a basic component of teacher training in one form or another since 1874.

McCoy's third principle was that all the various courses for teacher training had to come under the control of one person instead of several in order to obtain uniformity of educational aim and effort.

The Observation School ceased to exist as a training institution and the Short Course was extended from six months to one year at the Teachers' College. McCoy brought new courses into operation at the College from the beginning of 1921 to supply the necessary academic and professional training for seven groups of trainee teachers. These courses were given alphabetical designations A to G and were set out in his report in this general overview which also shows the secondary requirements for entry to them:[39]

CONSPECTUS SHOWING SCHEME FOR TRAINING TEACHERS IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA.



One of the most significant aspects of these reforms to the College courses was the extension of primary and infant courses to two years instead of the inadequate one year in operation since the time of Williams. In this way McCoy corrected the serious fault introduced at that stage of not allowing sufficient time for the professional and practical needs of student teachers, a fault that can be seen to have contributed in no small way to the constant complaints about the work of the College since that time. The one year A course seems to have been regarded as an expedient in order to cope with the shortage of teachers, especially for the very small country schools, but one that in due course would be extended to allow for full training for these teachers. It is clear from the Conspectus that although the short course had been doubled in length, it retained its role as the training spot for the less well academically qualified candidates, those who had not passed the Senior Public and those who had not attempted it but whose services were still needed to staff schools. The war had forced South Australia into greater industrialisation and teachers with new and different skills were needed to cope with this and with the increasing number of students going into secondary education whose needs were not being met by a traditional high school education. The new E, F, and G courses recognised the need for teachers with skills to cater for the increasing demand for commercial, industrial and domestic courses as secondary education began to meet wider vocational needs.

In explaining the changes he was making to the training system, McCoy revisited a number of issues that had never been resolved satisfactorily despite attempts to do so in previous reforms. In his report for 1920 he described his new scheme for training teachers as:

> ... designed to provide a body of better-educated and better-trained teachers, especially for the country schools. It recognises that the chief aims of the Training College are to improve the general culture of the student, to impart instruction in certain professional subjects not previously taken in his secondary course, and to give him such a knowledge of the aims of education and the methods of teaching as will assist him in his future work in the classroom.[40]

In an address to the students of the newly renamed Teachers' College in January, 1921, McCoy announced that a 'new era' had begun in teacher training, and went on:

> The training which most of you will undergo is fundamentally different from that which was given to former students, inasmuch as you, like the doctor, the lawyer, ... will complete your professional course before you are permitted to practise.[41]

In its omission of any reference to practical teaching prior to College, the Conspectus illustrated very clearly to candidates that the only way of getting into the teaching profession from 1921 onwards was to be via a secondary education. Learning how to teach was to be done only as part of professional training and under proper supervision. McCoy announced that it was to be carried out at the newly established Currie Street, Flinders Street and Gilles Street Practising Schools 'under the supervision of Masters and Mistresses of Method, and skilled demonstration teachers, who have been specially

selected to carry out this important part of the work.'[42] The titles of 'master/mistress of method', 'demonstration teacher' and 'practising school' were first used in the 1921 Official Directory in the January Education Gazette. McCoy made it clear that there was to be close collaboration between the College and the Practising Schools so that the methods applied in the latter '... agree with the pedagogy taught in the College.'[43] Practical training was no longer to be the haphazard affair that it had been when trainee teachers were exposed to any kind of educational practice in ordinary schools.

McCoy took advantage of the planning that had already been done towards replacing the first three years of the junior teacher system with a more cost effective scholarship system. He announced that in order to obtain an adequate supply of qualified students for the College, 150 Probationary Studentships would be awarded annually, tenable at any high school rather than just the Adelaide High School.[44] While this provided 25 more places than Curtis's plan, it still allowed for very considerable cost saving. As the Conspectus shows, these studentships were for those who had already passed the Junior Public stage and so were required for only one or two years rather than the three Curtis had proposed for former monitors. An added advantage of the scheme was that it removed another contentious, and indeed costly, aspect of the former system by allowing country students to remain at home for a greater part of their secondary education at a local high school.

In the short space of just one year then, McCoy had set in place solutions to most of the problems that had bedevilled the training system for so long. He had managed, too, to correct major mistakes that had occurred over the course of time, the most notable of which had been the reduction of time at the College to one year for most student teachers and the inadequate arrangements for practical experience during that time. The fact that the course system and the practising school system introduced in this way were to last as the basis for teacher training in South Australia for over fifty years, is a measure of the contribution of McCoy to such work.

In view of such reforms it is hardly surprising to find Dr. Schulz commenting in his report for 1921 that 'The year 1921 may well be regarded as the most momentous in the history of the College.'[45] To illustrate that there had been a definite change in general policy, he gave a brief history of the pupil-teacher system with its emphasis on teaching before training and went on:

> Since the beginning of the present year, a somewhat higher Senior standard is being demanded, the age of entry has been raised to 17 years, and the period of pupil teachership (or "junior teachership") abolished altogether. The policy now, in short, is that of training teachers *before* they are appointed to take charge of classes or schools.

In the sense that teaching before training was no longer a requirement, Schulz was correct in saying that the junior teachership had been abolished. However, circumstances determined that the position of junior teacher still had a place, albeit a very different one now, in the general training scheme. The

September, 1920, Education Gazette set out the new Regulations for the training of teachers which allowed for three categories of trainees - probationary students, junior teachers and students in training.

Applications were called for the new probationary studentships, with Head Teachers being expected to encourage suitable persons to apply. Those wanting to enter the teaching service in this way were to be admitted to a high school for 'a course of preparatory instruction and training extending over one or two years.'[46] No details were given of the nature of the preparatory course except that the Director would determine the subjects from time to time. It seems that in practice, the probationary students were solely concerned with passing the Senior Public examinations with no more regard to preparing for teaching than had been given to junior teachers at the Adelaide High School. Applicants had to be between the ages of 15 and 18, to provide evidence of good moral character, to have satisfied the medical officer as to their physical fitness, and to give evidence of necessary aptitude and general suitability for the work of a teacher. No indication was given as to how this last requirement might be achieved and it can only be assumed that the High School determined it. In any case the probationary scheme was a competitive one based on the results of the Intermediate Certificate or Junior Public examinations. Six points were awarded for a credit and four for a pass in up to eight subjects with English and Arithmetic being compulsory.

According to these Regulations the term 'Junior Teacher' now applied to -

(1) Persons of 15 years of age or more, who, not being Probationary Students and having passed the Junior Public Examination in five subjects, including English and Arithmetic, were awaiting admission to the Training College and

(2) Probationary Students who had failed to obtain admission to the Training College and those who had elected to defer entrance to the College for one year after completion of their High School Course.[47]

In addition, the new Circular 12, 'The Training of Teachers', listed a third category – 'Probationary students who do not desire to enter the Training College'[48]

The junior teachership was clearly now a holding spot designed to suit the needs of both the Department and individual candidates. Since the entry age to the Teachers' College had been raised to 17 years with the minimum qualification for the 'A' Short Course being the Junior Public Examination which could be completed at a much earlier age, it was realistic to have a holding spot for those qualified but under age, with the same applying to those who had almost completed an entry qualification. Nevertheless, the three clauses seem to allow for teaching before training despite McCoy's principle about this. Indeed as late as February, 1922, junior teachers were required to give a weekly criticism lesson 'to his own class' according to a Gazette notice.[49] All three clauses may

well have been regarded as temporary expedients at a time of transition from one system to another but their retention allowed the junior teacher system to be used in future years to employ in the classrooms young people who could have been better off remaining at school to improve their academic qualifications. The third clause is the most intriguing of all as it seems to allow for avoiding training altogether. It continued to feature in the Circular but, as will be seen, was very rarely applied after the transition to the new system.

With such significant changes to the training system, special transitional arrangements had to be made to transfer some of the current junior teachers to the probationary ranks, to allow others direct entry to the College and to retain some as junior teachers from the beginning of 1921. These interim arrangements were gazetted in September, 1920.[50] Those junior teachers of Grades 1 and 11 who could comply with the age and academic requirements of the new probationary scheme were allowed to transfer directly to it. Those who could not comply simply moved to the next grade of junior teacher under the old scheme, with the right to enter the probationary scheme in due course.

The junior teachers of Grade 111 presented a rather more complicated situation and several courses had to be made available for them. Those who could comply with the requirements of age (17 years) and examination (Senior Public) could enter the B or C courses at the Teachers' College. This was the most significant of the changes as for the first time, entrants to the College were to come direct from school rather than from the year of practical teaching. Those who could not comply with both conditions could remain at a high school as probationary students with a view to entering the College in the next year. Those who could comply with the age but not the examination conditions had three choices and what they did seems to have depended very much on their academic status as well as on personal ambition. They could remain at high school as probationary students in order to qualify further, or they could enter the A Course and leave the College as unclassified teachers. The other choice was to teach in schools as junior teachers Grade 1V under the old conditions, an option very likely taken by those who needed to pass just one or two subjects. Although no mention is made of those merely under age, it seems likely that this latter provision would have applied to them as well. While permission to teach prior to beginning a professional course was at odds with McCoy's second fundamental principle, it was a practical and useful way to employ such candidates instead of keeping them at high school for another year. As it turned out, it was very useful, too, for the Department to have such extra staff at a time of a serious shortage of teachers, a situation exacerbated by the very reforms being introduced.

Records in the Education Gazette of April 1921 show that of the 144 junior teachers of Third Grade of 1920, sixty-eight became probationary students in 1921 while fifty-five entered the Teachers' College, nine to the new full year A course and the rest mainly to the B and C courses.[51] Seventeen were appointed as Grade 1V junior teachers under the old rules, two of whom entered an A course in

July, 1921, while the rest served out the year in schools. Of the others, one was dismissed, two resigned and one accepted a position as an unclassified assistant in 1921 and went on to become an unclassified teacher in charge of a small school in the following year.

Similar provisions were made for the junior teachers Grade 1V, teaching in schools in 1920, most of whom can be assumed to have reached the age of 17. Those qualified for the Training College under the old conditions had two choices. They could enter the B Course and undertake University work as well as professional subjects over two years and so qualify for the first certificate, the 111B. The alternative was to enter the A Course for the one year and take only the subject of Education but no other University work, and, as a special one-off privilege, still go into schools as certificated teachers. Those not qualified for entrance to the Training College under the old conditions had two choices too. They could enter the A Course and even study Education, but at end of the course leave the College as uncertificated teachers. The alternative was to go direct to country schools as uncertificated teachers in 1921, a course of action also at odds with McCoy's view on training but one clearly necessary to suit the needs and wishes of some of them. Several seem to have chosen this path because of their academic status. Records show that three of the men and two of the women who did, had in fact failed one or more of the subjects in the end of year Grade 1V junior teacher examination.[52] Others would have seen it as a way of immediate entry into adult teaching that would give them the same uncertificated status as those who opted to spend a further year as student teachers in the A course.

The Gazette of April 1921 listed 185 junior teachers of Grade 1V as having sat for the last Junior Teachers' Examination at the end of 1920.[53] In 1921, 159 of them entered the Teachers' College with ten men and thirty-three women going to the A course, thirty-seven men and fifty-two women to the B course, twenty-two women to the C course and five to the E course. Of the others, two resigned and six men and eighteen women went directly into teaching as unclassified assistants.[54] Although the Circular had indicated that those who chose the latter course would be appointed in charge of small schools, all twenty-four were in fact appointed to large primary schools for 1921, an indication that under McCoy's new regime, some care was being taken for their supervision, at least in their first year of teaching.

In what seems to be a somewhat contradictory policy, just as the last few of the untrained were allowed to teach, every effort was also made to give an opportunity for training to those who had missed out on it under the old system.[55] Provision was made for ex-junior teachers from 1918 and 1919, presumably those who had gone directly into teaching, to enter the College under the same conditions as for the 1920 junior teachers Grade 1V. Provision was also made for any other teacher in the service who had not been through the Training College, to enter the B Course in 1921 or 1922 on passing the Senior Public in five subjects provided that their teaching reports were satisfactory. At

first sight it would seem that this would have opened the way for quite large numbers of applicants from the ranks of those untrained or who had merely done a short course. However, few of these teachers would have had the necessary academic qualifications at Senior Public level and the time span of just two years for this special concession was probably insufficient to obtain them. Others who had been in the service for some years, especially those men who had married and settled down, would have had difficulties in returning to College, and large numbers of them continued to teach and to qualify for certification by passing the required number of Senior Public subjects. However, a few uncertificated teachers did take advantage of these special provisions. The Gazette of April, 1921, shows that at least four men, who had been teaching as uncertificated teachers in the previous year, entered the B course, while three women entered the C course and two the A course.[56] In 1922, a junior teacher from 1920, who had opted to go directly into teaching in 1921, was given a place in the C course.[57] The significance of these details is that they show that every possible chance was given to untrained teachers, including those who realised they had taken the wrong option at the end of 1920, to obtain the basic qualifications that McCoy expected. The last junior teachers Grade 1 were appointed from 1/1/21 (ten at the Adelaide High School and two at Mt. Gambier) with the clear information that no further appointments would be made under the former regulations. At the same time seventeen junior teachers were promoted to Grade 11 and twenty-one to Grade 111 as part of winding up the old system, a process that will be described in greater detail in the next chapter. Apart from the 194 ex-junior teachers already mentioned, sixty-five more probationary students were appointed, nine at the Adelaide High School and the rest in country and metropolitan high schools.[58]

Meanwhile the monitor system continued, but as might be expected in view of McCoy's ruling on teaching before training, it did not develop in the way proposed by Curtis at the beginning of 1919. In March, 1921, new rules for monitors were published indicating that no further appointments of senior monitors would be made and that the future prospects for an ordinary monitor lay in three directions.[59] He or she could become a probationary student, a junior teacher or go direct to the A Course, subject to complying with the normal conditions for these positions. Because of the increasing shortage of teachers, some monitors were exempted from these conditions and allowed to enter the A Course by passing a special Departmental examination instead of the Junior Public.

The increasing shortage of teachers was due in no small way to the very reforms McCoy had introduced. This table illustrates the impact on the staffing of schools of McCoy's decision to remove the junior teachers from the teaching force.

TABLE 6.1

Junior Teachers of Grade 1V
Selected Years - 1915 to 1919 and 1920 to 1922[60]

	1915	1917	1919	1920	1921	1922
Junior Teachers	47	121	168	185	25	14
% of the teaching force	2.7%	6.1%.	8.1%	9.0%	1.3%	0.7 %
Total teaching force	1715	1955	2051	2052	1874	1842

The increased numbers of junior teachers after 1915 can be seen to have formed a significant part of the general growth of the teaching force, an aspect even more clearly illustrated with their removal in 1921. The overall decline in the teaching force in that year was 178 while the number of junior teachers reduced by 160.

Something of the significance of junior teachers as part of the teaching force prior to the 1921 reforms is further illustrated by an unusual publication in the Education Gazette in March, 1920.[61] Normally the junior teachers attached to school staffs were not listed along with permanent staff in the official list of schools published in the reports of the Minister and in the first Gazette of each year. However, when separate Infant Departments were established in 1920, the first gazetted list of them showed the junior teachers as well as the adult staff members. This particularly interesting insight into how the system operated reveals that junior teachers made up about 32% of the total staffing of these schools. Of the 18 new infant schools, 12 had one or more junior teachers on the staff. At Ethelton, for example, there was one junior teacher, one unclassified teacher, one assistant teacher and an infant mistress while at Goodwood there were three junior teachers, two assistants and an infant mistress. The cost saving in this was considerable. A teacher holding the 111B certificate earned up to £130, an uncertificated teacher £100 but the junior teachers were paid a mere £48 per annum! Similar situations existed in numbers of primary and high schools.

The removal of such large numbers of staff from the teaching force was bound to have repercussions, and something of the pressure on the system by 1921 can be gauged from McCoy's report for that year. In commenting on the supply of teachers he said:

> The inauguration of the new scheme for the training of teachers rendered the problem of maintaining an adequate supply unusually difficult by reason of the fact that the "Short Course" and the "Primary Course" were extended to twelve months and two years, respectively. The difficulty was overcome partly through the loyal assistance of those teachers who undertook additional work in the schools that were understaffed.[62]

Not surprisingly, in view of his beliefs about the place of untrained teachers, he did not count having so many fewer junior teachers as part of this problem. Their absence, however, must have added considerably to the understaffing of many schools, to say nothing of the additional costs when trained teachers did become available.

By 1921, McCoy had moved to overcome staffing problems by greatly increasing the number of students at the Teachers College. Gazette records show that in 1916 there had been thirty-seven students in training there. By 1920, there were 135 of whom 115 were available for appointment from the beginning of 1921, but even with the normal numbers from the short courses, this would

only just have made up for the removal of the junior teachers and the usual retirements and resignations. By 1921, the number of student teachers had increased to over 300.[63] Of these, twenty were doing the last six-month short course and so were available for appointment in July of that year. Another sixty-three were doing the full Short Course in readiness for the 1922 school year, and another intake into a ten month Short Course in July provided thirty-two for the following May. Against this had to be balanced the fact that some 135 from the B and C courses would be going on for a second year in 1922, instead of being available for appointment. As a result, staffing the schools in 1922 proved to be as difficult as in the previous year.

In normal circumstances the situation should have righted itself in due course but other factors besides the changes to teacher training were contributing to the pressure on the education system. In 1918, Curtis had listed several factors that had led to the shortage of teachers which he believed at that stage was being overcome.[64] These included extending the ages of compulsory attendance from 7 to 13 years to 6 to 14 in the Education Act of 1915; the need for schools in newly-settled districts; finding teachers for the German schools that had been closed; and the increased birthrate, which had reached the highest points in 1913 and 1914. The effects of most of these were still being felt in 1921 and 1922, as the increase in primary numbers extended into secondary schools and as soldier re-settlement schemes in new areas increased the demand for small schools. The changes to the training system could be expected to lead to an even greater shortage of teachers but it does not seem that McCoy was deterred by this prospect. In looking at his background it is possible to see something of his motivation for the significant changes he made to the training scheme in general, and the junior teacher system in particular, in quite difficult circumstances.

Richards[65] notes that McCoy had been a pupil teacher himself in New South Wales. For four years he taught classes during the day under the general supervision of the head master, from whom he received instruction before and after school hours. He experienced the heavy mental and physical strains of lesson preparation, continuous teaching and studying for annual examinations and receipt of a pittance for work as a pupil teacher. Of even more significance were McCoy's experiences in N.S.W. when as an inspector up until 1910, he witnessed the reforms to teacher training there, including abolition of the '... iniquitous pupil teacher system'[66] and the establishment of the Teachers' College. Richards went on to point out that McCoy was able to contrast and compare young teachers turned out under the old pupil teacher system with those trained in the new way and concludes that he must have seen the new way as better, as this was what he endeavoured to adopt when he was in control in Tasmania as Director from 1910, and then in South Australia.

While McCoy set a cracking pace for reform of teacher training in South Australia, it cannot be claimed of course, that all the improvements were due to his efforts alone. As has been seen, teaching scholarships were in hand when he arrived, while various other reforms had been planned by Williams or recommended by the Royal Commission and incorporated into the Education Act of

1915. He was fortunate, too, to take up his appointment as the economy was improving after the hardships of the war years. This made it easier for him to get the Government to agree to build the long awaited new training college and to move the present College into its own temporary quarters still close to the University, but no longer beholden to it for accommodation. However, none of these advantages detract from McCoy's contribution to reforming teacher training. It is much to his credit that he had the strength to push ahead with so many aspects that had been in the planning stage for so long and at the same time, introduce new ideas that could not have met with the full approval of some of his head masters and teachers, or indeed of a Government faced with big increases in the cost of staffing schools.

Apart from his reforms to the initial training of teachers, McCoy also contributed to continuing and higher education for them through the development of the Diploma in Education that, as has been seen, had been allowed for as early as 1908 for secondary teachers but not implemented for various reasons.[67] In 1921, however, the University examination results for teachers published in the Education Gazette listed for the first time 'Diploma In Education' subjects.[68] McCoy's influence is obvious in this, and in 1922 he put out a Gazette notice announcing his decision to count the Diploma in Education - which was now available to both secondary and primary teachers - towards securing the highest certificates of the Department [69] The same Gazette contains a note from Dr. Schulz outlining details of the requirements for the Diploma and an invitation for interested teachers to contact him for further information. A year later a Gazette notice stated that it was probable that, in time, the Diploma would be 'an important qualification for the highest positions in the teaching service.'[70]

As McCoy had noted in his report for 1921, a teacher's professional course was to be completed before he or she could be permitted to teach. With the percentage of junior teachers in the service down to 0.7% by 1922, the lowest level ever since the system began, he was well on the way to achieving this aim. More importantly, the fourteen junior teachers of that year were in schools in order to qualify for the College, rather than being there merely to learn their trade while serving the system as untrained staff. It seemed that the junior teacher, as a teaching force, was indeed practically disappearing, as McCoy had so confidently announced it would, at the beginning of that year. Yet within less than 10 years, the onset of the 1930s depression was to lead to significant numbers of a 'new' kind of junior teacher in the teaching force, not to be trained but to assist once again in staffing schools while awaiting entry to the Teachers' College.

References Chapter 6

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Chapter 7

'NEW' JUNIOR TEACHER SYSTEMS 1921 to 1935

> *Head Masters of High Schools and others are informed that, as the supply of teachers at the present moment exceeds the demand, ... it is proposed to admit a very limited number of students [to the Teachers' College] at the beginning of 1932. Admissions, if any, will be made from the ranks of the Junior Teachers.*
>
> Circular 118 August, 1931[1]

During this period two new and distinct junior teacher systems can be seen to have been in operation, both different from what went before and each different from the other in a number of important ways. The first began in 1921 when McCoy introduced reforms of teacher training that removed practical teaching as a prerequisite for entry to the Teachers' College. As has been seen in Chapter 6, a vestige of the junior teacher system was retained as a holding spot to allow certain candidates to qualify for entry to the College. There were few of these junior teachers, especially in the early part of the decade, and their role and purpose was so different from what had been in place before, that the system can well be regarded as a quite new one. Although the Department was hard pressed for staff during the 1920s, the number of junior teachers was not increased in order to bolster the teaching force as had been the practice in earlier times. Rather, the Department was concerned now with getting recruits who were well qualified at the secondary level for whatever course they wished to pursue at the Teachers' College.

With the onset of the Great Depression however, the situation changed. The numbers at the Teachers' College had to be reduced as the Government could not afford to place trainees on completion of their courses, hence the above advice to Head Masters in October, 1931, about the supply of teachers and the role of junior teachers in relation to intakes there. With the suspension of probationary studentships from 1931, junior teacher numbers had to be built up and maintained for when they might be needed for entry to the College. With less teachers being trained, the Department had to look for other ways of staffing the schools. The large pool of junior teachers proved once again to be a cheap and generally useful source of supply. So from 1931 another new and different junior teacher system emerged, one that this time was very heavily weighted in favour of the Department. Now lowly paid, untrained candidates awaiting intakes at the Teachers' College were used mainly to provide assistance to head teachers of the larger one-teacher schools that in normal times might have had a trained assistant. There were benefits of course for these junior teachers, not the least of which was having a job and a career opportunity at a time of great hardship in society in general. Something of the changing nature of the junior teacher system can be gauged from the numbers employed over the period. At the end of 1925 there were just ten junior teachers, the lowest ever on record. In 1935 there were there were 103, the highest since the McCoy reforms.

The twilight of the system ? 1921 to 1925

In the early part of the decade, McCoy's prediction of the practical disappearance of junior teachers from the teaching force did seem to be coming true. Indeed his willingness to admit students into the College direct from high schools virtually eliminated the traditional period of practical teaching which, it seems, many at the time still regarded as an important and 'time-honoured' aspect of teacher training.[2] The dramatic nature of the change McCoy introduced from 1921 is illustrated in the following table.

TABLE 7.1 Employment of Junior Teachers of Grade 1V 1919 to 1926 [3]

	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926
Junior Teachers	168	185	25	14	27	24	10	27

From 1921, with the exception of 1925 which, as will be seen, was a particularly unusual year, the number of junior teachers of Class 1V tended to level out as the system adjusted to the effects of the reforms. In 1921 only three new junior teachers were appointed from the beginning of the year and two others were put on later. In March, three student teachers were transferred from the College for further practical experience as junior teachers. The rest were junior teachers promoted from the previous Grade 111 under the old rules. As was seen in Chapter 6, the bulk of the Grade 111 junior teachers from 1920 went direct to the Teachers' College if qualified by age and examination or became probationary students if they lacked sufficient secondary passes. It seems that seventeen of them were so close to being qualified that they did not need a probationary year, so they were appointed as junior teachers instead. Eleven of them required one or more Senior Public (later to be called Leaving) subjects to qualify for the primary, infant and possible secondary training while the others needed further Junior Public (later Intermediate) passes to enter an A (Short) Course.

The drop in 1922 reflects the reduction in numbers in the early grades of junior teachers as the probationary system became the entry point to teacher training. There were only twenty-one junior teachers of Grade 111 from 1921 and four of them with insufficient passes at the Junior Public became the last to be promoted to Grade 1V, while the rest went to the Teachers' College or became probationary students. Ten others were appointed, six of whom had been probationary students who were still unqualified for the College after a year in that position. In 1923 and 1924 the make-up of the junior teacher contingent changed somewhat. There were now fewer former probationary students and a number of those appointed from outside the system had only Junior Public passes. By this time there was a severe shortage of teachers and it was in the interests of the Department to ensure a ready supply of such candidates for the Short Courses. This continued in 1925 and while the Ministerial report records the very low number of just ten junior teachers for that year, the figure is misleading as there were in fact thirty junior teachers appointed initially but thirteen of them were accepted into the College by March. During the year, six of the rest were accepted into one or other

of the two additional Short Courses that had to be put on because of the teacher shortage. One other resigned during the year thus accounting for the official number of ten remaining at the end of 1925.

While the fall in numbers of junior teachers is perhaps the most obvious indication of the changed status of the system from 1921, the change is reflected in several other ways as well. Between 1923 and 1925 there were just two references to junior teachers in the indexes of the Education Gazettes for each year. This was in stark contrast to 1920 when under the heading 'Junior Teachers' there were eleven such references that covered lists of those admitted, lodgings for them, examination subjects and results, the special notice to Grade 1V about devoting attention entirely to teaching, and various promotion and transfer lists. By 1923, only the minor matters of admission lists and details of suitable lodgings rated a mention. Most significant, however, was the absence of any instructions to headmasters regarding the training of the junior teachers in their schools. Even the departmental circular of detailed instructions for the training of monitors, junior teachers and probationary students that had first appeared in 1920, was omitted from the Gazettes after 1922. The regulations on these matters remained in place but there were no special Gazette notices or reminders to enforce them. It would seem that there was no longer an expectation that head masters instruct their junior teachers or comment on their criticism lessons. No instructions were given either to junior teachers regarding study of a teaching text or departmental documents and there was no longer any examination at the end of the junior teacher year.

The way junior teachers were categorized as part of the Department from 1923 was also a clear indication of a radical change in their status. Until the end of 1922 the official tables in the annual Ministerial reports of the classes of teachers employed listed junior teachers as part of the teaching force along with all other teachers in schools. From 1923, junior teachers were removed from this category and placed in a new one 'Students in Training', together with probationary students and student teachers.[5] Although practical teaching experience was no longer a requirement of training, the placing of junior teachers in this category obviously reflected more clearly McCoy's view that his new system provided for their removal from the teaching force while at the same time allowing them to further their qualifications. The new system can be seen to have been almost a kind of extension of the probationary scheme, or in some cases, even a substitute for it. It gave candidates the opportunity to qualify for the College either by simply reaching the age of 17 years or by gaining further secondary subjects together with a chance to get some experience in their chosen career.

The decrease in the number of junior teachers resulted in a marked change in the make-up of the student body at the Teachers' College. Student teachers without any practical teaching experience soon outnumbered those who had been junior teachers. By 1921 just over 50 per cent of the intake had had the traditional teaching experience and the percentage fell considerably as the McCoy reforms began to take full effect. By 1922 the seventeen former junior teachers entering the College

made up just 10 per cent of the first year intake, a figure that was to drop to 5 per cent in 1923 before beginning to very slowly rise again. Dr. Schulz saw this change as an advantage because in contrast to the old system, the shorter period of 'relatively inexpert practising' that trainees had to do from 1921 was under conditions where school pupils being 'practised on' would be fully safeguarded and where the student teachers would observe skilled persons at work and engage in teaching under supervision and guidance.[6] As was to be expected in the light of his previous comments on 'modern' methods of teacher preparation, Schulz believed that what was now available in the six new practising schools was a much more useful way of training than a year as a junior teacher in an ordinary primary school.

On the other hand, McCoy's move to reduce the number of junior teachers and the other group of untrained 'teachers', the monitors and senior monitors, does seem to be of some concern with regard to the staffing of schools. In his report for 1923, under the heading 'Training of Monitors and Junior Teachers', Inspector Pavia wrote 'I regret that so few of these young people are available for certain classes of schools. With 50, 60, and even 70 children to teach, in seven grades, the strain on the head teacher must be great.'[7] It would seem that he was, in fact, referring more to monitors than junior teachers. Even when large numbers of junior teachers were available most had generally been placed in larger metropolitan or country schools. This continued in the new system. Of the twenty-seven junior teachers in schools in 1923, only three were assisting in the larger one teacher schools with up to about 55 pupils, while four others were in two teacher schools with enough pupils for three classes. The rest were in large schools in the city or in big country towns. The monitors presented a very different picture. Of the 115 in schools in 1923 (there had been 131 monitors and 9 senior monitors in schools in 1922, the last year in which such senior monitors were appointed) the great majority were in what were known as Class V1 schools assisting the head (and only) teacher with groups of pupils ranging from around 30 to over 50, with the latter size of school predominating.[8] As far as junior teachers were concerned, the reduction in numbers was more likely to have affected the larger schools. Teachers in these schools had to accept larger classes in what was considered to be a temporary staffing problem until the greatly increased numbers at the Teachers' College from 1921 were ready to be appointed to schools.

In view of the reduced numbers of junior teachers and their changed importance in the system, it could be said that up to about the end of 1925, the junior teacher system had entered a twilight period from which it would seem to be unlikely to emerge in anything like its previous importance. However, circumstances changed and from 1926 junior teachers came once again to be given some recognition as part of the teaching force.

Re-recognition of a Junior Teacher System 1926 to 1930

The first sign of a recognition of junior teachers as somewhat more than an insignificant group tucked away in schools awaiting entry to the Teachers' College, came in 1926. As though in response to a realization that there were still untrained teachers responsible for classes who might need assistance with that role, a brief notice appeared in the Gazette of February headed 'Subjects For Study - Junior Teachers'. Junior teachers were again required to study the Course of Study for the Primary Schools, the Departmental Regulations, and the text book 'A Primer of Teaching'.[9] In 1927, the rules for the instruction of junior teachers that had applied before the expected demise of the system were set out once more in a departmental circular. Head masters were again responsible for instructing their junior teachers twice a week in School Method, the Course of Instruction and the Regulations. The text book had to be studied and one criticism lesson had to be given 'by the Junior Teacher to his own class'[10] The system may well have still been a holding position for those awaiting College rather than an integral part of training, but it seems that now there was a recognition that junior teachers should at least receive some appropriate professional assistance while engaged in their teaching duties. No doubt this was linked with the growth of the system which, as this table shows, gathered pace from 1928.

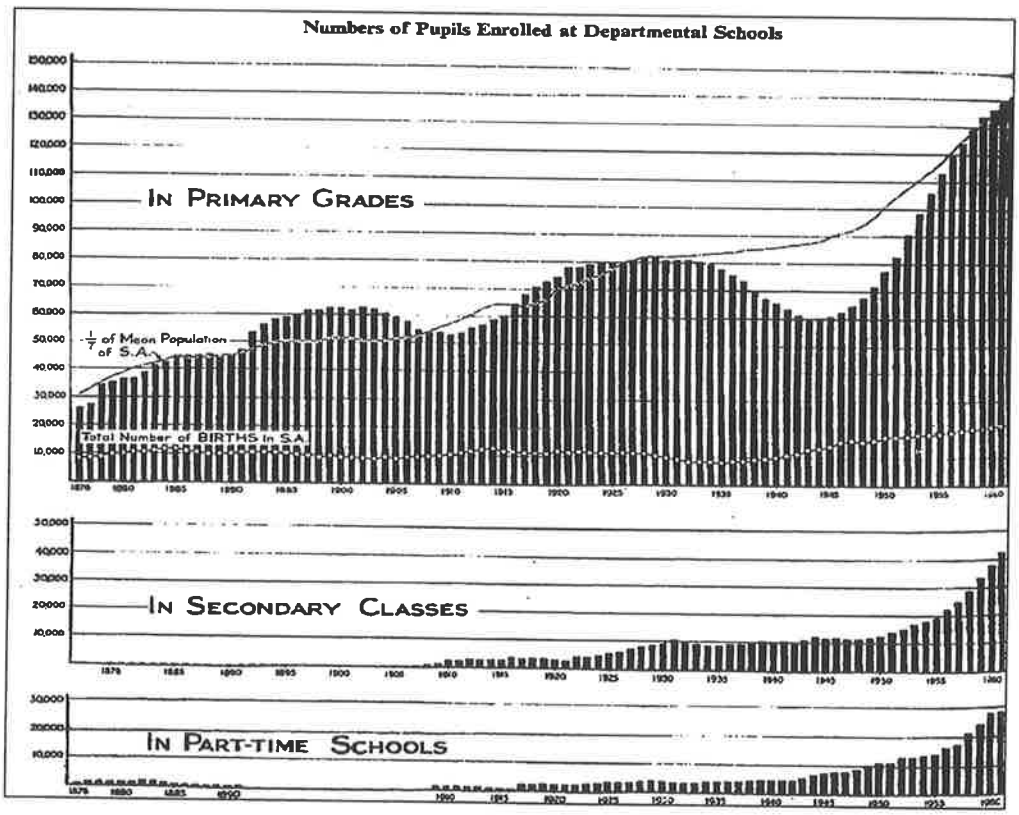
TABLE 7.2 Employment of Junior Teachers 1927 to 1930 [11]

	1927	1928	1929	1930
Junior Teachers	28	42	48	102

Equally as telling with regard to the new status of junior teachers was a footnote to the official list of teachers employed in schools in 1927 in the Ministerial report for that year. The category of uncertificated and miscellaneous teachers contained the appended information that 'In addition to the above (the actual number of such teachers in schools), 28 Junior Teachers, shown under Division V - Students in Training, were employed in Primary Schools.'[12] In the 1928 lists, junior teachers were once more included in the category of teachers employed rather than under the training group. To all intents and purposes, forty-two junior teachers were again part of the teaching force just six years after McCoy had announced their practical disappearance from such a role.

Meanwhile, the shortage of teachers had forced McCoy into a situation where he had to employ other 'teachers' who had merely been rushed through a very brief and rudimentary training period in schools rather than at the College. These were not likely candidates for junior teacherships but once such a principle of teaching before training had been re-accepted, it was but a short step to again regarding candidates for the College as suitable people to assist with staffing problems while at the same time learning how to teach.

There had been an initial shortage of teachers in 1921 due to the changes to the training programs that increased the length of the largest College courses - the A course from six months to a year and the B and C courses from one to two years. In addition, McCoy had accepted into the College a large number of Grade 111 junior teachers who would otherwise have served for a year in schools. What appeared then to be a temporary problem had been overcome by many teachers taking on extra duties and McCoy recognized this in his 1921 Report when he praised the loyal support of those teachers who undertook additional work in schools that were understaffed.[13] He believed that after the initial shortage had been overcome through the increased intakes at the Teachers' College, an annual supply of about 200 teachers would be needed to cope with normal losses through retirement and resignations. He was confident of the ability of the College to produce such numbers but what was not foreseen at the time, was the rapid increase in the number of students at primary and secondary levels, as well as an increased demand for small schools to meet the needs of an expanding rural population. As this chart from a much later Ministerial Report shows, a major factor in the increase in school population appears to have been the decision to increase the length of time at school in the Education Act of 1915[14]. This, coupled with a rising birth rate and a general lift in population, led to a rapid increase of the numbers in schools.



The increase at secondary level was particularly marked from the early 1920s. In 1921, the average enrolment at secondary schools was 2570 but by 1924 it had increased to 3508, thus requiring an additional thirty-five secondary teachers.[15] In addition to the steady increase in primary numbers was

the demand at this level for a very large number of small schools. Post war developments on Eyre Peninsula and in the Mallee and River areas had led to an increase in the number of schools required in close settlements. In 1922 there were some 780 such small schools of which twenty-four had been opened from the beginning of 1921 with seven on Eyre Peninsula and four in the Riverland.[16] By 1926 there were just over 800 small rural schools, 330 under the charge of a head teacher with the rest, usually the smallest ones, having an uncertificated teacher in charge. In his report for 1928, Inspector Leach reported that the need for the establishment of small schools could be attributed to the development of the Mallee and that he believed it likely 'that soon every siding and small centre will have primary school facilities.'[17]

The Department used several strategies for obtaining trained teachers to assist with these needs. After the initial increase of students into the various College courses, extra A (Short) Courses were begun part way through each year, beginning in July, 1921.[18] In addition, trained teachers were recruited overseas to supplement what was able to be done locally.

Such measures, however, proved to be inadequate in meeting the shortages and the Department was forced to turn to much cheaper and quicker expedients. In 1923 there was an unusually heavy loss due to resignations, retirements, marriages and deaths[19] and by 1924 the shortage of trained teachers had become so critical that a return was made to putting groups of untrained 'teachers' in front of classes. Unlike some previous times of shortage, junior teachers were not rushed into the teaching force to alleviate the problem. Instead it was decided to employ a temporary untrained work force. This was the Temporary, or as it was more correctly called from 1925, the Supplementary Teacher scheme. A new Circular 'Employment Of Temporary Teachers' appeared in the Gazette of January, 1924, with the explanation that 'From time to time the Department needs temporary teachers to carry on the work in small schools with an average attendance of 10 children, and occasionally in the lowest grades of small Class V Schools'[20] Forty such teachers were required immediately and Inspectors and Head Teachers were asked to bring the matter to the notice of suitable persons:

> ... especially monitors and ex-monitors and ex-students of a High School who whilst unwilling to undergo the full course of training at the Teachers' College and serve in any part of the State, might be willing to accept an appointment in a 'home' school and thus release a trained teacher for a more important service. ... It is to be clearly understood that the above scheme is an expedient to meet the needs of small localities in the country for which the Department cannot presently find trained teachers.[21]

These people were to be given a short course in school routine and keeping records for four to six weeks in a selected school near their home. Preference was given to those who had passed a Public Examination and no one with less than the equivalent of the Qualifying Certificate that marked the successful completion of primary education could be accepted. The District Inspector had to approve

of the person who also needed a recommendation as to general suitability, good character and education from the local teacher or some other approved person. They received £1 per week while training and a £5 bonus on successful completion of this time. They were then appointed to take charge of a small school at £110 p.a. or as uncertificated assistants at £90 p.a. It was clear from the justification of the scheme as an 'expedient', in the final part of the circular, that their services could be dispensed with at any time with one month's notice.

In all, sixty-eight such supplementary teachers were 'trained' in 1924 and the scheme continued on with 115 more being employed between 1925 and 1927. By 1928 the scheme had began to be wound down and only fourteen new supplementary teachers were appointed. In June of that year a start was made on doing away with the scheme altogether when the services of twenty-five temporary and supplementary teachers were dispensed with as part of a response to the economic squeeze that was beginning to be felt.[22] The appointments of another forty-three such teachers were terminated at the end of the year and the term 'Supplementary' was not used at all for recruiting purposes in 1929. Supplementary teachers who were sufficiently qualified were encouraged to enter the A course and a number avoided termination by becoming permanent teachers in this way. In August, 1929, it was announced that 'In view of the increased supply of trained teachers, the services of the undermentioned ... will be terminated ...' and ten temporary and supplementary teachers were removed.[23] While there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the Departmental message about the increased supply of trained teachers, it must be noted that by this time the financial situation in South Australia was becoming acute and cutbacks in other areas were about to be considered. The increased supply of teachers was not to mean that all schools could be staffed adequately. Large intakes at the Teachers' College could not be sustained after 1929 and the effects of terminations soon began to be felt in the schools. The end of the supplementary scheme came with the termination of forty-three such women teachers along with fourteen trained temporary married women teachers in December, 1929.[24] The scheme which had introduced once again large numbers of untrained personnel into schools, had served its purpose and its abolition saved the Department £15,500.[25] Unfortunately, terminations at this particular time put great strain on schools where supplementary and temporary teachers had been either enabling a trained teacher to be used elsewhere or filling a place for which no trained teacher could be found. Within a short time other means of filling such vacancies had to be considered.

Apart from both groups being untrained, there seem to be few parallels between the supplementary scheme and the junior teacher system. The former must have had its attractions for those interested in teaching but generally not qualified for it - at least such a teacher could earn much more than a junior teacher even while training and at the same time be sure of an appointment near home. However, most junior teachers must have been aware of likely long term effects on their careers and indeed only two seem to have taken it up. On 2 March, 1924, a junior teacher in her second year in that

position at the Minlaton School opted to train as a supplementary teacher in her home school and on 27 April she was appointed as the uncertificated teacher-in-charge of the Wauraltee Class VII School with an average attendance of 12.1. This allowed a chain of three other moves in Class VII schools to replace a trained but uncertificated teacher who had resigned at the end of March.[26] At the end of 1924, a person who had held the unusual position of temporary junior teacher for two years became a temporary uncertificated teacher at the same school.

The fact that the Department had to employ any untrained people in the teaching force despite McCoy's wish to avoid such action had set something of a precedent. With the supplementary scheme in action, there would have seemed little problem in accepting that in other circumstances another kind of untrained teacher could help relieve staffing shortages for a year or so and at the same time begin to get some experience of teaching prior to entering the College. Such a change in circumstances came about with the onset of the Great Depression. In the very difficult financial situation that had begun as early as 1928 in South Australia,[27] it must have been realised that it would be sensible to make greater use of candidates for the Teachers' College to relieve the staffing problem. With the termination of temporary and supplementary teachers, a need soon arose for additional staff for the one-teacher schools with 40 to 50 pupils in those 'small localities in the country' already noted in the extract from the advertisement for supplementary teachers. Up to the end of 1930, junior teachers were seldom needed to help staff such small country schools. In normal times there would have been enough trained teachers coming from the College to fill most of the places of those terminated but the early 1930s were far from normal. Policy was determined not by needs but rather by the availability of finance and when the Department was forced to start reducing even the supply of trainees, policy on the appointment of junior teachers had to change .

The reductions began in the pre-training scheme. In the July Gazette of 1929, it was announced that the probationary scheme was to be reduced prior to its abolition as '... the visible supply of teachers now apparently equals the demands of the Department ...'[28] Only 50 scholarships, instead of the previous 200, were to be offered for January 1930 and after that the probationary scheme was to be 'indefinitely suspended'. In October an alternative scheme was announced. In order to secure a steady supply of qualified candidates for the Teachers' College, it was proposed to '... register suitable persons ... who shall have prior claim to enter the College.'[29]

Details of the registration followed. Candidates had to be at least 15 years of age, to be of good moral character, to be physically fit and to show evidence of necessary aptitude and general suitability for the work of a teacher. Like probationary students, they were to be tested by the Intermediate or a higher examination of the University and points were to be awarded ranging from 8 for a credit at the Leaving to 4 for a pass at the Intermediate. English and Arithmetic or Mathematics were compulsory. A limit of 100 such registrations per year was to be set.

The real point of the exercise then became clear. Registered candidates were to receive no allowances and the only financial consideration was that their examination fees were to be 'franked' by the Department. A considerable amount of money - £15,147 - was saved by the abolition of probationary scholarships and the reduction of some allowances to student teachers.[30] The supply of teachers probably seemed adequate enough at the time as there was a record enrolment at the Teachers' College due to the increased intakes in 1928 and 1929. There were also over 380 probationary students in the service, including 156 at the Adelaide High School alone. The registration scheme would ensure that the supply remained adequate while significantly decreasing the cost of training, a situation remarkably similar to that in 1919 when Curtis had made his unsuccessful attempt to do away completely with the first three levels of the then junior teacher system involving study only. The financial situation was very different in 1929 however, and there was to be no reprieve this time for a paid support system prior to the junior teacher year. In straitened circumstances, efficiency and value for money became very significant. Head masters were told to impress upon aspirants for registration that it was now 'strictly competitive' and that continued registration depended very much on '... the student's conduct and diligence.'[31] The current junior teachers were considered as registered candidates.

It is difficult to say what became of the proposed registration scheme as no lists of registered candidates were ever published in the Gazettes. The junior teacher scheme continued on as the recognized mode of entry to the College and in 1929, the year of McCoy's death, junior teachers, far from having practically disappeared, were very much in existence and were once more recognized in effect as a part of the teaching force. This had little to do of course with the loss of the Director but a great deal to do with the collapse of overseas stock markets. By 1930 the number of junior teachers at work in schools had more than doubled, and, with the end of the supplementary scheme, they were again the main group being put into teaching without adequate preparation.

There was still however, a large number of monitors in the service. As was seen in Chapter 6, from 1921, as a step towards reducing this other group of untrained school staff, the rules for appointing monitors had been tightened up and the position of senior monitor abolished.[32] Numbers dropped from around 130 in 1922 to 105 in 1924. However, during the later teacher shortages, monitors proved to be very useful again and their numbers increased. In 1928, there were about 140 and of the 60 in the first list of appointments for that year, over half were attached to schools with an average enrolment of between 40 and 58.5 students and only one teacher. Clearly monitors were of great assistance in such schools and they very likely taught whole or parts of classes. As noted above in the complaint from Inspector Pavia on the effect of fewer monitors and junior teachers, the larger Class V1 schools with a sole head teacher were a problem for the Department. As noted, too, an attempt had been made through the supplementary scheme to assist head teachers of these schools by appointing assistants to teach the infant grades. In his 1929 report, Inspector Leach commented that

such appointments were 'greatly appreciated' and that this, together with the appointment of infant trained teachers to larger primary schools, meant that in his district tuition in the lower classes was on the 'upgrade'.[33]

Unfortunately this upgrading of staffing, particularly for the small schools, was not to continue. The Depression meant reductions in the availability of trained staff that might have been appointed to teach in such schools in place of supplementary and temporary staff so a new form of assistance for overworked head teachers was needed. At the same time the Department found itself with plenty of well qualified applicants for junior teacherships and so could afford to begin to dispense with monitors. In February 1931, a notice apeared in the Gazette to the effect that it was the intention of the Department in future '... wherever possible, to appoint Junior Teachers who have the necessary qualifications for entrance to the Teachers' College, in lieu of monitors.'[34] This notice was repeated each year until 1934 and by 1935, with only eight monitors in schools, the monitorial system had all but disappeared. The Department, still unable to afford trained teachers for all schools too large for a sole head teacher to manage, had to begin to use junior teachers to assist in schools in place of monitors and temporary or supplementary teachers.

Junior teachers had already been re-recognized as a group requiring instruction in teaching methods. They were now about to become a significant part of the teaching force once more. After 1931, candidates for the College were expected to become junior teachers regardless of the rules that had governed the system over the previous ten years. In order to better understand the very different system that took its place from 1932 onwards, it is useful to examine in some detail how McCoy's reformed system operated and the directions taken by junior teachers after their year of teaching.

Being a junior teacher 1921 - 1930

While junior teachers no longer had a significant place in the teaching force or any real place in the training system, being one remained very much as it had prior to the McCoy reforms. The few junior teachers were generally placed in larger primary schools in the metropolitan area or country centres. They could be given responsibilty for a class of up to thirty students but how they were used depended very much on the needs of the particular school. A small number were in secondary schools where they could be used to teach various subjects. The normal pathway to the Teachers' College was through the probationary student system in which a candidate spent one or two years at a high school preparing for the Leaving examination and in some cases taking some Leaving Honours subjects in the second year. Entry to the probationary scheme was competitive, based on the Intermediate examination. As has been seen, the junior teacher system provided an alternative entry to teaching for those candidates who either did not wish to study at Leaving level or who were unable to gain a probationary studentship on their Intermediate results. It provided an alternative, too, for

those probationary students who failed to gain admission to the College either because they were less than 17 years of age or because they had not passed the required Leaving subjects for the course they wished to enter.

Between 1921and 1926 junior teacherships were given to candidates who had reached only Intermediate level and to those who had studied at Leaving and, in some cases, Leaving Honours. As this table shows most junior teachers were from the latter category.

TABLE 7.3 Qualifications of Junior Teachers 1921 – 1927 [35]

	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927
Intermediate	7	4	14	8	6	7	-
Leaving and Higher	13	7	10	15	12	21	28

Those entering from the Intermediate would have been aware that this could lead only to a short course at the Teachers' College and service for a period as an uncertificated teacher on the lowest salary level. In some cases it may well have been a conscious decision on the part of the junior teacher to take this course instead of becoming a probationary student. In other cases it seems likely that candidates had no alternative as examination results of many of those entering teaching via the junior teacher rather than the probationary system would seem to indicate that these candidates would not have qualified for a probationary studentship. In 1923, for example, the average pass rate for junior teachers with Intermediate only was just under four subjects with a number having repeated the examination in order to gain the required five subjects. Only one who had passed seven subjects in the Junior Commercial examination would appear to have been able to gain a probationary studentship. Most of those entering teaching in this way would have been under age as well as underqualified in academic terms. Some qualified by age during their year as a junior teacher and so were eligible to enter one of the additional A courses that had been introduced on account of the teacher shortage. The following profile shows how the system worked at this level.

Profile 7.1 Intermediate Passes - Junior Teachers of 1923 [36]

		1921	1922	1923(JT Year)	1924
1	(female)	1	4	A Course, August, 1923	
2	(female)	4	1	A Course, June, 1923	
3	(male)	1	4	-	A Course
4	(male)	-	7	1 (Leaving)	Repeat JT
5	(male)	-	4	1	Probationary
6	(male)	-	4	1	Probationary

The results' pattern of those going into the A course is typical of most junior teachers entering with Intermediate only. A study of the results of probationary students appointed at the Adelaide and Norwood High Schools in 1924 shows that most had six or seven Intermediate passes, and only a few five or less, including some who had not qualified for the certificate or who had made up their passes over two examinations.[37] There is no information available now as to whether Cases 1, 2, and 3 chose

to be junior teachers or whether, as seems more likely, it was their only option. It appears that for Cases 5 and 6, the requirement of five passes was waived in the expectation that they would pass a further subject during the junior teacher year. In any case, these two junior teachers apparently impressed their supervisors enough to be recommended for a chance for study at Leaving level as probationary students, an unusual departure from normal practice that will be examined in greater detail later in this chapter. Case 4 with his seven passes would most certainly have qualified for a probationary studentship but it seems that he chose to be a junior teacher at a primary school near his home. He accepted this again in 1924 but resigned before the end of that year.

From 1922, practically all the junior teachers who had studied at Leaving level had been probationary students who had failed to gain admission to the Teachers' College either because of age or inadequate subject passes. Their examination results indicate that in most cases it was due to not having passed the required six subjects. In each year a number of those initially appointed as junior teachers were accepted into the Teachers' College after passing the Special Leaving (Supplementary) examination in February. In 1925, for example, thirteen of the junior teachers appointed in January managed to pass the one or more subjects they required at that examination and were immediately transferred to the College.[38] Those ineligible for a supplementary exam, or who did not obtain the necessary passes, or who were perhaps still under 17 years of age, remained as junior teachers for the year. The following profile of examination results shows how the system operated at this level.

Profile 7.2 Leaving Passes - Junior Teachers of 1924 [39]

		1922	1923	1924 (JT YEAR)	1925
1	(female)	1	1	-	A Course
2	(female)	4	4	1	B "
3	(female)	3	1	2	C "
4	(female)	-	5	3	E "
5	(male)	1	2	-	Repeat JT
6	(male)	-	7	-	Repeat JT

By 1924 the new junior teacher system had stabilized and the profile illustrates the general entrance trends for the rest of the period to 1930. In most years a few junior teachers like Case 6 had qualified but were clearly under age, as indeed he still was, at the end of 1924. In every year probationary students were being accepted directly to the A course with Leaving passes similar to those of Cases 1 and 5 so it would appear that these two were both under age as well as underqualified. Apparently Case 5 was still in the same position at the end of 1924 and so was given another year as a junior teacher after which he entered an A course in 1926. While Cases 2 (who completed the required subject of English in 1924) and 3 and 4 may well have also been under age too, they were also underqualified for the two year courses they were able to enter in 1925 after completing further subjects. These three could well illustrate, too, the junior teacher who might have elected to defer entry for a year to qualify for something other (and better) than the A course.

What is clear from the study of examination passes of those probationary students who became junior teachers instead of entering the College was that it was generally a useful temporary placement both for them and for the Department. The Department had a vested interest in these people whom it had already supported as probationary students at a secondary school, usually for two years. It was obliged to find a further place for those under age in any case and it was in its interests, too, in a time of severe teacher shortage, to ensure that those close to qualifying for two year and specialist positions had a chance to gain the few further subjects they needed. The other benefit to the Department was that it had extra staff for the schools. The benefits to students, especially those who used the time to better their subject passes, are clear from the profiles.

As the following table shows, most junior teachers did qualify for the Teachers' College. In most years, however, a small number delayed entry by repeating as junior teachers or reverting to probationary status. In the early years a few by-passed the College altogether by going direct to teaching while in almost every year some resigned.

TABLE 7.4 Directions Taken By Junior Teachers - 1921 to 1930 [40]

	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
(a)To College										
A (Short)	5	4	2	4	-	1	5	12	11	42
Extra As	2	-	4	-	6	5	-	1	1	11
B (Primary)	8	4	1	3	1	2	15	16	15	35
B1 (Special)	-	-	-	-	1	6	-	-	-	-
C (Infant)	3	1	6	1	-	1	3	10	11	15
D (Secondary)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E (Commercial)	-	-	-	3	1	2	2		8	5
F (Domestic)	1	-	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	-
G (Boys' Craft)	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Total	19	9	14	11	10	20	25	40	46	109
College intake	270	169	177	127	112	103	148	212	228	225
Extra As	32	-	44	31	52*	68*	74*	64	52*	22
(The extra A courses began in the second half of the year. There were two such courses in the years marked*)										
(b) Other										
Repeat as JT	1	2	5	7	2	-	1	-	-	4
Revert to Probationary	-	-	2	3	1	4	-	-	-	-
Resign	2	-	5	2	4	4	1	4	3	2
Direct to Teaching	3	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-

Just as with entry to the system, the course taken at the Teachers' College taken by junior teachers after their service was determined very much by the level of secondary education reached and the number of subjects passed. Those with just Intermediate or few Leaving passes had no choice other than the A course although men could become teachers of Boys' Craft (G course) without having passed the Leaving. Those who had reached the Leaving standard had the opportunity to enter the B or the other two year courses provided they had passed the required six subjects. The Short Course would have presented a problem for some probationary students, especially those who had managed to pass four or five Leaving subjects. It provided only a limited training as well as limited long term

prospects for advancement. In his report for 1927, Dr. Schulz indicated that in the A course students '... engaged in College studies... of direct equipment value to them in their future teaching work (subjects such as grammar, arithmetic, geography, history, nature study)...'[41] He went on to say that students in the B course took a full year of University studies and received professional training during the second. Of even greater significance was the fact that those from the A course were appointed as uncertificated teachers on the lowest salary scale in charge of the smallest schools or to country assistantships in small schools. Although the first certificate, known as the 111B, could be obtained in due course with further study, those doing a short course were bound to be disadvantaged for some time as regards salary and school placement. The records of classification show that it usually took between five or six years for those who had done the A course to obtain the 111B certificate.[42] Several of those with just Intermediate took considerably longer. One from 1922 and one from 1924 were still uncertificated teachers-in-charge as late as 1940 as were several others who had a limited number of Leaving subjects.[43] In 1928 the qualification quota for this certificate was an extra £54 per annum (reduced to £48 during the economic cutbacks during the Depression) so lack of this certificate represented a significant financial loss.

Difficulties with certification had increased with the new rules introduced in the Regulations of 1924. While the 111B certificate could then be obtained with either six Intermediate or four Leaving subjects, it was not possible to qualify for the next one, the 111A, without six Leaving subjects including English and either History or Geography.[44] From then on it became important for anyone wishing to make a career out of teaching to have begun the Leaving even if they were to be trained in a short course. The decision to accept as junior teachers only those with some passes at Leaving from 1927 may well have been in response to this changed requirement. Those who did two year courses could leave the College with a first teaching certificate and the qualifications to proceed to the 111A and higher in due course. Such teachers were placed in what were termed in the official parlance 'the more important positions' in primary schools while those from short courses went into 'less important positions'[45] These latter were generally positions in charge of small and remote Class V11 schools.

As can be seen from Profile 2, a number of junior teachers from the probationary system still needed to better their qualifications in order to get into two year courses. Up until 1925, the majority of those who had reached Leaving level did manage to avoid the A course. In 1926, however, larger numbers than usual with three or less Leaving subjects were permitted to enter the system. This was because a one year primary course known as the B Special or B1 course was instituted in order to cope with the severe shortage of teachers. This course which had limited access to University work, was available to probationary students or junior teachers with less than the usual six Leaving subjects. In 1927, six junior teachers took advantage of this quicker way into adult teaching and although they exited as uncertificated teachers, most of them had their 111B certificate within two years. In 1927 there was a

shift of emphasis, too, from requiring six subjects to inviting applications from young people who held the Leaving Certificate, as part of a campaign to increase the intake at the College in areas of particular need.[46] One such need was for infant teachers and candidates were accepted into the C course with less than six subjects. No B1 courses were held after 1927 and junior teachers who had not passed the Leaving Certificate then had no alternative other than the A course. As Table 7.4 shows, an increasing number were in this position and by 1930 the number of junior teachers entering the one year course practically equalled those entering the other courses at the Teachers' College. While this was largely to do with the Leaving standards of many junior teachers, by then the Depression was underway and other factors such as the urgency of getting an adult wage, had come into prominance. The following profile shows the effect of subject passes on course directions at the Teachers' College from 1927.

Profile 7.3 Leaving Passes of Junior Teachers Entering the College in 1927 [47]

		1925	1926 (as JT)	1927	
1	(male)	2	1	A	Course
2	(female)	0	0	A	"
3	(female)	3	1	B1	Special
4	(male)	4	-	B1	"
5	(male)	2	1 + 3 Supps	B	Course
6	(female)	4	1	C	"
7	(male)	4	- + 2 Supps	E	"
8	(male)	2	-	G	(Boys' Craft)

In contrast, as the following profile shows, those entering the College direct from the probationary scheme generally had the required passes for two year courses.

Profile 7.4 Leaving Passes of College Direct Entrants from Probationary Studentships -1928 [48]

		1926	1927	1928 (Teachers' College)	
1	(female)	-	2	A	Course
2	(male)	6	1	B	"
3	(male)	3	5	B	"
4	(female)	3	2	C	"
5	(male)	7	-	E	"
6	(female)	2	5	F	"

Of the other directions taken by junior teachers, two were peculiar to the first half of the period. One of these was direct entry to schools and the other the opportunity to become a probationary student. Entry to teaching without formal training was actively discouraged from the time of the McCoy reforms but under the transition to the new system it was still possible up to 1923. The seven who did in that period were qualified for the A course but for some reason, possibly a financial one, they elected to go direct to schools as uncertificated teachers instead of spending a year at the College to achieve the same end. The two in 1924 have already been noted as the only junior teachers to join the supplementary scheme. A particularly interesting direction for those with Intermediate only was the opportunity to become probationary students. As Profile 1 shows, this began in 1923 with two junior teachers being given the chance to qualify for a two year rather than a short course. As it turned out, after two years of further study one qualified only for an A course while the other entered the 1927 B

Special one year course. Over the next three years eight others were given this opportunity but only two managed to get into two year courses with one other going to a B Special course. Three others were again appointed as junior teachers after their two years as probationary students. Two of them then entered an A course and the other resigned during yet another - her fourth in fact - year as a junior teacher. In view of all this, it can hardly be said that allowing junior teachers with Intermediate only this further opportunity to better their chances had been a great success either from the point of view of their own career prospects or indeed in terms of the additional allowances spent on them. When it became compulsory for junior teachers to have reached the Leaving level it was no longer necessary to provide any such extra opportunities.

Repeating the junior teacher year became less significant, too, as fewer junior teachers were likely to be under age after two years as probationary students. It seems that some were given this extra opportunity in order to further test their aptitude for and real interest in teaching. In a number of these cases, junior teachers resigned after or during the second year. In fact resignations remained as a constant, though relatively small, feature of the whole period. As in previous times the junior teacher period was an opportunity for both the junior teacher and his or her supervisors to decide whether the right career choice had been made. A significant number, three of the four in 1925, for example, resigned after two years in the role, probably due to being found unsuited to teaching. Four of the five who resigned in 1923 had three or less passes at the Intermediate and it may be that in their cases inability to cope academically led to them seeking other careers. In 1926, three of the four who resigned had only one Leaving subject on entry and only one of them managed to improve on that by passes at the supplementary examination in February, 1927. While there is no clear pattern in the relatively small resignation rate of junior teachers, it would seem most likely that aptitude for teaching and academic ability, or indeed a combination of both, were the main reasons why some young people left after up to four years of service with the Department.

Apart from the junior teachers coming direct from high schools, as has been seen, a few were from the Teachers' College itself. Of the three transferred from the C course in 1921, two returned in 1922 while the other remained a junior teacher for another year and then went direct to a teaching position. No reasons were given for such a move but in 1924 a similar transfer was gazetted with the information that the student teacher from the B course had 'been permitted to withdraw and ... appointed as a junior teacher' as late as May.[49] This person re-entered the B course in 1925. In a similar situation in 1925, the junior teacher did not return to the College but resigned. It must have been felt that such student teachers needed more time to mature and to test their vocation, in the same way that some junior teachers were granted an additional year of teaching practice.

While most junior teachers were stationed at larger schools during this period, a few were appointed each year to one teacher schools with average enrolments of close to 50 pupils. This seems to have

been in response to placing the pupil teachers as near as possible to their homes rather than to any policy of staffing such schools. From 1931 however, as has been seen, financial constraints dictated that junior teachers should serve wherever they were needed for staffing purposes. With this change of direction, yet another new kind of junior teacher system came into operation.

Another 'new' form of junior teachership 1931 to 1935

During this period the junior teacher system increased considerably in size, was widely used to augment the teaching force in small schools in place of monitors and became acknowledged as the main source of recruits for the Teachers' College. Junior teachers now had quite a new and different role and status to those in the system McCoy had introduced just ten years before.

The increase in the number of junior teachers was significant. By 1930 there were 102, which represented an increase of almost 110% on the numbers in the previous year. Although, as the table below shows, the number decreased for a time, in this period there were more junior teachers in the system than since the 1921 reforms. At the same time the number of monitors began to reduce sharply from the levels of around 120 or more employed during the period of staff shortages in the mid to late 1920s.

TABLE 7.5 Junior Teachers and Monitors Employed from 1931 to 1935 [50]

	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
Junior Teachers	82	77	64	89	103
Monitors	91	75	31	19	8

This increase was despite a very severe general cut back in the services of an Education Department under pressure from government to reduce expenditure in such major areas as training and staffing. The extent of the pressure on the Department to reduce training costs is evident in the Progress Reports of the Commission of Enquiry into Education of 1930/31.[51] The First Progress Report of the Commission had reported a net increase of expenditure over the ten year period to 1930 and concluded '... it is apparent that the growth in the number of teachers has been out of proportion to the number of children instructed.'[52] £19,000 alone was to be saved by reducing training in both numbers and allowances. One result of this funding cut was that the number of first year student teachers was slashed from 249 in 1930 to 156 in 1930 and none were accepted at all in 1932 and 1934. Economies were made in other areas by reducing office and inspectorial staff, by reducing teachers' salaries and by bringing in an earlier retirement policy. From January, 1931, males over 65 and females over 60 were forced to retire instead of continuing on until the age of 70. According to an article 'Retirements, 1930' in the Gazette of January 1931, this policy change had affected forty-seven employees at various levels and opened the way for 'unexpected promotion' for many teachers and 'great changes in many directions' for the schools when they re-opened after Christmas.[53]

One such 'great change' was in the use made of junior teachers in schools. In line with the policy of reducing staff, the number of junior teachers was almost halved as from 1/1/31. Of the fifty-seven appointed from that date, three had been junior teachers in 1930 and the rest were from the last groups of first and second year probationary students.[54] The restricted quotas at the College meant that not even all of the second year probationary students who were qualified could be given a place there and some of them had to serve as junior teachers along with those from first year. The majority of these junior teachers were appointed, as had been the case for many years, to city or large country primary schools with a few going to high or other secondary schools. There seems no doubt that a number of them made up for some of the staff who had been compulsorily retired. Only one was appointed a to school with an average enrolment of 39.5 to assist the head teacher while two others went to assist in two teacher schools with high average enrolments. In all cases these appointments were in or near the junior teachers' homes. However, shortly after the compulsory retirements took effect, another twenty-five junior teachers, none of whom had been probationary students, were appointed as from 16/2/31.[55] While there was obviously a connection between the two events, this second group went into schools that were generally unlikely to have been affected by retirements or where trained staff could be replaced. Thirteen of them went to country schools with just a head teacher and an average enrolment of close to or above 50 pupils while several others went to rather larger schools where the head teacher and one or two assistants had to cope with very high enrolments. These junior teachers either replaced a monitor or provided assistance where none had been available before or where it had lapsed, due to the earlier termination of a temporary or supplementary teacher. In one case only, an assistant teacher was moved out to a school of his own when a junior teacher was appointed.[56] A quite new direction had been set for both the placement and the teaching role of junior teachers by these additional appointments.

Two questions of considerable interest and importance emerge from the action taken by the Department in February, 1931. One is why the numbers of junior teachers was increased at a time when other services were being reduced so drastically, while the other is concerned with the quite radical change made to the placement policy for junior teachers. No official explanations were given at the time but a likely reason for the increase in February, 1931, is that the Department was ensuring a supply of future student teachers at a time when savings from reductions elsewhere could be used still for this purpose. The new retirement policy was in place and the intake at the Teachers College had been heavily reduced with the likelihood that it would probably decline even further. With the abolition of the probationary scheme future student teachers were to come from the junior teacher ranks only, so it was prudent as well as economical to maintain a ready supply of them. At the same time it was sensible to ensure that those being held for future training should be of the most efficient and cost effective type possible, hence the decision to appoint junior teachers who were eligible for the College while reducing the number of monitors who still had their secondary education ahead of them.

As many monitors were providing great assistance in schools too large for one teacher to manage but not large enough to have a trained assistant in difficult economic times, as has been seen, it was necessary to begin to move junior teachers into such schools. The change to appointing junior teachers to larger Class V1 schools which began in this small way in 1931 increased significantly over the next few years and did not reduce to any great extent until the shortages of trained staff was overcome in the late 1950s. There was a cost saving in doing away with monitors. The 117 monitors of 1930 cost the Department approximately £2484 so with less than ten of them in 1935 this had been reduced considerably. As Table 7.5 shows, by no means all monitors were replaced by more highly paid junior teachers. During the Depression, however, the real cost saving lay not so much in reducing the number of monitors as in having junior teachers in place of trained staff, an aspect that became more significant as less trainees emerged from the College. In 1934, for example, teachers holding the first certificate were paid on an average some £180 per annum, so eighty-nine of them would have cost over £16,000 whereas the same number of junior teachers probably cost closer to £4000[57] It has to be recognised of course, that in a time of such severe financial difficulty it would have been impossible to employ trained teachers in most of the places junior teachers were holding and indeed a number of head teachers of almost equally large Class V1 schools did not even have this help. For those who did, the advantage of having a reasonably mature junior teacher in place of a monitor must have been considerable. In his report for 1934 Inspector Rofe touched on this when he wrote 'Many a small country school now has a Junior Teacher on the staff - a great improvement on the monitorial system until recently in vogue.'[58] In psychological terms the change must have been a significant one, too, just as would have been the earlier attempt to provide help to sole head teachers in similar situations through the supplementary system. In the very much more difficult Depression years the appointment of even an untrained junior teacher must have been a very welcome addition to a head teacher trying to cope with fifty or more students across seven grades.

In a time of recession when every allowance for a trainee teacher counted, it made sense to hold ready for the College as large a group as possible of candidates who already had, or were close to obtaining, the required academic qualifications together with some teacher training both in the theory of teaching through the study requirements as well as in actual classroom teaching experience. Successful junior teachers were ideal candidates for further training in a Department under severe financial pressure. The value of the system would seem to have been in ensuring a pool of suitable recruits for the Teachers' College while at the same time relieving some of the more difficult staffing problems and saving the Department a considerable amount on salaries. While such a strategy was no doubt accepted as necessary in a harsh economic climate, and indeed welcomed in small schools, the ground was being laid for what within a few years was to become to be seen as the exploitation of both the junior teachers and their pupils.

By 1932, the severity of the Depression meant that the Department could accept no intake at all into the Teachers' College and the size of the junior teacher contingent was not increased either. However, it was a large contingent already and when an intake to the College was restored in 1933, the Department had this group to use. As it turned out, the number of junior teachers was not sufficient for the intake required and people from outside the service had to be accepted into the College at the beginning of 1933 despite the 1931 ruling that all future recruits were to come from the ranks of the junior teachers. Junior teachers were again the main, but not the only source for acceptance as student teachers. A new intake of sixty-three junior teachers was permitted in 1933 and well over 80 per cent of them were appointed to one teacher schools of the kind described above.[59] This meant that some fifty-four head teachers in schools with average attendances ranging from 36.2 to 54.0 now had the assistance of an untrained teacher where previously they had had to manage on their own or with the assistance of monitors. Only four junior teachers were appointed to large primary schools and just two to secondary schools. The other four were placed in country schools with an average attendance of about 90 and two or three teachers.

So the face of junior teaching had changed considerably in this period. A large number of untrained young people now formed a 'new' junior teacher system which in the main assisted in small country schools while these candidates awaited entry to College. Often now this meant boarding away in places quite distant from their homes. The value of this to the head teachers has already been noted. The new system was also seen as good for the junior teachers. In his report for 1931, Inspector Jefferies said 'Those Head Teachers who have the training of a Junior Teacher have shown commendable interest in their protege and have done much to pave the way to success.'[60] In the same year Inspector Rofe commented that the junior teachers 'as a body' recognized the value of the period of practical teaching.[61] In 1932, Inspector Jefferies again reported on the interest being taken in junior teachers and the '... sympathy, advice, and moral support' given to them.[62]

In 1934 there was again no intake to the Teachers College and the junior teachers of 1933 had to serve a second year in that position. An additional twenty-two were appointed and nineteen of them went to assist head teachers in small schools.[63] This trend continued in 1935 with three-quarters of the junior teachers going into such schools. However, another trend began to emerge with nineteen of the remainder spending the year in a secondary school.[64] By 1935, secondary enrolments were again increasing and most of these junior teachers would have been expected to take classes while those needing additional secondary subjects had the advantage of being able to attend lessons.

For the first time since the McCoy reforms, former junior teachers had become not only an important part of the teaching force but a very significant group in the various College courses. The following table shows the increasing numbers of student teachers with some practical teaching experience together with the percentage they formed of the various groups and of the College intakes.

TABLE 7.6 Junior Teachers at the Teachers' College 1931-1936 [65]

	1931	1932*	1933	1934*	1935	1936
Course						
A (Short)	39 (76%)		8 (30%)		26 (54%)	10 (38%)
B (Primary)	36 (50%)		49 (68%)		26 (60%)	29 (91%)
B1 (One year)	-		-		-	23 (100%)
C (Infant)	15 (71%)		15 (75%)		12 (75%)	19 (95%)
D (Secondary)**	-		-		-	-
E (Commercial)	5 (38%)		-		10 (83%)	6 (100%)
F-H (Craft)	1 (100%)		-		6 (75%)	4 (100%)
Total JT	96 (60%)		72 (60%)		80 (62%)	95 (83%)
College Intake	159	-	119	-	128	115

* No intakes in these years
** No direct entrants to this course

So from being quite a small and relatively insignificant part of the College intake prior to the Depression, by 1935 junior teachers made up the majority of students in all but the A course. The short courses tended to be filled by less qualified candidates from outside the junior teacher system.

Being a Junior Teacher 1931 to 1935

From 1931, being a junior teacher changed in a number of very significant ways. Entry to the Teachers' College depended still on age and academic qualifications and the junior teacher system remained an alternative for those unqualified in these respects. However, the restricted quotas at the College imposed a further need for holding places and between 1931 and 1935 most young people wanting to be teachers were held for lengthy periods as junior teachers and as registered candidates, the latter without the financial support previously available to probationary students.

For 1931, the Department had an obligation to place the last group of probationary students. Most of the very reduced number of first year probationary students of 1930 appear to have been recruited from those who had already begun studies at the Leaving level whereas in the past entry to the system had been via the Intermediate. A number had passed the Leaving and most had four or five subjects by the time they entered and so were able to begin on Leaving Honours subjects in 1930. One had even sat for Honours in both 1929 and 1930 and had gained five subjects at this level. However, regardless of age or qualifications, all except one (not the one with the good Honours results) of this group had to become junior teachers in 1931, an obvious reflection of the impact of heavily reduced quotas at the College for that year.

The situation for second year probationary students was rather different. Of the eighty-six, sixty-one went direct to the College while twenty-five became junior teachers. As this profile shows, as in previous times academic success at the Leaving level largely determined the direction taken.

Profile 7.5 Examination Results of Second Year Probationers - 1930 [66]
(L - Leaving, LH - Leaving Honours)

		1928	1929	1930	1931
(a)	Direct to College				
	1 (male)	-	3L	3L	A Course
	2 (female)	-	1L	1L	A "
	3 (male)	6L	1LH	-	B "
	4 (male)	-	4L	3L+1Supp	B "
	5 (male)	-	4L	2L+3LH	E "
(b)	To Junior Teacher				
	1 (female)	-	2L	2L	JT
	2 (female)	-	2L	4L	JT
	3 (male)	-	1L	2L	JT
	4 (male)	-	3L	4L	JT
	5 (female)	-	1L	3L	JT

The examination results show that most were underqualified academically and that the time as junior teacher gave them the chance to improve. A number could have qualified for the A course on their results but by this time the restricted quota for that course meant that they had to remain as junior teachers. Some had the required number of Leaving passes for other courses, too, but had to wait either because they were under age or because the quotas had been filled by candidates with better results.

The additional twenty-six junior teachers appointed in February 1931 from outside the probationary system had very similar results to the first year probationary students. A significant number had either passed the Leaving in six or seven subjects or gained enough to qualify for the College in normal circumstances. These were not normal times of course, and with quotas at the College full, time as a junior teacher would very likely have seemed a very satisfactory option in 1931 and again in 1932 when no student teachers were being accepted. Most of them used their time as junior teachers to advantage to improve their qualifications and all except eight managed to get into two year courses in 1933. As the Table 7.6 shows, the B and C courses (there were no D, E or F during the restrictions) consisted very largely of former junior teachers. Some had obtained Leaving Honours subjects while others had begun University work. In 1932, for example, the names of six junior teachers appear in the Education Gazette lists of teachers who had passed various University subjects in Arts, Science and Commerce subjects. This in itself would seem to be a further sign that junior teachers were considered as part of the teaching force once again.

In the new intake of 1933, a large number already had, or were close to obtaining, the subject requirements for entry to the College. A few had begun their Leaving as early as 1929 though most had passed subjects in 1930 or 1931 after Intermediate in the previous year. One of the features of the new junior teacher system was that candidates could now expect to wait a considerable time before being allowed into either the junior teacher system or the College. These particular junior teachers had to spend another year in the position as there was no intake at the College in 1934. However, there was an intake into the junior teacher system itself. As with those already in the system these

new ones had largely qualified in 1930 or 1931 and many were able to build up sound Leaving passes, gain Leaving Honours passes and begin University work.

As in previous years, the course entered was largely determined by the quality of academic results but in this period a new consideration appears to have come into effect. By 1935, many of the candidates for the College had been waiting for several years to be trained and some must have been considerably older than the normal entry age. It would be hardly surprising to find that some junior teachers were prepared to accept a one year course in order to get onto adult wages sooner. As Table 7.6 showed, the percentages of junior teachers entering the A course in 1935 and the A and B1 courses in 1936 were high. The opportunity to get a job more quickly must have been attractive after between four and six years of waiting, especially as the effects of the Depression were still being felt during the mid 1930s. This may well have been so for Cases 3 and 4 in the following profile as both appear to have been well qualified for a two year course. As in previous times some junior teachers had not been able to improve their results to any great extent and entry to a short course remained their only option. Cases 1 illustrate this. Others improved considerably adding Leaving Honours, and in a few cases, University subjects before entering two year courses in 1935. The profile illustrates very clearly the long wait most junior teachers had during the Depression years, the use some put this time to, and the type of courses they eventually entered.

Profile 7.6 Examination Passes of Junior Teachers Entering the Teachers' College in 1935 [67]
(I – Intermediate L – Leaving LH – Leaving Honours)

		1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
1	(33&34 - male)	-	-	3L	-	-	1L	A Course
2	(33&34 - male)	-	-	3L	3L	-	-	A "
3	(34 - male)	6L	-	-	-	-	1L+1LH	A "
4	(34 - female)	-	-	6L	2LH	-	-	A "
5	(33&34 - male)	-	2L	6L	-	-	-	B "
6	(33&34 - male)	-	1L	7L	1LH	1LH	-	B "
7	(34 - male)	4L	3L	-	1LH	-	1Uni.	B "
8	(34 - male)	-	6L	7L	3LH	-	-	B "
9	(33&34 - female)	-	6L	-	2LH	-	-	C "
10	(34 - female)	-	3L	2L	1L	1L+1Lh	-	C "
11	(33&34 - male)	-	7L	-	3LH	-	1Uni	E "
12	(34 - female)	-	5L	1L	1L+1LH	-	-	E "

A number of the student teachers accepted into the College in 1935 had not been junior teachers but their examination results appear to be little different to those who were. Most of the direct entrants had also begun their Leaving studies as early as 1930 or 1931, generally passed well, and most appear to have spent the intervening years improving their academic standing. As with the junior teachers, a number of the direct entrants to the A course had sound academic results that would have enabled them to enter two year courses.

From 1931 the lives of junior teachers had changed in ways that can be seen to have certain disadvantages. They could no longer rely on being placed near home but could expect to be posted to quite remote and isolated places and to have to board. Teaching duties were different in small schools

and junior teachers could now expect to have to teach lower grades and help the head teacher with a variety of other duties. Head teachers of one and two teacher schools had their own classes to teach and administrative roles to carry out so despite the 'sympathy, advice, and moral support' noted above by Inspector Jefferies, there would have been considerably less time for help in beginning teaching and supervision than had been possible when junior teachers were located in large primary schools. In many ways the system had returned to the worst aspects of the old apprenticeship system with young untrained people being thrown in 'at the deep end', as it were, by being expected to learn to teach by teaching. On the credit side the extra years gave junior teachers the opportunity to improve their academic standing and, as has been seen, some did. Studies of examination passes in these years tend to reveal that junior teachers were now more likely to pass a subject in their second year in the job, a situation that probably reflects the heavy task many had in just coping with learning to teach in the first. In 1933, the Department recognised that it would be unreasonable to expect junior teachers to keep on studying the Primer of Teaching in their second year, so a note in the Education Gazette exempted them from further work on Green and Birchenough and encouraged instead, attempts at University studies.[68]

As has been seen, from what the Inspectors reported, the new system was good for both the schools and the junior teachers located in them. What the junior teachers themselves thought of the system is not recorded in official documents, but no doubt, during the Depression, an appointment as a junior teacher would have been welcomed no matter where it was or what teaching duties were involved. As in previous periods, overall more females than males became junior teachers though the gender balance was less pronounced in this period than in previous times. Indeed, in both 1933 and 1934, more males than females were appointed, due most likely to the fewer jobs available for males during the Depression. Fewer junior teachers seem to have resigned during the second part of this period, again no doubt because of the difficulty in getting any job at all.

By the early 1930s it was apparent that in effect there had been a return to a system that McCoy had intended to do away with. That system had been rejected because it had used untrained young people as part of the teaching force. The system now smacked of exploitation in much the same way as it had in even earlier times when lack of money for education had forced the Department into placing untrained, cheap personnel, in front of classes to act the part of a teacher. As the effects of the Depression eased, the S.A. Teachers' Union began to question the place of such a system and in due course, to call for its abolition.

References Chapter 7

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5 SAPP, 1924, Vol.2, no.44, p.30
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27 Miller, (*Long Division*, p.182) believes that the Depression had begun two ears earlier in South Australia than in the rest of Australia.
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57 on an average of £44 per annum
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Chapter 8

EXPLOITATION - AND ABOLITION? 1936 - 1945

> *... the Junior Teaching system is in the interests of neither the trainee nor the children taught by him.*
>
> First Report of the Education Inquiry Committee 1945 [1]

The Education Inquiry Committee which began a full inquiry into education in South Australia in 1943, came to the above conclusion after hearing a wide range of evidence on the junior teacher system. Much of this evidence related to aspects of exploitation of these young candidates for teaching and in 1945 the Committee recommended the abolition of the system. However, this recommendation was not to be implemented for another twenty years largely because of the persistence of the very conditions that had led to the revival of the system after the McCoy reforms and to its re-emergence as an important part of the teaching force during the Great Depression.

It was the continued overuse of junior teachers in staffing schools in the aftermath of the Depression and during World War 11 that led to the conclusion that they were being exploited. In his report for 1935, Dr. Schulz had noted that 'a general improvement in national prosperity' had allowed for a larger intake into the Teachers College in order to begin to deal with the effect of the severe restrictions in this area during the Depression.[2] It might have been expected, too, that with the worst of the Depression over, there could be a reduction in the number of junior teachers and perhaps a return to the principle of no teaching before training. However, the cutbacks to training in 1932 and 1934 were to take a considerable time to catch up on and despite Schulz's somewhat sanguine views, the financial situation in South Australia was not good enough for the massive training program that would have been needed to fully solve the problem.

Junior teachers were still very necessary and became even more so with the beginning of the war when shortages of both trained staff and funds for education again became critical. The Junior Teacher System remained a valuable asset, not only for the larger one-teacher schools but also for secondary schools where enrolments were growing and male teachers were leaving to join the armed forces. As this table shows, the number of junior teachers in the teaching force remained high and even increased significantly at times.

TABLE 8.1 Junior Teachers in the Teaching Force 1936 - 1945

	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
Type of School										
Primary	80	87	67	83	78	68	77	60	65	63
Higher Primary/Area	3	-	2	3	3	3	9	10	6	9
High	12	14	17	20	22	21	22	17	20	26
Central	2	11	15	11						
Technical	2	4	2	3	7	8	3	3	8	9
Total	99	116	103	120	110	100	111	90	99	107

While the numbers employed in primary schools levelled out in the latter part of the period for reasons that will be examined later, those in high and technical schools increased to meet shortages at the secondary level. There were increases, too, in other schools with secondary sections but it is unlikely that all the junior teachers in these central, higher primary and area schools were engaged in teaching secondary students.

Another measure taken to relieve the shortages during World War 11 was the employment of married women ex-teachers but these people were not available in all locations and junior teachers continued to be particularly useful in some country areas and in the smaller secondary schools. At times of particular shortage other quite drastic steps had to be taken too. These included increasing the number of short courses in each year and even taking student teachers out of the College before they had completed their courses. Indeed, some of the measures taken reflected similar expediencies during the crisis of the Depression years. Just as in the Depression, however, junior teachers remained the mainstay of the Department's emergency staffing plan, serving the double purpose of staffing schools at a fraction of the cost of a trained teacher. Active advertising for junior teachers began in 1935 with heads of schools being asked not only to recruit within their schools but to search out applicants who had applied during previous years when strict quotas had kept them out and who, though not attending school, might '... still be anxious to enter the Department.'[4] Such notices continued to be gazetted up to 1944 but such difficulties were experienced in recruiting sufficient candidates that in 1941 the Department had to stoop to the expediency of lowering the entrance standard for any junior teachers who were prepared to be trained in a short course.

With such large numbers of untrained young people continuing to do the work of teachers it is hardly surprising that the South Australian Teachers' Union began to question the propriety of the situation. As early as 1938 the Union had sent a questionnaire to junior teachers to find out the conditions under which they worked but, unfortunately, the results were never published.[5] It was not until the Education Inquiry Committee began its work in 1943 that a serious examination of the role of the untrained junior 'teachers' could be pursued. The major part of this chapter deals with the evidence put to the Committee and to its findings.

Before that, however, it is necessary to look at how the junior teacher system operated immediately after the Depression and during the war. In the previous chapter the junior teachership that began in 1931 was labelled as a 'new' one because it was so different from the remnant that remained of the old apprenticeship system after the McCoy reforms. There is no doubt that the seeds of dissatisfaction that led to cries of exploitation were sown during that revival of the system. At first sight it might seem that little had changed by the early 1940s when such cries intensified to the point where the abolition of the system was recommended. However, the subtle but distinct pressures put on junior teachers by the war revealed the system as even more exploitative and less in the interests of the trainee and those he or she taught than ever. The setting up of the Education Inquiry Committee gave the opportunity for a thorough airing of a variety of problems inherent in an apprenticeship type system for those engaged in the education of children.

Being a Junior Teacher - 1936 to 1945

In the depressed financial situation of the late 1930s and with the onset of war, the probationary studentships that had been suspended indefinitely in 1931, could not be restored. In any case there were plenty of candidates for teaching and as it always had, the junior teacher system provided a useful place for those underqualified for the College or unable to be accepted there because of admission quotas. Despite the general improvement in national prosperity noted by Dr. Schulz, the intakes at the College had to be kept low and quotas applied for most courses, particularly once the war had begun. This was most noticeable in 1940 when a reduction in the intake left twenty-two junior teachers from 1939 with no option but to repeat a year in that role.[6] In 1935 a number of people who had not been junior teachers had to be accepted to make up the larger than normal intake needed but from then on, student teachers, apart from most of those taken into the A course, generally came from the ranks of the junior teachers. Most candidates for teaching had to expect to serve at least one year of practical teaching prior to training.

Not all these junior teachers were qualified for the College of course and the year in a school gave them the opportunity to reach the age of seventeen and, if necessary, to improve their Leaving passes. The profiles of examination passes from 1936 on are very similar to those illustrated in Chapter 7 for previous years. In 1938, for example, of the junior teachers who had sat for the Leaving in the previous year, thirty-nine had obtained the certificate with an average pass of 5.4 subjects, while the rest had two, three or four subjects and a number were adding to results from previous years.[7] During 1938, sixteen of them passed at least one further subject while at least six others began successfully on University studies.[8] While some junior teachers did very well, passing Leaving and in some cases Leaving Honours with credits, it cannot be said that overall, a great many of the most academically gifted students entered teaching during the first part of this period.

The evidence given by Mr.A.E.Whitford, the Acting Employment Officer of the Department, to the Education Inquiry Committee in 1943 backs this up. He told the Committee that only 42% of the first year students of that year had an I.Q. of 120 or higher, that 43% had an I.Q. of between 110 and 120, 15% were below 110, and at least five students who showed less than 100 over two tests.[9] Whitford believed that the odds were against anyone with an I.Q. of under 120 being able to cope with a degree or become successful primary teachers and that few with an I.Q. of under 130 were likely to be successful high school teachers. When asked what would be the result of applying an intelligence test to candidates for the College, Whitford replied 'You would have 50 (new intakes) in the College instead of 113.'[10] He was commenting on the selection of suitable applicants for teaching whom he believed should be chosen principally from that section of the public most capable of undergoing extensive academic training. It was his view that the introduction of what he termed 'Assisted Courses' (Government Bursaries) at the University was depriving the Department 'of what would have provided its best material.'[11] Until 1940, Government Bursaries had been tied to the Leaving Honours examination but from then on there were also twelve granted on the Leaving results so it does seem likely that some students who might have seen teaching as their only way into the University would then have had another avenue. Whitford was also arguing against the policy of selecting teachers primarily on the basis of academic qualifications and he went on to tell the Committee that no properly qualified person, such as a trained psychologist, examined candidates to see if they were temperamentally fit for the work of teaching, emotionally stable and of a well integrated personality. Clearly he had little faith in the ability of those supervising the work of junior teachers in schools to decide if their charges were fit enough in such respects to continue in the profession.

As had been the case during the whole of the junior teacher system with the exception of the Depression years, most junior teachers were females. Between 1936 and 1944 women outnumbered men by almost 3.5 to 1. This was the result of Departmental policy for the whole service. In his report for 1939, the new Director, Dr. C. Fenner, noted that in 1914 there were 52 men for every 100 women but by 1938 there were 118 men for every 100 women. He went on:

> It is considered that this rapid increase in the masculinity of the Department is not in the best interests of either the mobility or the economy of the Department, and strong steps have been taken to alter the position.[12]

Naturally enough, these strong steps had already begun well before this with candidates for the College and the re-feminization of the Department through the junior teacher system shows up clearly in the following table.

TABLE 8.2 Gender Differences in Junior Teachers Selected Years 1934-1944 [12]

1934		1936		1938		1940		1942		1944	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
49	35	23	76	23	80	20	90	21	79	23	76

The fall in the masculinity of the junior teacher system can be attributed largely to the policy of actively discouraging male applicants. This appears to have begun from 1935 when in contrast to the previous year, more than twice as many female than male junior teachers were appointed. It intensified in 1938 when a memorandum to head teachers re the appointment of junior teachers stated 'Few, if any, boys will be appointed as Junior Teachers this year, therefore you should make a special effort to find accommodation for a girl if you wish to have a Junior Teacher appointed to your school.'[14] A memorandum in 1942 carried exactly the same message. The discouraging of boy candidates was applied more rigorously at first to primary than to secondary schools. It was not until 1940 that the number of male junior teachers at the high schools dropped from a majority to ten men to twelve women. By 1943 there were only four male junior teachers in high schools as against thirteen females. While this was in keeping with the policy of increasing the female teaching force, there seems no doubt that by then the war was also affecting the situation as numbers of male junior teachers were joining the armed services. Regardless of this, the policy itself can be seen as outright discrimination against males, in a profession that was one of the few open to young men unable to afford tertiary studies or to win one of the very limited number of scholarships and Government Bursaries available at that time.

The point made by Fenner about the effect on the economy is easy to understand. As women were paid lower wages, the decision to employ more of them was in the interests of saving money, a discriminatory aspect, too, that can be seen now, according to Miller, as an 'explicit intention of the wages award' applying to all women teachers at the time.[15] In 1938, male junior teachers received an allowance of £50 a year while females received £38, so the financial saving of having three and a half times as many women junior teachers, to say nothing of those in the wider service, is very clear. It was important to keep the numbers of female candidates high, too, because women teachers had to resign on marriage and many did within a few years of their first appointment. Although it made for higher costs in training, the high resignation rate was in itself an advantage to the Department as it enabled a continual stream of younger and cheaper teachers to be employed anywhere they were needed. There were still few jobs suitable for girls who were academically inclined and Fenner's concern about the interests of mobility in the service hinged mainly on the view that those females wanting to be teachers would go anywhere as junior teachers (and later as teachers) for the sake of a job. It may have been the case, too, that board in the country was easier to find for girls. In the memorandum re the appointment of junior teachers in 1938, it was indicated that boys were generally charged 17/6 a week for board while it could be found for girls at 15/-. A major factor however, in recruiting larger numbers of women would seem to be the nature of the teaching role for junior

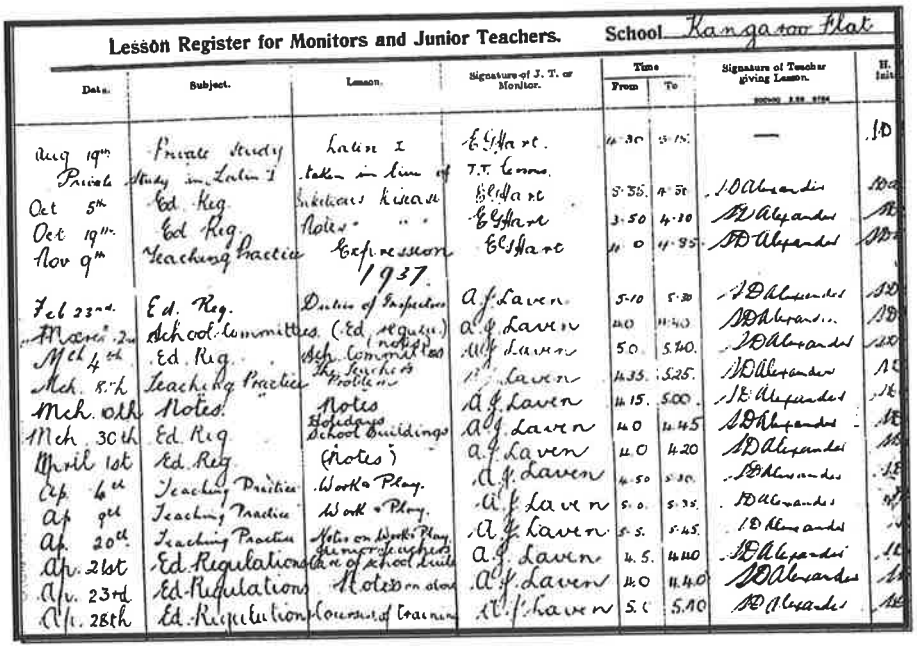
teachers. Most were expected to assist in one teacher schools by teaching the infant grades, a role seen in less enlightened times as more suited to girls than boys.

Overall, junior teachers were not paid well considering the teaching expected of them and in this regard both males and females were discriminated against. In 1938, the lowest paid female certificated teacher earned £155/12/6d per year while a junior teacher carrying out the same teaching role received about a quarter of this. While efforts appear to have been made to place junior teachers at schools near their homes, a practice that saved the Department £20 per year for a boarding allowance, this was not always possible and in each year numbers of junior teachers had to board away from home, often in remote and isolated districts. If a female junior teacher had to board away for say, 43 weeks at even 15/- per week, it would cost over £30, so the boarding allowance would not be sufficient and the additional cost would have to be found from an already inadequate general allowance. By 1941, the cost of living had risen to such an extent that junior teachers were awarded an increase of £10 per year. The inadequacy of this can be gauged by the fact that by 1942 the Department considered 17/6d as the lowest likely rate of weekly board even for a female. The Departmental memorandum from the Superintendent of Primary Schools to head teachers regarding the appointment of junior teachers for that year stated that figure, and went on to describe the situation of junior teachers and their pay very clearly in these terms:

> As you are aware, Junior Teachers receive only small allowances and cannot pay highly for lodgings. The appointment of such a teacher to your school is dependent in some measure upon the cost of board ... I shall be pleased to know if board is available for a Junior Teacher...and, if so, at what rate.[16]

The implied threat in this must have inspired overworked head teachers to try every way possible to avoid missing out on the assistance of a junior teacher, and the type of cheap board found may well have not been always appropriate for young females appointed to small schools. For those living at home, a tolerable financial situation was probably possible. For those boarding away, there would have been little left over for personal use, especially for females.

In addition to their teaching duties and any additional subjects they might need for entry to the course of their choice, junior teachers were required to familiarise themselves with the Primary Course of Instruction and the Departmental Regulations. They also had to study the Primer of Teaching that had been in use since the 1920s. The head teacher had to supervise such studies, details of which were recorded for perusal by the District Inspector. The following extract from a Lesson Register shows part of the studies undertaken by junior teachers in 1936 and 1937.[17] The appearance of Latin 1 indicates that one of them had begun University studies in 1936. However, her name is not amongst those listed in the Gazette in 1937 as having passed a University subject in the previous year.[18]



Lesson Register for Monitors and Junior Teachers. School Kangaroo Flat

Date.	Subject.	Lesson.	Signature of J. T. or Monitor.	Time From	Time To	Signature of Teacher giving Lesson.	H. Init.
Aug 19th	Private Study	Latin I	E.G.Hart.	4.30	5.15	—	ID
Private	Study in Latin I	taken in lieu of	T.T. Exam.				
Oct 5th	Ed. Reg.	Subjects Lesson	E.G.Hart	3.35	4.35	I.D.Alexander	ID
Oct 19th	Ed Reg.	Notes " "	E.G.Hart	3.50	4.30	I.D.Alexander	ID
Nov 9th	Teaching Practice	Expression	E.G.Hart	11.0	11.35	I.D.Alexander	ID
		1937.					
Feb 23rd	Ed. Reg.	Duties of Inspectors	A.J.Laver	5.10	5.30	I.D.Alexander	ID
March 2nd	School Committees	(Ed. regs.) noted	A.J.Laver	4.0	11.40	I.D.Alexander	ID
Mch 4th	Ed. Reg.	Sch. Committees	A.J.Laver	5.0	5.40.	I.D.Alexander	ID
Mch. 8th	Teaching Practice	The Teacher's Problem	A.J.Laver	4.35.	5.25.	I.D.Alexander	ID
Mch. 16th	Notes.	Notes	A.J.Laver	4.15.	5.00.	I.D.Alexander	ID
Mch. 30th	Ed. Reg.	Holidays School Buildings	A.J.Laver	4.0	4.45	I.D.Alexander	ID
April 1st	Ed. Reg.	(Notes)	A.J.Laver	4.0	4.20	I.D.Alexander	ID
Ap. 6th	Teaching Practice	Work & Play.	A.J.Laver	4.50	5.30.	I.D.Alexander	ID
Ap. 9th	Teaching Practice	Work & Play.	A.J.Laver	5.0.	5.35.	I.D.Alexander	ID
Ap. 20th	Teaching Practice	Notes on Work & Play.	A.J.Laver	5.5.	5.45.	I.D.Alexander	ID
Ap. 21st	Ed. Regulations	Duties of teachers	A.J.Laver	4.5.	4.40	I.D.Alexander	ID
Ap. 23rd	Ed. Regulations	Notes on classification	A.J.Laver	4.0	4.40	I.D.Alexander	ID
Ap. 28th	Ed. Regulations	Courses of training	A.J.Laver	5.0	5.10	I.D.Alexander	ID

Life for most junior teachers could not have been easy either with regard to their teaching duties. With no training for such a task, most were required to teach whole classes, mostly made up of mixed grades. In 1936, for example, almost 80 per cent of the junior teachers were working in the larger one-teacher schools providing assistance to the head teacher, generally by teaching Grades 1 -111. The Regulations allowed for assistant teachers to be appointed to schools of less than 60 pupils in special circumstances only but there were many schools of between 41 and 50+ pupils, too many for one head teacher to manage, but not quite special enough in a time of teacher shortage and financial stringency to justify an assistant who could be used more profitably to teach up to 50 pupils elsewhere. A head teacher counted for 30 pupils, as did a junior teacher, so between them most of the large Class V and V1 one teacher schools could be staffed adequately enough, at least for official purposes. In this way the Department managed to provide help for a great many head teachers who otherwise would have had the very difficult task of managing large numbers across seven grades. At this time the consolidation of small schools had begun with the introduction of area schools but the need to use junior teachers persisted as the only way of assisting many small schools in the late 1930s, during the war years and, as will be seen later, well into the 1950s. The following table shows the use made of junior teachers in one teacher schools during this particular period.

TABLE 8.3 Junior Teachers Assisting in Larger One-Teacher Schools
Selected Years 1936 to 1945 [19]

	1936	1939	1942	1945
Junior Teachers	77	61	60	50
% of All Junior Teachers	77%	51%	54%	47%

There is evidence of how junior teachers helped the system to survive, not only by assisting the sole Head Teachers of larger Class V and V1 schools but also by releasing trained assistant teachers from

such schools for work elsewhere or simply as replacements where trained staff were no longer available. The Houghton school, for example, in 1937 had an average attendance of 42.8 and the head teacher was assisted only by a junior teacher. In contrast, the same school in 1928 with an average attendance of 51.3 had had a trained assistant.

By 1945, as the above table shows, the number of junior teachers needed to assist sole head teachers did begin to fall. This was due to a general decrease in primary numbers as a result of lower birth rates during and immediately after the Depression, to the beginnings of consolidation into the area school system and to such measures as re-employing temporary teachers. The problem however, had shifted to the secondary schools and as Table 8.1 showed, junior teachers were used increasingly in high, technical high and other post primary schools. Enrolments in high schools alone, after a low of 4500 in 1934, had risen to over 6000 by 1938 and by 1939 total secondary enrolments were over 10,500.[20] In 1936, 12.5% of junior teachers were working in high and technical schools. By 1945, at least 33% of all junior teachers were engaged in some form of secondary teaching in these schools and there may well have been others doing such work in higher primary and area schools. Junior teachers became a significant component of the staffs of at least the smaller secondary schools. In 1940, the Riverton High School with an average attendance of 73.5 had a head master and three trained assistant teachers. In 1944, with the same number of students, it had a head master but only two assistants and a junior teacher. During the same period the Jamestown High School kept the same number of staff but an increase of fourteen students was covered by the appointment of a junior teacher. In many cases, junior teachers were appointed to secondary schools where one or more male teachers were absent serving with the armed forces. Many of these junior teachers had to take responsibility for subject areas up to PEB examination levels and to teach pupils of practically their own age, often at the same school where, in the previous year, they had been students themselves.

In the light of the poor allowances, the heavy teaching and studying duties and in many cases boarding away from home, it is hardly surprising that the junior teachers' role as untrained teachers came to be seen as exploitative and in the interests of neither themselves nor the classes they taught. By the same token it needs to be noted that the little that was written about junior teachers by the Inspectors, though not always particularly favourable, was certainly not critical of the system either. In his report for 1937, Inspector Jefferies, who was responsible for the North West District which stretched from the metropolitan area to well into the country, wrote 'Where a Junior Teacher has been employed, morning lessons have been regularly given and a reasonable attempt has been made to give the training required during the first year of the apprenticeship.'[21] His comments sound rather like a measure of faint praise but the four head teachers in his district who had only the help of a junior teacher would not have had much time to do more than was 'reasonable' for their apprentices. His reference to 'apprenticeship' in the late 1930s gives an interesting view of how the junior teachership was regarded still in official quarters. In 1937, Inspector Caust, who had eight junior

teachers working in small schools in his Mid-North District, reported that 'The Junior Teachers have shown keen interest in their work and have received sympathetic guidance from their Head Teachers.'[22] While the sincerity of such a comment cannot be doubted, it does sound rather like the politically correct thing for an inspector to say about a system that was coming in for increasing criticism. There can be no doubt however, of the reality of the second part of this report from Inspector Rofe in 1938:

> The policy of appointing Junior Teachers to smaller schools has proven a boon not only to the young folk themselves but also to the Head Teachers of the schools to which they have been attached.[23]

In Inspector Rofe's North East District there were ten such schools ranging from average enrolments of 37.7 to 51.5 where the help of a junior teacher must have been greatly appreciated by the head teachers. However, in the light of what it was like to be a junior teacher and more especially in view of the evidence that was already being collected by the Teachers' Union, it seems doubtful if the time as a junior teacher was such 'a boon' to all of the young unprepared folk doing the work of a trained teacher at a fraction of the pay.

Increasingly, the Department found difficulty in recruiting sufficient junior teachers. Dr. Fenner told the Education Inquiry Committee as much in 1944 when he blamed the conditions brought about by the war effort for the added pressure on junior teachers.[24] However, at a time when permanent jobs were not easy to come by, especially for women, reasonably large numbers were attracted into junior teaching despite the drawbacks of poor pay, living in remote areas and being given tasks for which they had no training. In questioning why so many were willing to take it on, it has to be remembered that unless a person was prepared to enter an A course or was capable enough academically to be accepted directly into a D course, it was practically mandatory to become a junior teacher in order to get into the Teachers' College. Once a candidate was admitted to the system, he or she was generally assured, in due course, of a place in the College. At the same time it needs to be noted that despite any drawbacks, time as a junior teacher should have given experience that would stand candidates in good stead in practical teaching while at the College and in their work as an adult teacher. Inspector Rofe noted this in 1938 when in expanding on the 'boon' he considered the system to be to young folk beginning their careers in this way he wrote 'The period of Junior Teachership affords excellent experience in class management and should prove a valuable introduction to the training to be received at the Teachers' College ...'[25] Interestingly enough, the validity of this was to be questioned quite seriously within five years before the Education Inquiry Committee by witnesses who saw the experience as likely to have quite a different effect on immature young trainees. But that is to anticipate. What is of concern at this stage is what became of junior teachers after their period of service in that role.

More than three-quarters of the junior teachers of this period entered two year courses at the Teachers' College. As in previous times, some chose to enter a short course or were directed into it by force of circumstances. At periods of particular shortage the Department allowed special concessions for entry and certification that can only be described as thinly disguised enticements to get ex-junior teachers through training as quickly as possible. The shortage of teachers was so acute in 1936 that the one year B1 course, last needed in 1926, had to be re-introduced to get the schools staffed. As in earlier times this course proved to be attractive to even very well qualified junior teachers. The attractiveness lay in the fact that it allowed the same type of tertiary studies as the normal B course instead of the mere basic primary subject studies of the A course, some University work, and most importantly, access to the 111B certificate after one year of satisfactory teaching. All the twenty-three students - sixteen men and seven women - in this course had been junior teachers and most had six or seven Leaving passes while some had several Honours subjects.[26] The decision to take this one year rather than the normal two year primary course would appear to have been made by these students themselves and again it is understandable that in such difficult economic times some student teachers would want to begin teaching and earning a salary as quickly as possible. As it happened, most had their 111B certificate by the beginning of 1938, the same time as those completing the two year B Course and by 1939, except for the few who were still unclassified, they had also caught up in salary with those taking the full course.[27] One difference between the two groups that tended to remain obvious was that some who had taken the full course had several University subjects to their credit listed in the official directories of the period while most from the B1 group had only one or two, a difference with potential for affecting long term career prospects for those making teaching their life's work.[28]

A one year B Course was not needed again, as by 1937, the shortage was no longer so acute but just when staffing problems due to the Depression appeared to be being overcome, the Department was faced with new ones due to the war. Increasing numbers of male teachers were joining the armed forces and funds for education were becoming scarcer. These factors forced the Department, not only to increase the number of A courses and stagger them throughout the year to meet end-of-term resignations, but also to encourage, or perhaps entice, more applicants into them. One way of doing this was to lower the entrance standard to the junior teacher system from the Leaving to the Intermediate for any one prepared to agree to enter a short course. Another was to allow students who had taken non-PEB courses at junior technical, central or area schools to become junior teachers for the same purpose. In view of the requirements for classification of Leaving PEB subjects, these moves can be seen as not being in the best interests of these candidates. Underqualified young people were drawn into a course of action that was likely to ensure that as teachers they remained only semi-skilled and uncertificated for lengthy periods. It will be remembered from Chapter 7 that from 1927, junior teachers were recruited from probationary students who had studied at the Leaving level. Certainly the less well qualified often entered a short course but they usually had at least some of the

Leaving subjects required for classification purposes. The re-introduction of a lower entrance level can only be regarded as a retrograde step and one that shows just how desperate the Department was for recruits during the war.

It was in 1941 that the usual Gazette notice calling for applications for junior teachers contained the new clause that allowed for students who had passed in five Intermediate subjects including English and either Arithmetic or one branch of Mathematics to apply for 'Junior Teacherships for the "A" Course'[29] The notice also allowed for those who had completed a four-year Departmentally examined course 'with credit' at a junior technical or central school to apply as junior teachers, again for the A course only. In the next three years this was modified even further by advising that qualifications equivalent to the Intermediate from junior technical, area and other schools would be 'sympathetically considered by the Director.'[30] In 1942, the list of junior teachers contained the names of sixteen accepted under the new ruling and specially designated as intended for the A course only. Of these, fourteen did have to enter the A Course in August 1942 while two others managed to get into two year courses in 1943 by passing more Leaving subjects. Records of the P.E.B examination results indicate that a number of these students had sat for the Leaving but with generally poor pass rates. As this profile shows, others had Intermediate only while some had no P.E.B. record and had presumably done a Departmental examined course instead.

Profile 8.1 Examination Results of Junior Teachers Recruited Specifically for "A" Courses - 1942 and 1943 [31]

(I for Intermediate, L for Leaving)

(a) 1942

	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	
1 (female)	-	6I	1I+1L	2L	JT -	"A", August,
2 (male)	6I	-	-	-	JT -	"
3 (female)	-	-	6I	1L	JT -	"
4 (female)	-	-	4I	3L	JT -	"

(b) 1943

	1940	1941	1942	1943	
1 (female)	-	6I	6L	JT -	"A", June, 1943
2 (female)	-	5I	-	JT -	"
3 (female)	No P.E.B. record			JT -	"
4 (female)	6I	3L	3L	JT -	"

Apparently there was some element of choice operating in this new approach to recruiting as several, like Case 1 in 1943, appear to have possibly gained Leaving certificates and could well have entered two year courses rather than agreeing to enter the junior teachership for a short course. As in previous difficult economic times, some candidates would have opted for a shorter time as junior teachers and student teachers as a quicker way of reaching their goal as a teacher, with the attraction of a wage rather than a training allowance, despite the drawback of the lack of immediate certification and a lower salary. Inevitably the poor academic standing of some of these special recruits showed up in their results in the College subjects. Seven from the August intake of 1942 had the satisfactory completion of their course deferred because they had failed certain subjects, a number of which were

associated with the very subjects they were to teach. Case 1 failed Dictation, Case 2 Hygiene, and Case 3 Education and Dictation.[32] There were similar results in the following years.

The disadvantages inherent in the short course may not have been of great moment to those concerned about getting employment in teaching or to those not particularly intending to make teaching their life's work and it is not surprising, that again, most of those who took advantage of the lowering of entrance qualifications and a shorter course of training were women. Less than 15% of all the A Course students between 1940 and 1945 were men and there are indications that some of these men were disadvantaged in the longer term. Of four men for example, who accepted positions as junior teachers in 1942/3 knowing they were going into the A Course, one (Case 2-1942 above) had no Leaving subjects and the others had only two or three. In 1948, three of them were still unclassified as Teachers-in-Charge and Case 2 remained so as late as 1953.[33] On the other hand, if the junior teacher entrance qualifications had not been lowered, these men may not have got into a teaching career at all. Men desperate for a career in teaching in a harsh economic climate may well have underestimated the very real disadvantages of the A course both from a personal and a training point of view. The Education Inquiry Committee summed these disadvantages up in no uncertain terms in 1945 as a prelude to recommending the abolition of the one year course:

> A period of one year is hopelessly inadequate, particularly as the short course is reserved for those whose qualifications are, in general, the lowest. We draw attention to a further matter, one which has not been sufficiently considered - the unfairness of this course to the men and women who pass through it. They are accepted with five Intermediate subjects; while at the Teachers College they take no University or even Leaving subjects; they leave the College without a certificate and usually without the four Leaving subjects that comprise part of the requirement for the lowest departmental certificate. If after leaving the College they do not get themselves the subjects they should have had before entering and while at the College, they will never escape the ranks of the semi-skilled. If they do not undertake to pass these subjects they face years of drudgery, in isolated places, and often under unfavourable conditions, in order to accumulate the Leaving subjects they should have taken at school, and the University subjects they should have taken while at the Teachers College. We hope no one will offer the comment that students may please themselves whether or not they take the one-year course. Our answer is that it should not be there to be taken.[34]

In view of this, it is not surprising that the number of junior teachers entering the A Course was not high and of the 260 or so who trained in short courses between 1936 and 1945, only some 22% had been junior teachers. The rest were school leavers of mainly Intermediate standard who had little other choice than to take a one-year course. This is in sharp contrast to the general percentage of junior teachers in the College intakes of the period and in most of the other courses. The trend for most other student teachers especially those training for primary, infant or craft courses, to have

been junior teachers began in the 30s, peaked in the early 40s and began to fall off towards the end of the period under review as this table shows:

TABLE 8.3 Junior Teachers In Two-Year Courses
Selected years 1938 to 1945 [35]

1938			1942			1945		
B	C	Craft	B	C	Craft	B	C	Craft
93%	91%	78%	95%	100%	100%	69%	83%	60%

In all years most students in the three year E (Commercial) course had been junior teachers. As has been noted before, very few junior teachers entered the four year D course direct as most students for that course were selected from the more successful B students, but when direct entry to this course began again in 1943, junior teachers were admitted. In 1945, for example, seven of the thirteen first year D course students had been junior teachers.

As has been seen, there were distinct advantages career-wise and salary-wise in the system for those junior teachers accepted with adequate academic qualifications. As this profile shows some junior teachers entering two year courses were very well qualified while others had just the bare minimum for the course they entered.

Profile 8.2 Examination Results of Junior Teachers Entering Other Than Short Courses in 19434 [36]
(I for Intermediate, L for Leaving, LH for Leaving Honours)

	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	
1 (female)	6L	2LH	4LH	JT	"B"	("D" in 1945)
2 (male)	6I	4L	5L	JT	"B"	("I" in 1945)*
3 (female)	7I	1I	7L	JT	"B"	
4 (female)	7I	5L	4LH	JT	"C"	
5 (female)	-	7I	5L	JT	"C"	
6 (male)	6I	-	7L	JT	"D"	

* The "I" Course was for secondary Physical Education Teachers

By 1943 the Education Inquiry Committee had begun its work and the whole question of the role of junior teachers was about to be put under close scrutiny.

The Junior Teacher System Under Scrutiny

In the 1930s educators across Australia were re-evaluating pre-College practical teaching. The Report of the National Inquiry into Education states that in this period the idea of junior teaching '... enjoyed something of an Indian summer with education department leaders proclaiming the educational advantages of practical experience prior to college entry.'[37] At a national conference of Directors of Education held in Brisbane in 1936, the matter of an apprenticeship component in

teacher training was discussed and received some support. The nature of this support was revealed by Dr. Schulz in his report for 1937 when he wrote regarding junior teaching:

> On the one hand it helps the young person discover whether teaching work appeals to him and on the other hand it gives a background of knowledge or at least an awareness of personally felt problems that greatly increases the student's interest in the College theory lectures and teaching practice and the benefit he derives from this work.[38]

It appears from details of the Brisbane Conference of Directors of Education that Schulz was merely repeating in a more precise way what had been discussed there as the main arguments in support of retention of an apprenticeship system of training teachers.[39]

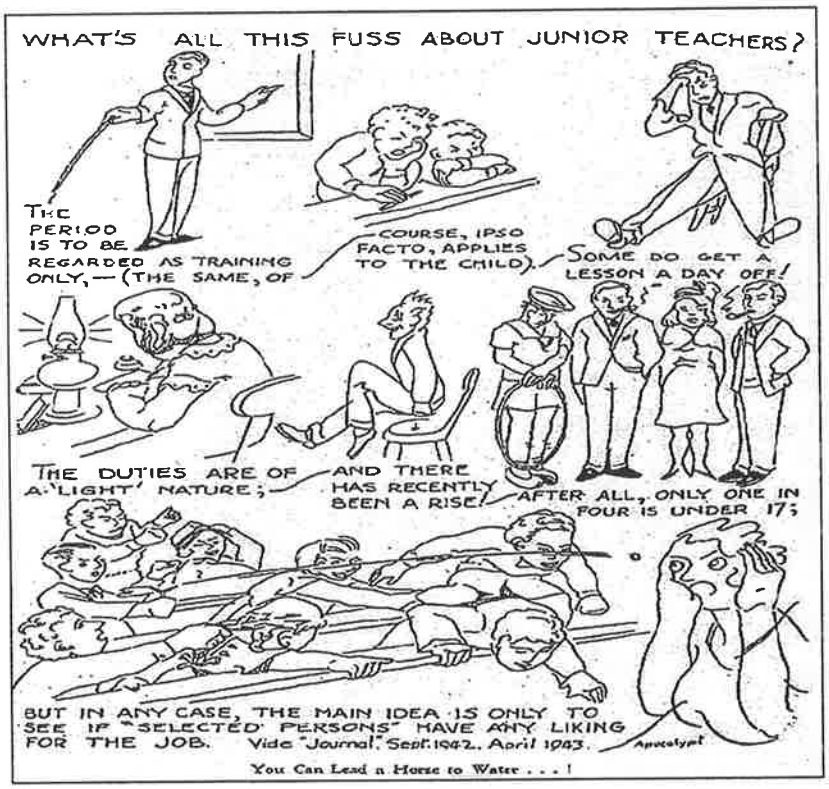
Dr. Schulz's reference to junior teachers is interesting from other points of view. Although junior teachers had made up the bulk of his student body for several years, up to this point his reports had never mentioned as particularly valuable this practical experience which so many students already possessed. Obviously the Brisbane conference had begun to stir up debate on the subject in South Australia and from what Schulz said, it appears that he was well aware that not all opinions were as supportive of the situation as he now was. Wearing his public servant type hat, he began by indicating that his report was not the place to discuss the actual nature of the junior teachership scheme or the feasibility of its modification in some way or other, but went on immediately to give his own opinion that '... of the high value of some amount of preliminary practical experience there can be little room for doubt.'[40] He concluded with another strong expression of his own – 'It could be wished that it might be possible to require such practical experience of all candidates for admission to the College'. As already noted, apart from most of those entering the A Course, the great majority of Schulz's students in 1937 had indeed had such practical experience!

Hyams points out that while Directors of Education might favor continuing a system of apprenticeship for teachers, the teachers' unions in their states did not.[41] Such differences of opinion were very evident indeed between the Director of Education in South Australia, Charles Fenner, and the S.A. Teachers' Union. While some educators were proclaiming the benefits of pre-training teaching experience, others were beginning to see the system as exploitative and of serious disadvantage to both those teaching and being taught under such a system. By 1942, the battle lines were being drawn up and there seems no doubt that the heavy responsibilities given to most junior teachers in the periods of economic stress of the Depression and the War, contributed greatly to the decided swing of opinion against the system from educational, industrial and even parental points of view.

Although the Teachers' Union in South Australia had begun to look into the work conditions of junior teachers as early as 1938, it was not until 1942 that it began to publish its views. Prior to its

1942 Annual Conference, the Union had sent another questionnaire to junior teachers and as a result of what was found, it was decided that the Conference delegates should discuss the question of the appointment, pay and work of junior teachers. As a result of the discussion, the Conference passed the motion 'That the Department be asked to discontinue the use of junior teachers in schools.'[42] The 1942 Annual Conference also generated a considerable amount of general publicity on a variety of other educational issues and brought pressure on the Government for a general inquiry into South Australian education. As a result, an Education Inquiry Committee was set up at the end of that year. The terms of reference were broad, with the Committee to inquire into primary and high school standards, more adequate provision of adult education and the kind of education likely to be required for post war reconstruction.[43] This last term opened up the whole question of teacher training and the place of junior teachers in it.

The setting up of this Committee gave the Teachers' Union and other interested parties the opportunity to take much stronger action on the issue of junior teachers through the preparation of very forceful and well presented submissions. At the same time the Union began an awareness raising campaign about the weaknesses of the junior teacher system. The nature of this campaign is well illustrated by this cartoon which appeared in the S.A. Teachers Journal in July 1943:[44]



The heading would seem to indicate that teachers in general, the Departmental officers and the Government needed to be more aware that the 'fuss' was about conditions under which junior teachers were working in the 1940s, conditions that were, in the words of Hyams, '... still highly reminiscent of 19th century practice.'[45] These unsatisfactory conditions included not only the

combination of heavy teaching loads and study requirements but the burdensome responsibilities placed on untrained teenagers expected to do the work of trained teachers for a fraction of the salary. It was a fuss about these and other weaknesses in a system which McCoy had exposed as unsatisfactory more than twenty years before but which had been restored and very much enlarged by a Department desperate to staff schools in the most economical way possible in times of financial stringency. The Teachers' Union was signaling that the time had come to question the propriety of maintaining an outmoded training approach that had greater potential for harming both the junior teacher and his or her pupils than for a successful induction into teaching.

The cartoon drew attention to the difficulties imposed on these young people by a generally full day of teaching and a heavy load of marking, lesson preparation and a study of the prescribed subjects together with any academic work they might need. The reference to only one in four being under 17 clearly meant that the Department was staffing the schools with candidates who could well be in the College. This was done by very strictly enforcing the rule that entrants had to be 17 years of age by the end of January in the year of entry. As has been seen, this was part of the strategy for maintaining intake quotas at the Teachers College and staffing the schools at a time of financial difficulty due to the war effort. The key issue of the effect of untrained juniors practising on pupils is well illustrated. So, too, is the likely effect of discipline problems on young candidates and indeed, on their pupils. The emotional stress of the young teacher (interestingly enough, a female) is vivid as are the expressions on the faces of some of the students who are obviously enjoying their unruly behavior. Junior teachers experiencing this type of behavior would hardly grow to like the job! The 'rise' refers to the increase of £10 p.a. awarded to junior teachers in 1942 to compensate for the cost of living obtaining in the 1941/42 financial year.[46] Clearly this was seen as a petty increase, a mere 'pinprick' of little real value in light of the overall inadequacy of the allowance for junior teachers. The conclusion points to the probable futility of putting an untrained person, 'selected' largely on academic results, in charge of a class and expecting them to be able to teach. The cartoon was a good way of raising general awareness of the quite serious faults in a system that most teachers in the Department would have become accustomed to, and possibly accepting of, through their own involvement in it.

More importantly, the cartoon was a very public response to a series of attempts over the previous year by the Department to justify the system in the face of Union criticism. As such it can be seen as a direct challenge to Departmental orthodoxy by a Teachers' Union intent on flexing its muscles in a determined effort to have a stronger influence on educational policy. In September, 1942, the Department had responded to criticisms put to it by The Training of Teachers Committee of the Union by stating in a letter that:

> The Education Department is convinced of the value of the junior teacher system, both from the point of view of assisting the junior teachers to discover whether they have the faculty and liking for teaching, and to enable the Department to discover whether the selected persons are capable of becoming good teachers ... The period of junior teaching is regarded as a training period only. In apprenticeship for teaching, as in other apprenticeships, practical work is essential, ... [47]

The letter went on to state that while acknowledging that the regulations allowed junior teachers to count for 30 pupils in assessing the strength of staff, the Department believed that '... in actual practice, apart from the difficulties caused by the absence of so many men on active service at the present time, junior teachers are given only light responsibilities.' The abnormal staffing situation was also blamed for the placement of some junior teachers away from their homes and this was to be rectified in due course when the staffing of schools returned to normal. At that stage, according to the Director, thirty-eight of the junior teachers were able to go home daily, while sixty others could go home at weekends.

A response which so obviously ignored the realities of the system did nothing to stem Union criticism. The Training of Teachers Committee, already incensed by the refusal of the Director of their request to meet to consider their proposals regarding junior teachers, became even more so by his letter. In a report in the Teachers' Journal they wrote that the letter '... is weaker than distilled water.' and expressed the hope that the Editor would print it for all teachers to read, which of course, he did.[48]

However, this apparently had no effect on the Department so in April, 1943, a further report was made, this time dealing with the Director's assertion that junior teachers were given only light duties. The facts found in the Union's survey indicated that this was not so and a series of examples were printed. The Union had found that in a very great majority of cases, junior teachers were working the full day and that in the few instances where they did have a lesson a day off, the teaching load was far too heavy.[49] These two examples were given:

> (1) A (1942) had only one lesson a day free. Part of her duty was to take Grades 1, 11, and 111 together (forty-seven pupils in all) for geography, nature study, singing and moral lessons.
>
> (2) B (1942) taught the full day. Took Grades 1, 11, 111, and 1V for history, all the girls for sewing, but had at the same time both boys and girls of Grades 1, 11, 111; singing to the whole school; rhythm to all the girls; domestic arts to the upper girls.

It had been found, too, that the preparation needed by junior teachers was also far too heavy. In pointing out that this was unfortunately preparation of what to teach, rather than how to teach, the Union cited these examples:

> A - taught first year English, Latin, French, Maths.1, Math's. 11, second year French, Intermediate French, Leaving English, Latin, French, Maths.1 and ....
>
> B - taught Grades V111 and 1X English, Latin, French, Arithmetic, Maths.1, Maths.11, History and Geography, and had herself studied no Geography since Grade V11.
>
> C - was responsible for Leaving Honours English - a totally different course from that taught to him in the previous year - and Leaving History, he himself having done no History since his first year at high school.

This severe indictment of the teaching duties of junior teachers was followed by a statement to the effect that though junior teachers were not specialists they were required to teach any class from Grade 1 to Leaving Honours, and any subject whatever, even Domestic Arts, Singing, Rhythm, Sewing and Manual work.

This very detailed and explicit kind of publicity brought a quick response from the Department. Within two months, the Director of Education tried to clarify further the teaching responsibilities of junior teachers by issuing a special departmental circular on the topic.[50] After pointing to the requirement for junior teachers to count for 30 pupils, Dr Fenner went on:

> The Department is particularly anxious that these young people are not overloaded. In no case should they have a permanent class of more than 30 pupils, and where they have mixed classes the number should be less.
>
> In fairness to the scholars it must be remembered that Junior Teachers are as yet untrained, and are in the process of training and, while they can be of great assistance in a school, it is undesirable that the final responsibility for the progress of any children or class should rest upon them.

Yet, for the large number engaged in teaching in 1943, responsibility for the day to day progress of their pupils did depend on them, though as in any school, final responsibility lay with the Head teacher. At the Committee of Inquiry in August 1943, when A.W.Pitt, Staff Inspector and President of the Inspectors' Guild, was asked to what extent trainee teachers were held responsible for a number of pupils, he replied:

> ... although no one in the upper ranks of the Department would say that the trainee teacher was responsible for those grades, he is in fact responsible because no one else does the work.[51]

This refreshingly frank admission from such a senior officer showed what a fine distinction the Director was drawing and it is not surprising that the Union responded by publishing its very critical,

but particularly apt, cartoon in the very next month. It was also busy preparing a major challenge regarding the junior teacher system for the Education Inquiry Committee. By September, 1943, the Union was ready to present a detailed submission to the Inquiry arguing for abolition of the system. After referring to McCoy as having abolished the system '... on the grounds that a professional man did not practise on his patients until he had been trained.', the Teachers' Union set out the case against what it saw as having '... since been re-introduced.'[52] A major part of this case was a statement of the conditions under which the system operated as described by the seventy-four junior teachers who had responded to the survey conducted in 1942. The work of fifty-six who were in primary schools was presented in the following form:[53]

JUNIOR TEACHERS IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS, 1942.

Grades taught all the time	Number		Lessons a day	Other duties.	No. of grades taught.	Board.
1. I, II & III	7 + 6 + 7	= 20	all day	Sewing whole school. Rhythm all girls. Domestic Arts upper girls. Singing upper scholars.	3+	17 6
2. I, II & III	9 + 7 + 1	= 17	all day	IV history. Sewing. Singing upper school.	3+	19 6
3. I, II	10 + 14	= 24	all day	III & IV History. Admission register. Sewing III-VII.	2+	
4. I, II and III	12 + 5 + 12	= 29	all day	Sewing. Singing. IV for history.	3+	18 0
5. I, II, Sub-intermediate	10 + 13 + 1	= 24	all day	Sports.	2	1 0 0
6. IV		14	7 @ 30 mins.	War Savings Stamps.	1	17 0
7. Assisting with III, V, & VI	54 + 40 + 61		2, to 4		1	15 0
8. Estcourt House	Special school			Light duties.	1	1 0 0
9. VI		17	6		1	18 0
10. IV and V	15 + 11	= 26	all day	I, II, III Manual + III History.	2+	
11. I, II, & IV	1 + 5 + 6	= 12	all day	Sewing.	3	
12. I & II	5 + 4	= 9	all day	+ III and IV History and Geography. Sewing III-IV.	2+	
13. IV & V	17 + 9	= 26	all day	Singing I-III.	2+	18 0
14. I, II & III	7 + 2 + 6	= 15	all day	History grade IV. Rhythm and sewing upper girls.	3+	1 1 0
15. IV		17	all day	Grade I some subjects. IV & V drill. Boys manual.	1+	1 2 6
16. I & II	8 + 6	= 14	all day	Group lessons grade III. Sewing upper girls.	2+	
17. I & II	7 + 6	= 13	all day	Sewing upper grades.	2+	1 0 0
18. I & II	10 + 8	= 18	all day	+ poetry — grade III. Singing, sewing, ryhthm other grades.	2+	17 6
19. I & II	9 + 5	= 14	all day	grade III (22) in afternoons	2+	
20. I, II & III	9 + 2 + 6	= 17	all day	Sewing — all grades	3+	17 6
21. I, II & III	8 + 7 + 6	= 21	all day		3	1 2 6
22. II & III	17 + 20	= 37	all day		2	
23. LI, UI, II & III	5 + 14 + 7 + 7	= 33	all day		3	
24. I, II & III	6 + 6 + 10	= 22	all day		3	17 6
25. I & II	6 + 7	= 13		Sewing grades III-VII + drill and oral subj. III	2+	1 0 0
26. I & II	9 + 10	= 19	all day	Upper grades rhythm and sewing. + geography and nature study III.	2+	17 6
27. I, II & III	5 + 6 + 6	= 17	all day	Sewing all school.	3+	
28. I, II & III	2 + 9 + 4	= 15	all day	+ Grade IV in 6 subjects	3+	1 0 0
29. I, II & III	6 + 6 + 9	= 21	all day	Sewing and rhythm	3	18 0
30. I, II & III	6 + 5 + 11	= 22	all day	Rhythm all girls. Sewing all grades.	3+	17 6
31. I, II	10 + 12	= 22	all day	+ Grade III for 7 subjects (9 scholars). Sewing.	2+	18 0
32. I, II & III	2 + 8 + 8	= 18	all day	+ Grade IV History.	3+	1 3 0
33. I, II & III	3 + 4 + 2	= 9	all day	Sewing.	3+	
34. I & II	12 + 9	= 21	all day	Singing. Sewing.	2+	1 0 0
35. I, II & III	5 + 3 + 4	= 12	all day	Rhythm and Sewing upper girls.	3+	15 0
36. I, II & III	7 + 4 + 5	= 16	all day	Rhythm and sewing.	3+	1 0 0
37. I, II & III	7 + 3 + 8	= 18	all day	Sewing and rhythm	3+	
38. I, II & III	10 + 2 + 2	= 14	all day	+ IV for 3 subjects. Sewing.	3+	1 0 0
39. I, II & III	5 + 3 + 6	= 14	all day	Sewing and singing.	3+	1 0 0
40. I, II & III	4 + 5 + 5	= 14	all day	Rhythm and sewing.	3+	17 6
41. I, II & III	5 + 7 + 7	= 19	all day	Sewing III-VII.	3+	
42. I, II & III	10 + 4 + 4	= 18	all day	Rhythm, domestic arts, sewing.	3+	1 0 0
43. I & II	7 + 7	= 14	all day	+ III for English.	2+	1 0 0
44. I, II & III	9 + 5 + 7	= 21	8	+ Nature Study IV. Sewing.	3+	1 0 0
45. I & II	8 + 4	= 12	all day	+ III for oral subjects.	2+	17 6
46. II		17	all day	Drill — I + Sewing. + VI Geography and History.	1+	1 0 0
47. I & II	9 + 4	= 13	all day	+ Grade III Geography. + III and IV Nature Study. + Sewing.	2+	1 0 0
48. I & II	9 + 10	= 19	all day	Sewing and Singing.	2+	
49. V		20	all day	Help with Grades VI, VII, VIII & IX.	1+	1 5 0
50. I, II & III	8 + 7 + 4	= 19	all day	Sewing.	3+	1 0 0
51. I & II	8 + 6	= 14	all day	+ III and IV for some subjects. sewing, singing and rhythm.	2+	17 6
52. I, II & III	8 + 8 + 5	= 21	all day	Sewing	3+	1 0 0
53. I, II & III	8 + 4 + 6	= 18	all day	Sewing III-VII.	3+	
54. I, II	7 + 5	= 12	all day	Sewing. Secretary of Mothers' Club.	2+	
55. I, II	6 + 5	= 11	all day	+ III and IV for some subjects sewing and domestic arts.	2+	1 7 6
56. I, II & III	4 + 8 + 6	= 18	all day	Sewing and rhythm for upper grades.	3+	15 0

The summary showed in precise detail the unsatisfactory conditions under which untrained young junior teachers worked in these schools, conditions that had led the Union to firstly 'ask' the Department to discontinue their use and then to campaign so strongly against the system when the call for reform was resisted. As will be seen, the clear evidence that young, untrained junior teachers taught all day and that they were practically all responsible for mixed classes, mostly at infant and early primary levels, was used to great effect in the supporting arguments put to the Inquiry by various witnesses. The 'Other duties' column served to indicate a further measure of what was considered the exploitation of these young people. Even though classes were generally small, their mixed nature and the additional duties indicated that the overall work loads were heavy. Details of board paid revealed that the £20 allowed for this was far from adequate.

There was provision in the questionnaire for comments and the submission quoted some of the most revealing cases of exploitation:

Case 1

> "I am taking the place of a proper teacher but it is made harder for me with no training. The cheque I receive is meagre payment. Domestic arts and sewing are obstacles I have to deal with but the Domestic Arts Inspector seems to expect as much from me as from a teacher fully trained in this branch of the work."

Case 23

> "The work seems to be that of an assistant but without the salary."

The submission backs up the evidence of appointment patterns across this period that indicate that most junior teachers were in primary schools to assist the one Head Teacher with a larger school than he or she could manage alone. In a time of financial constraint the presence of so many female junior teachers in these schools also saved the expense of hiring outside teachers of sewing. Indeed, if a female junior teacher was appointed to a school with a Teacher of Sewing, the notice of appointment stated that the latter appointment would automatically lapse.[54] In their evidence to the Committee, the Women Teachers Guild expressed concern about the practice of giving girl 'raw recruits' responsibility for such subjects as needlework and domestic arts across a school or even for a whole class. The Guild had played an active role in the lead up to the issuing of the circular regarding the teaching responsibilities of junior teachers by Fenner in 1943. In March, 1944, they could only tell the Committee that they '... hope it will be enforced.'[55] This would seem to have been somewhat optimistic in view of the realities of the school situation, to say nothing of the rather ambiguous wording of the actual ruling on this matter, if indeed that circular could be seen as a ruling at all. One point the Guild was able to make with no hesitation was that the Department had recently granted equal pay (£80 per year) to both boy and girl junior teachers, although they went on to say that it was still considered inadequate salary for both boys and girls living away from home. Indeed, the

granting of equal pay for junior teachers can be seen as something of a measure of panic from a Department under pressure rather than from any sense of fair dealing for women as it did not carry over to the whole teaching force.

Eighteen junior teachers in high schools had taken part in the survey and a summary of their work was submitted in the following form:[56]

JUNIOR TEACHERS AT HIGH SCHOOLS.

	1st year	Subjects Intermediate	Leaving	Numbers	Lessons a day 40 mins.	Extra	Board	Travel	More than one class at a time
1.	Eng., Lat., French, Maths I and II	French	Eng., Lat., French Maths I & II	18.15:9	7	Sports	18 6		Yes
2.	English	French and Latin	French and Latin	Not stated	6	Sports	1 0 0		Yes
3.	Science, Algebra, Geom., Arith, Eng., Gen. Knowledge	—	—	23	6	Once a fortnight till 6 p.m. to supervise home-work room	1 2 6		No
4.	—	English, Latin, French, Botany		Classes vary fr. 2-18	5	Sports	1 0 0		No
5.	Maths., Physics, Latin	Physics, Latin	Physics, Latin		6	Drill. Sports Librarian	15 0		Yes
6.	French, Arith., Maths.	French	French	3 classes 45:27:7	5	Sports, Duplicating	1 0 0		No
7.	Science	Maths., Physics, Chemistry	Maths., Physics		7	Sports	1 5 0		Yes
8.	Latin, Arith., Science	French, Maths I and II			6	Conveyance claims War Savings Stamps. Records Check returns 1-4 rolls	—		No
9.	Science	Physics, Chemistry	Physics, Maths. II Chemistry	vary 2-30	7	Sports. Train duty 6.30-8 p.m. once a fortnight	1 2 0		Yes
10.	Science	History, English, Arithmetic	History (Leaving Honours French)	vary	6	Drill and sports	1 5 0		No
11.	English, History, Geography		Econ. History	21:31:2	6	—	1 5 0		No
12.	Marks 38 essays a week Spare time teaching and taking place of regular teachers when sick			35-40	2 or 3	Umpiring sports Messages Duplicating exam. papers	—	18/- month	No
13.	Plant drawing, Dimension sketching, Lettering		Design, Craftwork,	4:11:20	3		—		No
14.	History	Maths. I and II	Econ. History	2:11: 14:24	4	Sports, Drill Gardening	1 10 6		No
15.	Eng., Latin, Arith., Maths I & II, Science			20	3 & 4		1 2 6		No
16.	Geom., Arith., Hist., Science	Physics	Physics	1:4:20	not stated	Sports	1 7 0		Yes
17.		Bookkeeping, Shorthand, Typing	Bookkeeping Geog., Economics	11 & 4	6	Drill	1 0 0		No
18.	Eng., Latin, French, Arith., Maths I & II, Hist., Geog.	Same			7		1 0 0		Yes

Here, too, good use was to be made of evidence of the exploitative nature of the work of these junior teachers, most of whom taught 6 or 7 out of the normal 8 teaching periods in a day. More than half of them were responsible for teaching at Leaving level, one was responsible for a Leaving Honours subject and a third of them had to deal with mixed classes, some of which would appear to have been

rather large for such young and inexperienced young people to manage. In view of the teaching responsibilities and extra duties given to these untrained young people it is not surprising that such comments as these were passed on to the Committee in the submission:

Case 1

"A horrible job which has completely turned me off from teaching."

Case 9

"Discipline is hard to keep with pupils only a few years younger than me. A great amount of preparation time is needed for each lesson

Despite being 'turned off' from teaching, it was not easy to leave it once a young person had become a junior teacher. In their evidence to the Committee, representatives of the Male Assistants' Association made the point that although many may have realized their unfitness for the teaching profession, at the age of eighteen or nineteen, it would be too late for junior teachers with their limited resources, to begin again for some other more congenial occupation.[57] When asked whether it was likely that the Department rejected many junior teachers as unsuitable, these same representatives indicated that very few were and that it was more likely that those who dropped out did so because '... they have had enough after 12 month's junior teaching ... because of the hardness of the work they had to do untrained.'[58]

From all this the Teachers' Union argued that while the treatment of junior teachers was unfair from their own point of view, 'From the point of view of the children taught, it is worse.' and asked the question 'What man is there that would want his son or daughter taught for 12 months by an untrained lad who had come straight from a High School?'[59]

In conclusion, it was submitted that arguments claiming that it was good for boys and girls to have some practical experience of teaching before College, had to be weighed up against evidence that showed that junior teachers were not being used as supernumeraries on staffs, but were being given heavy teaching loads and that longer training and teaching experience under specially selected demonstration teachers, would be of greater benefit.

On September 13th, 1943, *The News*, Adelaide's daily afternoon paper, under the heading "Junior teachers job 'too big'" reported that the junior teaching system in South Australia had been strongly criticised before the Committee by the headmaster of the Paradise School (Mr W.T. Westgarth) on behalf of the South Australian Teachers' Union.[60] The article went on to describe in some detail the material from the Union's submission, including the breadth of teaching required of junior teachers and statements from junior teachers themselves as outlined above. Mr Westgarth was quoted as saying:

> Answers to questionnaires sent to junior teachers reveal that, in most instances, the duties they perform are too heavy, and that the department exploits their services by giving them responsibilities that should be assigned only to trained teachers ... Most of them had to teach all day. They had no time to observe the methods of experienced teachers ...

Other evidence taken from Mr. Westgarth that did not make newspaper headlines gives deeper insights into how the system was operating. He alleged that propaganda was being used to attract junior teachers with officers of the Department getting school students together to try to persuade as many as possible to become teachers '... by suggestion and enticement.'[61] Even this was not working as in 1943 alone, the Department could not attract the 100 junior teachers it wanted, a situation Mr. Westgarth attributed to the conditions and prospects. When asked whether the system was in the interests of the school or the junior teacher he replied 'The interests of the Department.'[62] When asked if the situations outlined in the survey were known to the Department, he replied 'The Department must know all this.'[63] and to the follow up question of whether the Department had ever reported officially that it was a bad system and made an effort to alter it he said:

> The effort has been to ask Head Teachers not to give the junior teachers full responsibility and to make their duties light but they are appointed to schools where such conditions are incapable of fulfilment.[64]

He countered the claim of the Department that some teaching before training was a useful way of trying out aptitude for it by saying 'A person is not sent out to do a few operations before beginning his medical course'[65], an analogy between the two professions it will be remembered, that was first made at the 1881 Commission of Enquiry into Education by Inspector Burgan regarding pupil teachers. Westgarth also had to counter the suggestion that war time exigencies were the main reason for the alleged exploitation of junior teachers. He told the Inquiry that the 1938 survey by the Union was so similar to the one currently before it, that '... just war is not responsible.'[66] He believed that an extra year at school would be more in the interests of most candidates for teaching than the time as a junior teacher.[67] The struggles of so many junior teachers over the years to improve their secondary subject passes would seem to strongly support such a view.

The comments of other Head Masters were equally terse. When Mr. J. Fife-Smith, representing a group of senior Heads was asked for his opinion of the present junior teacher system he replied, 'It is abominable.'[68] Mr. E.R. Sexton went so far as to tell the Committee that some junior teachers were 'persecuted'.[69] When asked to explain what he meant, he referred to female junior teachers who were expected to manage mixed classes, take Sewing throughout a school and teach Domestic Arts to senior girls. He also mentioned a case where a junior teacher was expected to sweep the school out each day. The Chairman suggested that he meant overworked rather than persecuted. The Head Teachers representing the Class V1 Head Teachers' Association made a more useful contribution by

pointing to the fact that most junior teachers in primary schools were given Grades 1 to 111 to teach and that '... these are the very grades that require specialist tuition by trained infant teachers.'[70]

The Teachers' Union and these various other groups of educators were not the only ones to put a submission to the Committee on this topic. In October members of the S.A. Public Schools Committees Association, after telling the Inquiry that 'We represent the big schools and many of the smaller schools. We do not profess to be educationists but we have the interests of children at heart...'[71] went on to advise that at their annual conference in September, 1943, a motion had been passed to the effect that every teacher employed by the Department should have a minimum of three years of training and that the Minister of Education had been asked to enforce this as soon as possible. They related this to the junior teacher system:

> On numerous occasions this association has been asked to do what it could to persuade the Education Department to desist from appointing untrained Junior Teachers to our schools. The present system is most unsatisfactory and unfair - unfair to experienced teachers in responsible positions, unfair to the appointee, and grossly unfair, also, to the children and their parents.[72]

The unfairness was illustrated very vividly thus:

> In a recent case at Nairne where there are about 50 scholars, we have been informed that a young girl straight from a Convent has been expected to take charge of the lower three grades, about 25 children, teach them and expect to exercise proper supervision.

In response to a question of at what age a junior teacher should go out and begin actual teaching, the reply from the Association was:

> The junior teacher is not trained and is usually about sixteen or seventeen years of age, and would have to live in undesirable conditions with a poor allowance. We have much information on this. I do not think a junior teacher is fit to teach under such conditions at any age.[73]

The continuing problem for junior teachers, especially girls, of boarding in the country was illustrated by reference to the amount of board that would have to be paid, estimated by the Association as about £2/10 a fortnight, at the end of which, a female junior teacher would have 4/11d to clothe and look after herself, a situation with which the representatives believed no one could cope.[74] The Association also believed that more parents (presumably they meant city parents) would allow their children to become teachers if they could go directly to College as 'Mothers do not like their children aged 15 or 16 going away from home to the country on such shocking pay as is offered ...'[75]

The Association told the Inquiry that it wanted the junior teacher system abolished because of exploitation. It gave as an example, the sending of junior teachers just out of school to high schools to take classes of 40 to 45 students of their own age in Intermediate and Leaving subjects they had only just finished themselves, at a time when they had no idea of handling children or of imparting their knowledge. As for small country schools, the Association found the junior teacher system a particular problem in that it deprived many country children of a proper education by a trained teacher while at the same time depriving the junior teacher of any opportunity to observe good teaching. The possibility of junior teachers being supernumeraries was rejected on the grounds that it would not work while there was a teacher shortage, and while it might work under sound and enthusiastic supervision from an active headmaster, an assurance of proper supervision was only likely to be found in the College. The response to a question of whether the junior teacher system allowed for better assessment of suitability for teaching than a year at the College was:

> At the moment no one assesses the junior teacher until he goes to the College. One junior teacher told me last week that she learnt more in three months at the College than in twelve months at the school. She had to go to the College to unlearn the mistakes she had made so I do not think anything is gained by the system as it stands.[76]

Dr. K. Cunningham, Director of the Australian Council for Educational Research, took up a similar theme of the danger in a junior teacher system of learning incorrect teaching approaches at the beginning of a career.[77] He listed as one of his recommendations to the Inquiry 'Abolish the Junior Teacher System' and referred to the A.C.E.R. pamphlet 'A Plan for Australia' which advocated that on recruitment, teachers should go straight to their training institution and not be required to spend a year or more in schools. He went on 'Australia is probably the only part of the English-speaking world where it is still possible to find relics of the old monitorial system.' and said that the situation in South Australia was particularly bad as junior teachers were not attached to trained teachers for observation but given classes to teach. He saw the danger in this that:

> Any time over a few weeks in a school tends to get junior teachers at an impressionable age into certain teaching habits which help to perpetuate the existing outlook and methodology... some of the poorest products are those who have to learn to thrash things out for themselves or are forced, through a general lack of knowledge of educational problems, to copy current methods they see in schools.[78]

This point had been made also by Mr. Westgarth who, when presenting the Union case had been asked by the Committee if he thought good habits were acquired in the course of junior teaching. He replied:

> No. The Union feels that often bad habits are acquired. In the first place junior teaching is not under supervision in most cases. The junior teachers have duties that are far too heavy, which often results in bad habits being acquired.[79]

This point was further clarified by the Male Assistants' Association representatives who said:

> ... in most cases there is nobody to give the junior teacher advice...because in many instances the junior teacher is attached to a one-teacher school where the teacher in charge is himself not a very experienced teacher.[80]

and concluded that in the absence of sufficient opportunities of observing good teaching as a junior teacher, the system should be abolished and students, as in N.S.W. and Queensland, should go direct from the secondary school to the Teachers' College.

Dr. Constance Davey, who had retired from the position of Departmental Psychologist in 1942, in making the very telling point that the main advantage of the system was that it supplied 'much needed staff' went on to say:

> If teaching is to be regarded as a profession it must demand "professional" training for its teachers. To allow young students "to teach" is in my opinion contrary to the ideas involved in professional training ... That young persons with no training should be allowed to teach "young" children especially may do untold harm to the children so taught.[81]

The opinions of A.E. Whitford, also a psychologist, regarding the academic and personal qualities required of candidates for teaching have already been noted. He added to these by telling the Committee of the possible emotional harm to junior teachers themselves if they were put under the care of someone not suitable to train them or to show them proper attitudes towards teaching children.[82]

Details of the visits of the Committee to a number of schools are recorded in the Minute Books.[83] In some they saw junior teachers at work and in others they were given opinions about the system. At the Yacka Primary School a male junior teacher aged 17 taught eleven Grades 11 and 111 pupils in the same room where the Head Teacher taught the other thirty-four. At Laura, a two teacher school, a sixteen year old taught seventeen Grade 1V pupils. At Georgetown, the Head Teacher had had a junior teacher taken away and he complained that he needed such assistance for the Grades 1 to 111 in his school of thirty-eight pupils. At the Loveday Primary School where there was no junior teacher, the Head Teacher who taught an average of 46.6 pupils told the Committee that he believed that junior teachers should be chosen purely on suitability and aptitude for teaching rather than on

examination successes. At the Loxton Area School the Committe was told that the staff there did not favour the junior teacher system.

A great deal of the evidence put to the Committee throughout the inquiry supported the Teachers' Union's case and evidently impressed the members to such an extent that much of it was reflected in the detail of the first report handed down in May, 1945.

In view of the generally very strong criticisms of the junior teacher system, it is not surprising that the Committee recommended abolishing it. However, not all those who gave evidence supported doing away completely with the system. It is the evidence of Dr. Fenner that provides the most interesting approach here. He was interviewed in June 1944, and his responses were recorded in the Minute Book in note form only.[84] In view of his previous stand against the Teachers' Union and considering the pressure he was under not only from those wanting him to do away with junior teachers but from his officers responsible for staffing the schools, his comments were an interesting blend of educational commitment and political reality. He said that he favoured the system because it assisted students to understand lectures later at the Teachers' College. The system he would like to have however, was one in which the junior teachers, as supernumeraries, should be allowed to observe, study and teach under supervision at approved schools rather than away from home. Most interestingly of all, he was prepared to recommend deletion of the Regulation making junior teachers responsible for 30 children in order to allow for such a change to the system. He was supported in this by some of his Inspectors who, while admitting to the Committee that the junior teacher system was 'makeshift', that it 'may be better for the prospective teacher than for the pupils', and that 'Head teachers are not always as helpful as they might be to junior teachers in guidance', still believed that it was a good testing time and that junior teachers should be attached to large schools as supernumeraries under the care of a headmaster.[85] By then, however, it was too late to save the situation even in a modified form. As has been seen, the weight of opinion was against the employment of untrained teachers and the Education Inquiry Committee recommended accordingly.

Abolition Recommended

Under the heading 'The Abolition of Junior Teacherships' the report gave a very brief historical survey that labelled the junior teacher system as 'an outgrowth, or relic, according to point of view' from the days when there were no Teachers Colleges and while acknowledging that now junior teachers underwent a period of secondary education before appointment, concluded:

> The fact remains, however, that proceeding straight from secondary school with no training whatsoever for the task and at as early an age as 16, they are appointed to take full charge of groups of children. We recommend the abolition of the Junior Teacher system.[86]

The Committee explained that it had reached this conclusion '... only after thoughtful consideration of the evidence offered by a number of our witnesses.' The positive aspects of useful experience, helpfulness for Teachers College and the trial nature of the system for testing suitability for and real interest in teaching were acknowledged. The Committee rejected the view that the junior teacher year served as a 'sieve to sort out the unsuitable' on the grounds that most junior teachers did enter the College and that some had withdrawn, not because of inaptitude for teaching, but because of 'the disabilities peculiar to Junior Teaching', while others did not even enter the system because of the possibilty of being posted far from home. Any competence that might come to junior teachers would be mainly through 'a process of unenlightened trial and error, or through imitation when the youngster lacks the capacity to distinguish the good from the bad'.[87] The suggestion that junior teachers might get value from being strictly supernumeraries, on the lines proposed by Fenner and the Inspectorate, was rejected on exactly the grounds put to the Committee by both the Teachers' Union and the Association of Public School Committees - it would not work in a time of teacher shortage and being longer at secondary school or at the Teachers College would be preferable to being 'untrained observers and odd-job performers'.[88]

In summarising the disabilities inevitable in junior teaching the Committee emphasised the chief one as being putting untrained, inexperienced boys and girls of 16 in charge of classes of children:

> No one now suggests that surgeons and physicians should, without training, acquire their skill by practising on their patients. Herein lies the chief objection to Junior Teacherships: children are "practised on" by adolescents fresh from their own schooling, which means inevitably, by youngsters whose experience is limited, whose emotional development is far from completed, and whose training for the task is nil.[89]

While recognising that the chronic shortage of teachers had served to keep the staffing regulation regarding junior teachers counting for 30 students in force and that the Department would prefer to have it revoked, the Committee took up aspects of the exploitation involved in this way of staffing schools. The major one remained the contrast between the full teaching load of most junior teachers and their low rates of remuneration and boarding allowances.

The conclusion was that the junior teacher system was not in the interests of the trainee, the Education Department, the children or their parents. The Committee repeated its recommendation for doing away with the system but in a slightly different way to the first and unambiguous statement of – 'We recommend the abolition of the Junior Teacher system' - made at the beginning of the section of the report on this topic. At the end of the same section they said instead '... we recommend that candidates for teaching should no longer be required to serve as Junior Teachers'.[90] This change of emphasis within the one report, slight though it may be, seems to have modified the call for an outright ban on junior teachers in schools. There seems to have been no good reason for adding it.

There had not been any 'requirement' by regulation that being a junior teacher was a prerequisite for the College since the McCoy reforms. Even the decision in 1931 that future student teachers were to come from the ranks of junior teachers was made for economic rather than training reasons. It will be remembered, too, that it could not be enforced and some outside people had to be accepted in 1933. The phrasing of the second recommendation seems to have left the way open for the Department to continue on with a limited number of junior teachers for another twenty years, not because of any requirement to teach before College but because it needed the system still. Perhaps the Committee recognised that need and so left the way open for a reasonable compomise between reality and rhetoric. If the Committee had stayed with its first recommendation only, the Junior Teacher system should have disappeared in 1946 or shortly afterwards. In that case the Department would have had grave difficulty not only in staffing the schools but in providing a different kind of holding spot for the large numbers underqualified by age or academic status for the College.

It is interesting to note two other proposals of the Committee. It advocated that the one and two year primary courses be extended to at least three years in order for student teachers to get adequate practical experience in place of the junior teacher time.[91] This could not be implemented for a long time because of the continued grave shortage of teachers to cope with the huge post-war increase in enrolments, a factor that of course also helped to retain numbers of junior teachers.

The other proposal was that ex-student teachers should be appointed as junior assistants for a year in an appropriate school to enable their practical training to be consolidated, a point put to the Inquiry by a number of groups.[92] This was not able to be implemented either and it is only in quite recent times that an internship as a part of teacher training has been mooted once again. In 1994, for example, in an interview in the *Weekend Australian*,[93] Professor Kwong Lee Dow, Dean of the Institute of Education at the University of Melbourne, in discussing the provision of an internship at a school for the length of the second year of a new two-year course open only to graduates from other disciplines, made two observations of considerable interest in the light of the events discussed in this, and earlier chapters. One of these concerned the system he was changing:

> We need teachers who are very thoroughly prepared in academic terms in the discipline in which they will teach... The level of interaction between education faculties and schools needed to be increased... The established system of brief teaching rounds is a highly artificial way of exposing teachers to school life...

The other described the benefits of the new system:

> Students will have a much greater involvement with the school environment, and learn at first hand, as trainee doctors and lawyers do, how their profession is practised.

There was no immediate response from the Department to the call for abolition of the junior teacher system. In 1946, 120 junior teachers - the largest number since 1920 - were appointed in January and another fifteen during the year with 102 in the following year. However, the re-establishment of a very limited number of Probationary Studentships in 1946 was the first step towards providing a long awaited alternative to expecting, or indeed requiring, candidates for teaching to serve as junior teachers. From then on the numbers of junior teachers dropped considerably with only 70 being appointed in 1948.

The end of the junior teacher system was in sight but it was to be almost another twenty years before such a system was no longer needed for the purposes that had made it such a useful expedient for so long. In justifying their decision not to support a system of supernumerary junior teachers the Education Inquiry Committee had made what turned out to be a prophetic statement. They wrote that '... tradition is strong and the need for teachers is not at all likely to diminish in the next several years.'[94]

A powerful combination of tradition and necessity was to keep the junior teacher system going for considerably longer than anyone, who in 1945 had heard the evidence presented to the Committee or read its first report, might have imagined possible.

References Chapter 8

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Chapter 9

WINDING UP THE SYSTEM 1946 to 1965

> *Junior Teaching as a mode of entry to the teaching service of the South Australian Education Department has ended without murmur from any quarter; it has passed unnoticed and almost unsung.*
>
> A. W. Jones
> Superintendent of Recruiting and Training
> March, 1966 [1]

Probably the most remarkable aspect of the last nineteen years of the Junior Teacher System was that it actually survived for so long after the Education Inquiry Committee recommended its abolition in 1945. It survived, of course, because it remained useful to the Education Department. The nature of this usefulness changed considerably over the period and by the 1960s, junior teaching was so small a part of recruiting and training that it is hardly surprising that its passing in 1965 was 'unnoticed'. Just after the war however, needs were very different. In his Annual Report for 1945 the Minister of Education, after commenting that while the number of children continued to increase, 'the shortage of teachers is still causing anxiety' went on:

> A strong campaign for the recruitment of teachers was initiated during the year with the result that the number of students in the Teachers College and the number of junior teachers have both increased.[2]

Just as they had been over the past fifteen or so years, the junior teacher recruits were needed for a short time more to help overcome the shortage of trained teachers, especially in small country schools. In the 1950s the shortages were managed in quite a different way as was the recruiting system itself. Consequently the numbers of junior teachers fell significantly and the system returned largely to what it had been in the 1920s, a holding spot for those awaiting entry to the College. The change in 1965 to making a single teaching scholarship at the fifth year of secondary schooling (then Leaving Honours) the basis for entry to a teaching course meant that it was no longer appropriate, or even necessary, to have junior teachers.

The major differences for candidates for teaching in this period were twofold. Once the immediate post-war shortages were overcome, they were no longer needed in great numbers to staff schools. At the same time, alternatives to junior teaching in the form of probationary studentships were re-introduced and quickly became widely available. In 1946, the first probationary studentships were based on results at the Leaving and entitled the holder to a place at a metropolitan secondary school where Leaving Honours was taught. Not all candidates for teaching were qualified to undertake

studies at that level, nor did many need to for the College course they intended to take, so being a junior teacher remained an attractive alternative. However, when preliminary probationary studentships for study at the Leaving level (the fourth year of secondary education where the average of students was sixteen) were introduced in 1950, and provision made as well for repeat studentships at this level, being a junior teacher was no longer so sought after. As the number of such studentships increased quite significantly to meet the continuing demand for teacher recruits, they were generally taken in preference to junior teaching positions by those interested in a teaching career. As a result, from being a major pathway into teaching, junior teaching rapidly became a very insignificant part of teacher preparation during the last fifteen years that the system lingered on.

Of those who became junior teachers prior to the introduction of preliminary probationary scholarships most were either under age or not quite fully qualified for the Teachers College, or for some reason unable, or perhaps even unwilling, to study at Leaving Honours level. For some of them, study at Leaving Honours was not possible because they had only Intermediate standard or had taken a non-PEB Leaving, or not appropriate because of their passing standard at the Leaving. For others it was not considered necessary because of the course they intended to take up at the College. It seems that it was not considered particularly necessary, for example, for candidates for infant or art/craft courses to have done Leaving Honours and much the same view applied to intending primary teachers as well. The Leaving was at that stage the matriculation, so it was quite proper, and indeed essential in a period of severe teacher shortage, for the Department to recruit from the Leaving level for both direct entrants to the College and for junior teachers.

There can be no doubt, however, that for many junior teachers, and for that matter those going direct to the Teachers College from preliminary probationary studentships, this meant that they were less well prepared for the University work required in all but the one year courses there. In the case of art/craft teachers, acceptance of a junior teachership from Leaving level is easier to understand as in the early part of the period at least, they had little outlet after the Leaving year for further study in their specialist fields and at the College their specialist studies were not at University level. In most years a few candidates whose Leaving results indicate that they could well have done Leaving Honours, did in fact become junior teachers instead. Most of these young people were from the country and clearly chose to stay near home for a further year. The Department supported such choices wherever possible by appointing them as junior teachers in schools near their homes. Similar consideration was given to candidates who needed one or two more Leaving subjects and for whom a full repeat preliminary probationary year was not necessary. Increasingly, such junior teachers were appointed to the high school where they had been students, to continue their studies as an integral part of a changing junior teacher role.

While the arrangements for junior teachers were becoming increasingly flexible to suit the needs of both the candidates and the Department, officially, junior teacherships existed as an entry point to teaching for those qualified for the College but under age who wanted to try out their vocation. In September, 1949, the Department published a booklet 'Teaching - A Career for You' in which entry as a junior teacher was listed as the third of four ways of entering the service. It provided the following advice for those seeking a career in teaching:

> If you wish to gain preliminary experience in the actual work of teaching so that you may test your aptitude for it, you may seek appointment as a junior teacher.
>
> You should be at least 16 years of age and should have passed the Leaving in 5 subjects, including English, or should have completed a four year course at a technical school or an area school or should be otherwise able to satisfy the Director of Education of your fitness.[3]

The practice did not entirely match the theory. Few really seemed to have become junior teachers to test their vocation. Rather they accepted this form of entry to the service for their own particular convenience as it usually allowed them to remain at home, be paid an allowance, and, where necessary, to complete further academic qualifications, or simply reach the age of 17. Increasing numbers were admitted as junior teachers without passing the necessary five Leaving subjects or fully qualifying for matriculation. The system was a useful place for them while they completed the required subjects and for those who, for some reason could not, or did not want to study as full time school students, either to repeat the Leaving or to undertake Leaving Honours. The claim that it was an aptitude testing placement is justified to some degree as in each year a number of junior teachers resigned or had their appointments terminated. No reasons appeared in the Gazette, of course, for such action. It can be assumed that some found the teaching experience not to their liking while in other cases the supervisors found the 'apprentices' unsuited to a teaching career.

The booklet pointed out that most junior teachers would be appointed to country primary schools though a few would go to secondary schools and that after a year as a junior teacher they would be admitted to the Teachers College. Nothing appears to have changed from the conditions that had applied for many years and that had been so roundly criticised before the Education Inquiry Committee, except that now, details were given of the alternative modes of entry by means of teaching studentships or direct entry, alternatives that, by the early 1950s, were attracting far more candidates into teaching than was the junior teacher system.

The booklet listed the allowance for junior teachers as £142 a year, together with a boarding allowance of £50 for those living away from home. In comparison with probationary students who received a 'living allowance' of £50 and a boarding allowance of £30, junior teachers were well off and this could explain why some chose that pathway to the College instead of another year at school.

For the work some were still doing as full time teachers well into the early 1950s, though, it would seem that they were still being exploited when compared with the £314 a beginning male unclassified teacher under 19 years of age received in 1950 or the £250 awarded to a female then.[4]

By the late 1950s, however, the term exploitation could no longer be applied to the employment of junior teachers in the same way as it had been previously. They were not then expected to take on the teaching responsibilities of trained teaching staff but they were not free of certain other responsiblities which may not have rightfully been theirs. A. W. Jones, Superintendent of Recruiting and Training, writing in 1966 on the passing of the junior teacher system described the change thus:

> In recent years ... No students were ever forced to become Junior Teachers; the student's particular needs were always considered first, the Deparment's needs being always of only secondary importance ... their opportunities to study at Leaving and Leaving Honours level were enhanced; their duties have consisted of clerical work connected with school management and of very small teaching assignments, observation of lessons and assistance in supervising books, blackboard work and laboratory preparation. ... Nor have Junior Teachers been counted in the provision of staff to schools. Nor have Head Masters been expected to be Masters of Method to Junior Teachers; they have been asked merely to supervise their general preparation for entry to the Teachers College.[5]

He concluded that junior teachers were given to understand that their main job was to equip themselves academically to enter the College. This was a great contrast to the period between 1931 and the end of the 1940s, and indeed into the early 1950s, when the main job for most junior teachers was to teach whatever classes they were given and to equip themselves academically outside of school hours.

The time of this significant change cannot be pinpointed exactly, as it was a gradual one, but several significant events stand out. The last official mention of junior teachers counting for 30 pupils in a school's average daily enrolment was gazetted in 1948.[6] In practice of course, some junior teachers continued to be responsible for classes for a number of years despite the removal of this part of the regulations that, as has been seen, had enabled such great use to be made of junior teachers in times of staffing difficulties. In 1948, the text –'A Primer of Teaching'- mandatory for study by junior teachers for more than 30 years, was joined by an alternative, a more modern and somewhat less demanding book, 'Teach Yourself To Teach' by L.Wilkes.[7] From 1950, 'A Primer of Teaching' was removed altogether but there was still the requirement to prepare lesson notes for presentation to the Inspector and to keep a record of the head teacher's instruction in the traditional form of a lesson register. Instructions for keeping such registers were not gazetted after 1954 and in 1955 methodology study requirements were dropped altogether. Instead of listing subjects for study, all that was done, from then, on was the issue of a Gazette reminder to heads of schools to advise junior teachers of matriculation requirements.[8]

In due course, as the shortage of teachers was overcome, the traditional use of junior teachers to assist in staffing small schools was no longer necessary. The appointment of the last junior teacher to a one teacher school, the Haslam Primary School which had an average enrolment of 29.1, was made in 1959.[9] This marked a very significant change in the role and in a sense fulfilled at long last, the hope expressed almost forty years previously by McCoy, of the disappearance of the junior teacher from the teaching force. By this time the nature of the system had quite changed and with an expanding economy there would be no need to turn back, as there had in the 1930s. As Jones pointed out, the emphasis had changed from the assistance the junior teacher could give the school, to what a school could do to help in the preparation of the junior teacher for his or her future career.[10]

However, the system was by no means now a kind of educational sinecure. Even though junior teachers were no longer required to take full teaching responsibilities as the system neared its end, there is still more than a hint of exploitation in Jones' description of their new role. Perhaps exploitation is too harsh an interpretation but the idea of junior teachers on a very basic allowance doing clerical work, supervising books and working in laboratories at a time when very few ancillary staff were employed in schools still smacks of a Department getting important services on the cheap.

As had been the case throughout most of the system, the bulk of junior teachers were still women. Although there was no longer a saving to the Department in this as all junior teachers were paid at the same rate, it did result in a cheaper service in the longer run as women teachers continued to be paid less than men. Immediately after the war large numbers of men were recruited into teaching but even at the height of this drive between 1946 and 1948, women junior teachers outnumbered men on an average of two to one. As the following table shows, gender difference in the junior teacher system became much more pronounced in the last fifteen years of the system:

TABLE 9.1 Gender Differences in the Junior Teacher System Selected Years 1950 to 1964 [11]

	1950		1952		1954		1956		1958		1960		1962		1964	
Junior Teachers	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	9	32	4	16	2	23	0	28	4	33	6	41	12	51	19	66

Between 1952 and 1959, females outnumbered males by more than 6 to 1. In the 1960s, more men were appointed but were still well outnumbered. This was out of proportion with numbers in both the probationary schemes and in the College. In 1953, for example, 46% of the preliminary probationers were men as were 47% of the probationary students.[12] At the College it was to be expected that overall there would be more women than men. The C course was for women only and women predominated in commercial courses. In order to meet an increasing demand for infant and lower primary teachers, several new 'one year' courses - known as Cx and Ax - were introduced at the College in the 1950s and these were for women only.[13] In previous times the proportion of males to females in the junior teacher system generally tended to reflect the numbers of men and women

student teachers as well as numbers across the whole service. In this final stage, the bias in favour of women as junior teachers was much greater. This was largely because the need of the Department at this stage was for infant and early to mid primary teachers, levels of teaching then considered to be more appropriate for women than for men. It was clearly still in the interests of the Department to have a larger proportion of women than men recruits in the junior teacher system even at a time when it had become of comparatively very limited importance as a means of attracting candidates for teaching. It was equally in the interests of a number of the less well qualified women candidates to have such a system. It was possible even up to the early 1960s, for women junior teachers to enter the Ax and Cx courses with four years of secondary schooling including some work at Leaving standard, either PEB or Departmentally examined, or merely with five Intermediate PEB subjects.[14]

In the 1950s most junior teachers were appointed to country schools, usually primary schools in the first part of the decade, and then increasingly to secondary schools, as their own needs as candidates for the Teachers College began to take precedence over the needs of the Department to staff schools. This was in sharp contrast to the use of junior teachers in times of teacher shortage. Up until the early 1950s, junior teachers were placed where the need was in primary or secondary schools, regardless of the kind of teaching for which they might intend to train. At that time, too, they could be transferred at any time during the year to meet vacancies caused by resignations or increased enrolments. As the system drew to a close, they were much more likely to be placed for the whole year either at secondary schools where they could continue their studies or, if qualified, at a school where they could get experience in the type of teaching they intended to undertake. Sometimes both of these could be combined through placement at an area school. Of the ten junior teachers who entered a primary course in 1958, for example, seven had been placed in high, technical or area schools as had nine of the eleven who were later to train as infant teachers.[15] In 1964, fifteen of the nineteen junior teachers admitted to the primary course in 1965 had served that year in secondary schools as had eight of the ten infant teachers.[16]

It must have been clear to the Department, from the criticisms of the Junior Teacher System put to the Education Inquiry Committee and from the recommendation from that Committee for its abolition, that it would have to go eventually. Moves in this direction happened in stages according to the needs of the Department to staff schools or to find holding places for under age candidates, and in the longer term, on its ability to provide funding for alternative placements to attract recruits with higher academic potential. A significant factor in all of this was the relative affluence of the 1950s and 1960s as compared with the immediate post war years. In the latter period, the widening of the probationary system provided a generally more acceptable alternative than the junior teachership for most candidates. However, the junior teacher system persisted and although numbers dropped significantly after 1950, another 760 were to be appointed between then and its end in 1965.[17] Taking into account the numbers appointed in the immediate post war years, a total of some 1,127 junior

teachers were employed after abolition of the system was recommended in 1945. It is now necessary to look further at why certain candidates for teaching became junior teachers during a period of less demand for their teaching services and of increasing opportunity to remain on at secondary school.

The answer to why so many junior teachers remained in the system prior to 1950 is a simple one. The abolition of probationary studentships in 1931 had left the Department with no other place than junior teacherships for those under age or underqualified for the College or when quotas applied because of financial constraints. The re-introduction of a very limited number for study at Leaving Honours level in 1946 allowed some scope for candidates with potential for becoming secondary teachers to remain as students instead of becoming junior teachers. As already noted, not all candidates were eligible for study at Leaving Honours or needed this level of education. Indeed, the early notices calling for applications for probationary students lumped junior teachers and probationary students together thus 'Students may apply for both Junior Teacherships and Probationary Studentships together so that if not successful in one, they may obtain the other'.[18]

The wording of this notice implies some kind of competition for the positions and when it came to deciding which applicants received which, it is clear that academic results were the most significant, though not the only factor. In 1947, 54 probationary students were appointed along with the 102 junior teachers. An analysis of the Leaving P.E.B. examination results of both groups reveals that in the main, the Department took the most successful as probationary students.[19] 57% of this group had passed six or more subjects and many of them had one or more credits. A significant aspect is that practically all had done mathematics, physics and chemistry. This applied, too, to those with only four or five subjects and more than half of these had one or two credits as well. Those who became junior teachers had mainly four or five subjects, but there were few credits and less passes in the more highly regarded science and mathematics subjects. However, some of them had results that could well have qualified them for a probationary studentship. There would seem to have been a strong element of choice in such cases, with the candidate having opted for a junior teachership at a local school for personal or family reasons, rather than leaving home to do Leaving Honours in Adelaide.

Overall, the junior teacher group was nowhere near as well qualified as the probationary group and this generally remained the case for the rest of the existence of the system. In view of the fact that most junior teachers, particularly during the 1950s, became infant or craft teachers, this is hardly surprising, as the skills and abilities demanded of these teachers did not necessarily include high achievement in the traditional academic secondary subjects. The short courses with no University work at all certainly did not require high academic standards and students could get into the B course with basic Leaving results quite easily for most of the period, especially after 1954 when the required number of subjects was reduced from five to four.[20] Academic results certainly made a difference to

career patterns but it is reasonable to suppose that most of those accepting a junior teachership were well aware of what it would lead to at the Teachers College. Most would have realised, too, that in light of their academic status, it was the best, if not the only way of getting into a course that at least had some appeal for them.

The re-introduction of probationary studentships at Leaving Honours level in 1946 can be seen as marking the beginning of the end for the junior teacher system but the provision of preliminary probationary studentships at Leaving level in 1950 sounded its death-knell. Amendments to the Regulations in 1949 to allow for the new scheme clearly indicated the paths that would follow satisfactory completion of this Leaving year.[21] Preliminary probationary students either went on as probationary students to do Leaving Honours or, at the Minister's discretion, served one year as a junior teacher or entered the Teachers College. As far as the junior teacher system was concerned, the most important clause related to the provision for repeat preliminary studentships. As a general rule, those who failed were disqualified from further benefits, but the Minister had the discretion to allow repeats. This discretion was applied fairly liberally in those times of considerable teacher shortage and the effect on the junior teacher system can be gauged from the number of repeat preliminary probationary students allowed from the second year of the new scheme. In 1951, sixteen preliminary probationers were allowed to repeat the Leaving, as were the same number in 1952.[22] Without such a scheme most of these students would very likely have had to have been appointed as junior teachers. As this table shows, the junior teacher system reduced significantly once the new scheme became the main source of recruits.

TABLE 9. 2 Admissions to the Teaching Service
Selected Years 1945 - 1965 [23]

	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965
Preliminary Probationary	-	174	291	919	107 (repeats only)*
Probationary	-	58	145	407	552
Junior Teachers	106	41	33	49	55
First Year Intake	123	150	281	757	1166
JT% of College Intake	86%	27%	11%	6%	4%

*The Leaving Teaching Scholarships that had replaced the Preliminary Probationary Scheme were now discontinued

It is clear that the junior teacher system was no longer a particularly valuable recruiting device for the Department once what was essentially a more appropriate opportunity for preparation for higher studies became available at the Leaving level. There is no doubt, too, that the recruiting drive that began in 1945 also had a profound effect on the numbers of junior teachers needed but it took some time for this to be felt in schools. From 1945, the shortage of trained teachers remained acute and the Department had to attack it on a number of fronts besides direct recruiting of potential student teachers through the extended probationary scheme. One such way was quite public. In 1949, a

Gazette notice called for ex-teachers willing to serve in a temporary capacity to apply for appointment because enrolments in the early years of schooling - Grades 1 and 2 - had increased sharply.[24] By mid-1951 the problem had extended to Grade 3 and again former trained teachers were called back into service. A significant number, including even retired teachers up to the age of 70, responded to the call.

At the same time a less public method of staffing schools was also being extended. This was the so-called 'pressure cooker' system whereby local people were taken into a school, 'trained' for a term and then given their own class as Temporary Unclassified Assistants (TUAs). This scheme was very much like the supplementary system used in the 1920s except that the training period was longer. No Gazette notice outlining such a scheme appears so it seems that it was carried out by circulars to schools. Such appointments were listed in the Gazettes however, and the significance of the scheme in assisting to overcome the shortage of teachers is very apparent in these, especially when it was expanded very rapidly at the beginning of the 1950s. In July 1952, for example, sixty newly appointed TUAs are listed together with fifteen temporary assistants.[25] By the mid 1950s, most infant schools and an increasing number of primary schools were largely staffed by temporary teachers, classified or unclassified. The very few junior teachers who took this option to begin adult teaching instead of going to Teachers College were generally at the end of, or part way through, a repeat year in that position.

As far as the junior teacher system was concerned, these expedients meant that untrained candidates for teaching were no longer needed in large numbers to staff small country schools. Either these schools could be given permanent or temporary trained assistants or they could find and train their own TUAs. Springton Primary School is a good example of this. In 1955 with an enrolment of 37.2, the Head Teacher was allocated a junior teacher to assist him, as had been the case there for many years. By 1958, with a similar enrolment, this school had a temporary assistant so a junior teacher was no longer required. Similar instances can be quoted for a number of small schools that since the 1930s had generally needed a junior teacher to assist a Head Teacher trying to cope with large numbers of students across seven grades. All of this is reflected in the number of junior teachers appointed in this period as shown in this table:

TABLE 9. 3 Junior Teacher Appointments
Selected Years 1946 to 1964 [26]

	1946	1949	1952	1955	1958	1961	1964
Junior Teachers	135	64	20	33	37	70	85
% of Next College Intake	59%	42%	10%	8%	6%	6%	7%

From these figures it can be seen that junior teachers became significantly less important to the Department as the staffing crisis was met by various other expedients, as the number of trained teachers increased, and as greater use was made of the alternatives of Honours Teaching Scholarships (as that level of the system had been re-named in 1957) or repeat Leaving Teaching Scholarships.

Even the increases in numbers of junior teachers in the 1960s are hardly significant when considered against the numbers in training by then. In 1963, for example, there were 127 junior teachers, the largest number appointed at the beginning of a year at any stage since 1920. However, even such a large number by no means heralded a revival of the junior teacher system. When compared with the 1,293 student teachers taken into the College in the next year it merely shows even more dramatically than the low numbers of the mid 1950s, how relatively unimportant junior teachers had become in the recruiting and training system. Indeed, it is a sharp contrast to the 1930s to mid 1940s when most students at the College had a background in practical teaching and illustrates well the decline of the system.

By as early as 1952, the number of junior teachers had reached a level similar to that of the 1920s when it had seemed likely that the system was about to disappear altogether. Just as in the 1920s, the staffing problem was being overcome largely by the use of temporary untrained persons while large numbers of student teachers were moved through the College. Unlike the late 1920s, however, when the onset of the Depression led to a severe curtailment of teacher training, South Australia's economy now continued to expand and to allow for larger numbers of well educated teacher recruits through the teaching scholarship schemes. There was hardly any need for cheap teachers, either of the temporary unclassified kind, or of the more traditional 'junior' variety. Commonwealth funding, too, had begun to free up State money for spending on salaries rather than on capital improvements and a good deal of this could be channelled into greatly increased teacher training programs. However, the system remained a useful placement for those for whom a repeat year at Leaving was not necessary or for whom study at Leaving Honours was not an appropriate way of filling in time while awaiting entry to the College.

In every year from the introduction of two levels of teaching scholars, about a third of each year's junior teachers were former preliminary probationary students, or from 1957, Leaving Teaching Scholars (LTS). These either chose to become junior teachers or were directed into this by the Department instead of repeating the Leaving or going on to Leaving Honours. In 1955, for example, 145 probationary students were appointed along with 33 junior teachers.[27] An analysis of the PEB Leaving results of both groups reveals a similar situation to that of 1947 when the standard of passes largely determined future directions. A random sample of the results of those who became probationary students shows an average pass rate of 5.5 with a number of credits.[28] Not all of those appointed as junior teachers appear to have taken the PEB examination and of those who did, the average pass rate was four subjects with seven of them qualifying for a certificate and just one credit between the lot.

As can be seen from Table 9.2, the number of teaching scholarships, including repeat opportunities at Leaving, increased considerably from 1960 onwards. In 1963, for example, over 200 repeat scholarships were granted while 127 junior teachers were appointed and 650 Honours Teaching

Scholarships (HTS) awarded.[29] Some thirty-three of the junior teachers appear to have no PEB record and would most likely have qualified with Departmental Technical or Area Certificate passes and so there would have been no point in them taking up Honours scholarships. In the case of the rest, as in previous times, the number and quality of passes at the Leaving usually determined the direction taken. An analysis of the PEB results of the junior teachers and those repeating LTSs or being awarded an HTS, indicates that the HTS holders had a significantly greater number of passes at the higher A and B levels in the system introduced in place of credits and passes - 20% to 9% - than those taking up junior teacherships.[30] At the lower C and D passing levels, HTSs had a 27% pass rate while for junior teachers it was 41%. Only the few junior teachers with six passes could have hoped to get an HTS, if indeed that was what they wanted, or needed, for the course they expected to enter. In the case of those who received a repeat LTS, while the levels of passes were not significantly different to those of the junior teachers, over 88% of them had passed only three or less subjects in 1962. For those already holding a Leaving certificate with the need for one more subject to matriculate or those needing only one subject to qualify for a particular course, a junior teachership continued to offer a very reasonable alternative to another year of full-time study.

Allowances for junior teachers had been increased to £158 per annum in 1952 and were still at that level in 1964. While this was still a far better remuneration than the £65 paid to an Honours Teaching Scholar, junior teachers were now receiving considerably less in real terms than they had some ten years earlier. In 1950, the junior teacher allowance of £142 per annum was 45% of the £314 paid to a male unclassified beginning teacher. In 1964, the £158 represented just 16% of the £930 paid to such a teacher.[31] This illustrates very clearly the changed status of junior teachers over this period. By the end of the system, with junior teachers having little or no teaching responsibilities, their allowance was obviously more closely tied to that of a first year student teacher who received £303 per annum, rather than to that of a practising teacher.

The final questions about the last years of the junior teacher system relate to what it led to and whether junior teachers suffered any disadvantage as compared with those candidates taking the alternative pathways to a teaching career. In sharp contrast to the spread of junior teachers across all courses in the late 1930s and early 1940s, to become one after 1947 usually meant that the recipient was destined for service as a primary, infant or craft teacher as the following table shows.

TABLE 9.4 Directions Taken By Junior Teachers From 1946 to 1950 [32]

	(a) To the Teachers College							(b) Other			
	A	B	B-D etc.	C	D	E	H	Repeat	Resign	Teaching	Other
1946	11	15	27	24	3	-	26	16	16	1	6
1947	7	26	5	21	1	-	25	10	10	1	4
1948	8	13	-	14	-	1	17	11	11	-	7
1949	10	10	-	16	-	-	12	4	14	-	2
1950	8	3	-	6	-	1	7	2	14	-	1

Increasing enrolments at secondary schools meant that more secondary teachers had to be trained. Some of these were needed for specialist craft teaching and the large number of junior teachers going into the H courses reflected this. Another strategy employed to boost the number of secondary student teachers were the B-D, B-E, B-H and B-I courses. These were hybrid courses that led either to primary or secondary training and in which both probationary students and junior teachers could enrol. Not surprisingly, however, in view of the fact that most of them had reached Leaving level only, few of the former junior teachers continued on into full secondary courses. Of the seventeen junior teachers from 1946 who were allowed into the B-D course, for example, only five, three of whom had done Leaving Honours and one who was a music specialist, went on to the second year of the D course.[33] The others, who had only a Leaving background of mostly six subjects, continued on with the B course. Of the nine in the other mixed courses, two continued in E and one in I. Of the much smaller 1948 B-D groups, only one former junior teacher continued on with secondary training.[34] It must be pointed out of course, that not all those who won probationary studentships did well enough to get into the D course. From the 1946 group, only those with four or five passes went direct to the D course while those who had only managed one or two were put into the primary course.[35] Those in the B-D and other such courses had an average of 2.7 passes and were obviously placed there because they showed some potential for secondary teaching. As with the junior teachers, success at secondary school usually proved to be a sound indicator of tertiary success as only the few who had passed at least three Honours subjects did well enough in their first year at the College to continue on as secondary trainees. Another factor in all of this was student choice. Like some of the junior teachers, a number of probationary students who had done very well clearly chose to be infant, craft, or primary teachers each year.

The mixed groups were abandoned after 1948, no doubt because of the realization that a sound background of study at Leaving Honours level was important for success in the University work required of secondary teachers. Until 1949, the Regulations allowed for candidates for the D course to be selected after a year in a B course or from those who had done well at the Leaving Honours examination and who could produce evidence of their fitness for teaching.[36] Increasingly D course students were selected from the latter group and in 1950 this was regularized with entry to that course depending not only on success at Leaving Honours but also on the recommendation of the student's head master.[37] From then on, junior teachers and probationary students generally went directly to the courses for which they were considered best qualified. This had the effect of making it very unlikely that any potential D course student would be a junior teacher except in the very unusual cases where they were still under age after completing Leaving Honours. Of the four junior teachers shown as going direct to the D course, two of the three in 1946 were, in fact, training to be agricultural teachers rather than more general secondary teachers.

As Table 9.4 shows, not all junior teachers entered the Teachers College. The two who went direct to teaching in 1946 and 1947 were females repeating the year and they took up their appointments as

TUAs at the schools in which they had been working. Those listed under 'Other' cannot be traced. In each year, a number of those appointed as junior teachers disappeared from the official records without any resignation or termination notices appearing in the Gazettes. This was an unusual feature of a bureacracy generally noted for its zeal in keeping track of teacher movements and it may be that the missing junior teachers never, in fact, took up their appointments.

The number of resignations was greater in this period than any time since the beginning of the Depression. With more jobs available after the War, it is probable that those who found teaching not to their liking were more easily able to find other work. The Department, too, had a wider choice of applicants and despite the shortages of teachers it was easier to release those clearly unsuited to teaching. Indeed from time to time active steps were taken to remove junior teachers. Of the fourteen shown as resigning in 1949 for example, five in fact had their appointments terminated [38] as did four in 1950.[39] The few who repeated were probably still under age but the increase in resignations and terminations amongst them suggests that a repeat year could well have been a time of further probation for some.

In the 1950s the pattern of what followed the junior teacher year is similar to the previous period but on a reduced scale.

TABLE 9.5 Directions Taken By Junior Teachers
Selected Years 1952 to 1960 [40]

	(a) To Teachers College									(b) Other			
	A	Ax	B	C	Cx	D	E	H	Mx	Repeat	Resign	TUA	Other
1952	5	-	2	4	-	1	1	2	-	-	5	-	-
1954	-	1	4	6	3	-	1	1	-	1	4	2	2
1956	-	2	1	11	5	-	-	1	-	-	7	-	1
1958	-	2	10	5	7	-	2	2	-	-	6	-	2
1960	-	1	21	10	2	-	-	2	1	1	7	-	4

While the surge in enrolments affected the lower grades, most junior teachers were selected for infant teaching in the C course and for the one year Ax and Cx courses. As the problem moved to upper grades, more primary trainees were sought. By 1960, another one year course - Mx - had to be established for training lower and middle primary teachers. This course which began part way through the year in order to meet mid- year enrolments in schools was also for women only. Indeed during the 1950s in particular, it would seem that the junior teacher system was being maintained largely for the benefit of women who for one reason or another did not wish to, or perhaps did not need to, remain full time school students. Of course there was a considerable benefit to the Department in having a steady supply of candidates to put into schools more quickly through a short course of training. There is no reason to suppose that the faults of one year courses so clearly outlined by the Education Inquiry Committee in 1945 had been eliminated.[41] The maintenance of such courses into the early 1960s would seem to indicate a strong measure of professional discrimination against the women for whom they were provided.

As Table 9.6 shows, entry to the newly established Mx course increased greatly as it took the place of the Ax and Cx courses. Apart from this and the general increase in the number of junior teachers, including something of a resurgence in the art (J course) and craft areas, little else changed in the last four years of the system.

TABLE 9.6 Directions Taken by the Last Groups of Junior Teachers 1961 - 1964 [42]

	(a) To the Teachers College										(b) Other		
	Ax	B	C	Cx	Mx	D	I	E	J	H	Repeat	Resign	Other
1961	8	21	6	2	6	-	-	1	-	7	-	8	3
1962	-	18	12	3	6	-	-	1	7	4	-	10	2
1963	-	36	19	2	11	1	-	5	11	10	6	25	1
1964	-	19	10	-	15	-	1	3	8	10	-	14	5

As in the past, the directions taken by junior teachers tended to reflect the needs of the schools. By the 1960s the enrolment bulge that had required additional infant teachers in the 1950s had moved to primary levels. Consequently the bulk of the junior teachers were taken into the primary and the new Mx course for middle and lower primary trainees. This was the last of the one year courses and in 1963 two years of training were provided for the women who began and ended their training in the middle of each year. The new Regulations of 1964 indicated that entry conditions for this course would be the same as for the B and C course which by then were again five Leaving subjects.[43] More art teachers were required to cope with the wider range of curriculum offerings available in secondary schools and the new J course was set up to train them.

An analysis of the educational level of first year student teachers from the teaching scholarship schemes of 1963 reveals that apart from the D course, the majority of them were coming from a Leaving Teaching Scholarship rather than an Honours Scholarship background.[44] In the H course for example, 93% of the men and 79% of the women were from the Leaving level while for the J course about 40% of the men and 28% of the women had not studied at Leaving Honours level. In the C course 80% were from Leaving as were all those in the Cx and Mx courses. It would seem that right up to the end of the system, being a junior teacher was of no disadvantage as regards a choice of those particular courses. Things were rather different, however, as regards the B course where competition for places appears to have increased. An analysis of similar figures for 1955 indicates that about half the men and a third of the women student teachers had then come from Leaving Honours.[45] In 1963, over 75% of the men and 60% of the women going into B courses were from Honours Teaching Scholarships. It would seem that those wishing to become primary teachers, particularly the men, should have avoided the junior teacher system. This was of little consequence of course, in a junior teacher system where men were outnumbered by almost 4 to 1 and which, in any case, was by then about to be overtaken by the change back to just one teaching scholarship at fifth year level.

Well before this time junior teachers had become an insignificant proportion of enrolments in the various courses in the Teachers Colleges. In 1948, more than half of the primary and infant and practically all of the craft student teachers had been former junior teachers. In 1965, the twenty-nine former junior teachers training for infant and primary teaching represented less than 5% of the total first year student teachers in C and B courses while the eighteen in J or H courses represented merely 12% of all first year art and craft enrolments. The only course still attracting junior teachers in any significant numbers was the Mx in which there were fifteen out of forty-two.

It is hardly surprising then that a year later, the Superintendent of Recruiting and Training was able to comment on the apparent lack of concern for the passing of the junior teacher system from any quarter.

By 1965, sufficient teachers were being trained and with a fifth year - PEB or Departmentally examined - as the preferred entry requirement, there were likely to be few candidates under age with a year to fill in prior to College.[46] There was simply no longer any need for the junior teacher system. An issue of E.D. Circular No.31 'Modes of Entering the Service and the Training of Teachers' in October, 1964 announced that the mode of entry as a junior teacher was to be discontinued after 1965.[47] Consequently when the Circular was re-issued in 1965, for the first time since the 1870s, no mention was made of any pre-training mode of entering the service.[48]

Although 55 junior teachers were appointed in 1965 according to the annual table regarding recruiting, the traditional list of names and appointments was not gazetted.[49] It can only be presumed that most were appointed to secondary or large primary schools and that, as in previous years, the majority became infant, primary, art or craft teachers. A few resignations appear from time to time in the Gazettes of 1965 but apart from these and the one last official Gazette notice, no mention of junior teachers was made from any other quarter during the last year of the system.

The last official notice about junior teachers appeared in the Education Gazette of March, 1965.[50] This notice was as outdated as the system itself as it referred to leave requirements for junior teachers 'In schools where the staff consists of a Head Teacher and a Junior Teacher'.

The system had indeed passed unnoticed!

References Chapter 9

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PUPIL TEACHERS and JUNIOR TEACHERS in SOUTH AUSTRALIAN SCHOOLS

PART 2

FROM THE MEMOIRS

A Humanistic Sociological Analysis

1919 - 1964

Introduction

As noted in the general introduction, the inspiration for this humanistic sociological analysis of the last 45 years of the junior teacher system came from a statement by Smolicz and Secombe[1] that their use of memoirs to elucidate cultural facts from Polish-Australian young people, could be adopted to the study of any other social groups. Memoirs were collected from 341 former junior teachers, thirty-one of whom had served in that position for more than one year, so, in effect, just over 370 such experiences were available for a humanistic analysis on the lines pioneered by Thomas and Znaniecki in *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, first published in 1919 and republished in 1927, and since developed further by Znaniecki and other exponents of the use of autobiographical materials in sociological research. This study analyses the experiences of former junior teachers through their own eyes, an emphasis that arises from Znaniecki's belief that all data must be taken with what he called the humanistic coefficient i.e. 'as it appears to those human individuals who experience it and use it'.[2] Of particular interest, too, in the light of the overall use being made of historical and sociological data in this thesis is the work of Chalasinski who, through his collection of *pamietniki*[3], i.e. autobiographies, in his case written by Polish peasants, concluded that 'The use of memoirs reunites sociology and history'.[4] This kind of work has continued in Poland with one of the more recent studies being a collection of memoirs published in 1988 by Latoszek[5] from people involved in the 1980 Solidarity inspired strikes in the Gdansk shipyards. It is not surprising that Daniel Bertaux, in writing about life histories[6] noted that a '...unique feature of Polish culture makes that country the true homeland of the life story approach in sociology.'

Certain aspects of feminist studies owe much to the life history/memoir approach. One such aspect relates very much to the new focus in feminist writing[7] on what is termed 'history from below', i.e. emphasis on those who previously lacked a voice in mainstream history by exploring the meanings and beliefs of such individuals. As has been seen, junior teachers had no voice of their own even at the height of the attacks on the system in the 1940s. This section of the thesis gives some of them now an opportunity to present their story and, in the process, to throw new light on the junior teacher system by providing a perspective different from that in contemporary documentation. It is suggested in feminist thinking on this topic that a key question to ask is what history would be like if seen through the eyes of women and ordered by the values they define, instead of the way male historians have regarded the role of women.[8] The memoirs provided scope for the respondents to present such a view of their time as junior teachers, a view governed not so much about what they should have been studying, or how they should be teaching but rather how they assessed their situation or what their attitudes were to the way they were treated in the schools and in the wider community.

An important aspect of the study of these memoirs is the need to be aware of the limitations of the methodology. One key criticism relates to the authenticity of memoirs. In this study it is possible, by comparing sections from the memoirs with those of the documented contemporary material, to test genuineness, assess mistakes or errors of fact and to gain an overall feeling for any bias or prejudice evident in the memoirs. Much of this occurs naturally from the wide use of examples quoting the exact words of numbers of respondents as they commented on the same question. Where necessary attention has been drawn to such issues and longer extracts have been used from time to time to ensure that the thoughts, feelings and attitudes are fully shown. Where views at variance with those found in the documented evidence in Part 1 are found, every attempt is made to use them to show that another side to every question exists and that what is being presented is a double vision, both sides of which must be accorded similar respect and attention. There can be no doubt that over such long periods, some facts are forgotten and some views distorted. Often the respondents admit to not being sure of certain aspects, most of which tend to be of minor importance. The strength of this analysis can be seen to lie not only in the similarities between the accounts in Parts 1 and 2 but also in the major differences reported, which allow for deeper insights into the reality of life as a junior teacher.

This study follows the modification of the memoir method used by Smolicz and his collaborators in a number of studies.[9] In accepting Znaniecki's principle that in humanistic sociology cultural and social phenomena can only be understood if they are studied from the viewpoint of those actively involved in them,[10] the memoir writers, as young people, actually worked as junior teachers and took an active part in teaching and other school duties. Many of them boarded away from home and most engaged in studies to better prepare themselves for entry to the Teachers College. These are the kind of things that they recount from their point of view and through their eyes rather than those of the investigator who was more concerned with selecting and drawing their comments together and with summing up and allowing for comparisons with the documented material. In this way the interpretation of the memoirs has been integrated rather than treated from two quite separate points of view while at the same time preserving a view from inside the system which the respondents knew so well and one from outside which allowed the appropriate framing of the questions that determine the focus of the analysis. It must be said, however, that the detail in Part 2 belongs largely to the respondents and it tells the story of this segment of their lives in their words. A great deal of what they said is recorded verbatim in order to do full justice to them and to make sure that each issue is as well illustrated as it needs to be. Such an approach has the added advantages that it allows the reader as much access as possible to the assessments, evaluations and attitudes and, in the longer term, makes this data available to other researchers concerned with undertaking analyses on humanistic sociological lines through the use of memoirs. For these reasons, it was decided to include all relevant responses in the text of the discussion, rather than to choose a limited selection or relegate

them to the Appendix (as was reluctantly done in the case of the vignettes from Section 7 of the Memoir Document).

The analysis of the memoir data follows that used by Smolicz and Secombe in *The Australian School Through Children's Eyes*[11] It required two different types of data to be assembled, the first of which concerns generally verifiable and observable facts about the respondents. Using Smolicz and Secombe's[12] term **concrete facts,** these refer to material realities, the existence of which does not depend on the consciousness of the respondents. This information includes age, gender, year of appointment, length of time as a junior teacher, teaching duties, levels of responsibility, assistance given, and boarding arrangements. This material was collected in the 26 questions in Part A of the Memoir Document and is presented largely in tabular format, supported by any comments made by the respondents.

The other information, of a different nature, comes from the respondents themselves in response to the seven sections in Part B of the Memoir Document. Here the respondents give their own account of events, their own description of their situation , their thoughts and feelings about them and their own actions in response to them. As with Smolicz and Secombe's analysis, such data has been labelled **cultural facts** as they are a direct expression of the consciousness of the memoir writers. Apart from the final section, the memoirs are not of the free flowing autobiographical type. As can be seen from the Memoir Document, the first six sections consist of questions or requests for information which are framed in such a way as to link the responses with aspects of major importance in the history of the junior teacher system from 1921 onwards. This both limits and guides the respondents but they do have control over the subject matter and enough space is given for an adequate response entailing comment, explanation and/or discussion. The nature of the questions allows them scope to concentrate on those aspects that they consider important and to leave out sections that do not interest or concern them. The final section, which is included in the Appendices as A.1 to A.5, does allow for a free flowing type of life history, but one confined to life in the particular period in which they were junior teachers. Here they were able to write in their own way, express their thoughts, feelings, hopes and assessments more freely and mention only what they saw as being of particular significance. As can be seen, a few respondents produced what may well equate with smaller versions of the autobiographies solicited in the early days of the development of humanistic sociological analysis.

Smolicz provides details of the sources and uses of concrete and cultural data for memoir analysis.[13] The concrete data in this study derives mainly from information given with little or no need for comment although some respondents used the space provided to make assessments of such aspects as their boarding arrangements or of the assistance provided by the Head Teacher. The concrete profiles are of great value in this particular investigation as they allow for direct comparison with

documented facts from contemporary sources. The concrete data is also particularly valuable in that it provides a very sound basis for understanding the cultural facts. Age, educational level and teaching responsibilities given are crucial in understanding, for example, such cultural aspects as the attitude to the question of exploitation or the need to abolish the system. Because of their significance, the concrete details are given in full at the beginning of each of the chapters.

The cultural data allows for assessments by the respondents of their own actions, those of others in the schools and communities and those of their employing agency, the Education Department. They indicate, too, in many cases a good deal about the thoughts, feelings, hopes and fears of the memoir writers which can lead to a greater and direct understanding of the attitudes of junior teachers across a wide range of personalities and backgrounds and across very different social settings from the rigours of the Great Depression to the more spacious early 1960s. Smolicz[14] stresses the importance that Znaniecki placed on the directly attitudinal category of cultural facts and notes how he contrasted the use made of it by an historian, an aspect of particular interest in this investigation, part historical and part sociological as it is:

> Thus, while historians tend to regard the author of a document primarily as a witness of some event ... the sociologists examine the writer *per se*, and treat the whole social milieu exclusively in relation to this particular person.

In the process there is evidence from time to time of the group values of junior teachers, too, as respondents take a view beyond their own values and draw on what they see their colleagues doing and thinking. Overall, the cultural data, supported by a wealth of concrete facts, demonstrates the importance of taking into account as much as it is possible to know about a group of people if an adequate restructuring of their experience is to be carried out and fully understood. At the end of Part 2 it should be possible to see a wider and deeper perspective of the reality of life as a junior teacher than was possible from the material assembled in Part 1.

References Introduction Part 2

1 J. J. Smolicz and M. J. Secombe, *The Australian School through Children's Eyes*, Melbourne University Press, 1981, p.2

2 Margaret Secombe & Joseph Zajda, (eds), *J.J. Smolicz on Education and Culture*, James Nicholas Publishers, Adelaide, 1999, p.284

3 Daniel Bertaux, (ed.), *BIOGRAPHY and SOCIETY: The Life History Approach in the Social Sciences*, SAGE Studies in International Sociology, SAGE Publications, London, 1981, p.2

4 Secombe & Zajda, op.cit., p.304

5 M. Latoszek, 'The application of the biographical method to document events of the August 1980 period' in *Biography and Society Newsletter*, no. 11, 1988, pp.51-64

6 Daniel Bertaux, op cit, p.3

7 J. Hannan, 'Women, History and Protest' in D. Richardson and V. Robinson, (eds), *Introducing Women's Studies*, The Macmillan Press, London, 1993, p.306

8 ibid., p.309

9 Secombe & Zajda, op.cit., Part 111

10 ibid., p.161

11 J. J. Smolicz and M.J. Secombe, op.cit., pp.26-28

12 ibid.

13 Secombe & Zajda, op.cit., p.301

14 ibid., pp.301-302

Chapter 10

MEMOIRS OF JUNIOR TEACHERS FROM THE 1920s

As was seen in Chapter 6, the reforms to training introduced by McCoy allowed him to state that from the beginning of 1921 the Junior Teacher, as a teaching force, had practically disappeared. However, as was also seen, the new Regulations still allowed for the employment of several categories of junior teachers. There were those who had reached the age of fifteen and passed the Intermediate who did not wish to remain at school to undertake the Leaving examination. These candidates could become junior teachers instead of probationary students and enter the A (Short) course on reaching the age of seventeen. Those who had already been probationary students but who were still underqualified for the College either because of age or lack of the required Leaving subjects (or indeed for both reasons) could also spend a year as a junior teacher in order to qualify for a two-year course.

What was no longer clear was what these junior teachers were expected to do in the schools. As was explained in Chapter 7, no instructions were given to headmasters between 1923 and 1925 regarding the training of junior teachers in their schools. Although the regulations on these matters remained in place, there were no Gazette notices or reminders to enforce them. Seemingly heads of schools were no longer expected to instruct their junior teachers or have them give criticism lessons. No directions were given to junior teachers regarding the study of a teaching textbook, the Regulations or the Courses of Instruction. With the gradual increase in the number of junior teachers, the instructions about their supervision and their studies of teaching approaches were re-introduced in stages from 1926. These were practically the same as those last gazetted in 1922 and little can be gleaned from any official source about what else was expected of a junior teacher or what actual supervision and support they could expect to be given.

There is an air of mystery as to why they were appointed to some schools and not others and whether the experience aided them in becoming the kind of teacher they wished to be. Details of their ages are not readily available in the way they were in the registers that were kept in earlier times so it is not immediately clear as to which ones were underqualified by age. Examination passes are certainly available as has been seen in earlier chapters but this generally requires a search over several PEB manuals to determine who was underqualified academically. The Gazettes of the times merely list names, schools, resignations and transfers. What is clear from such lists is that until 1930, the number of junior teachers remained small with the bulk of student teachers coming from the probationary system. The decision to abandon probationary studentships after 1930 and to admit to the College only from the ranks of the junior teachers meant that the new system of junior

teachers that had begun from 1921 had come to an end.

It is now appropriate to turn to the memoirs of those who were junior teachers during this period to see how their responses illustrate the facts that are already known about the system as it operated then; what new information they provide and what they reveal about how it felt to be a junior teacher at a time when it appeared that the system had entered a kind of twilight from which it seemed unlikely to emerge with any of its former strength or prestige. Memoirs were received from thirty-one former junior teachers who served for one year and from one who served for two years. There were none from 1921/22 and only six from the period from 1923 to 1927, a time in which, as has been seen, very few junior teachers were appointed. The others were from 1928 to 1930, a period when a dramatic increase in the number of junior teachers was occurring. From 1923 to 1930, a total of 308 junior teachers were appointed so these memoirs represent just 10% of all of them. It is a small sample but this is not surprising in view of the fact that when it was taken between 1991 and 1993, more than 60 to 70 years had elapsed since these people had been 16 or 17 year old junior teachers. Clearly many others from the period were dead or untraceable, or in some cases simply too ill or incapable to undertake answering the questionnaire.

What is surprising is that 32 very elderly people (including one who served as a junior teacher in Victoria in 1929/30) were prepared to make the effort to recall their experience of junior teaching and that the majority of them had very clear memories of the time. Even more surprising was that three people in their nineties volunteered their recollections of what it was like to be a junior teacher in 1919, under the old system that McCoy was about to reform. Details from these three memoirs have not been included in any of the tables in either the concrete or cultural sections but reference has been made in the text to anything that they recalled that illustrates a similarity or difference between the old and reformed systems.

Another interesting comparison is possible thanks to four respondents from the 1920s who completed questionnaires but who were not in fact, junior teachers. Three of them were monitors, one of whom became a supplementary teacher for a short time, and they all entered the Teachers College in due course. The other had not been a monitor but became a supplementary teacher and taught for several years before also entering a Short Course at the Teachers College. As has been seen, the reforms that McCoy made to teacher training by abandoning the former junior teacher system and by extending the scope of secondary education, had lead to severe staff shortages. The point was made in an earlier chapter that the fact that he allowed such untrained people to work in schools alongside a growing number of junior teachers, may well have paved the way for the revival of the junior teacher as an accepted part of the teaching force when the Great Depression created a new set of problems in 1930. That of course, is largely a matter for conjecture. What is clear from

the memoirs of these people - two of whom at least, wrote as if they had in fact been junior teachers - is that what they did in the way of teaching was not so very different from that done by most of the junior teachers. Nor indeed were their hopes and fears about teaching or their views about such critical issues as exploitation or the possibility of disadvantage to the children. Details about these people have not been included in the concrete data but selections from their memoirs are included in the vignettes in the Appendices.

PART A THE CONCRETE DATA

The concrete data that illustrates significant aspects of the life and work of the junior teachers of the 1920s has been selected from the responses made to the 26 questions in Part A of the Memoir Document.

Personal Aspects

TABLE 10.1 **Concrete Facts - Personal Aspects 1923 - 1930**

	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	Totals
Respondents	1	1	-	2	2	2	8	17	33
Gender	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F
	1 -	1 -	- -	2 -	2 -	1 1	7 1	7 10	21 12
Average Age	15.0	16.6	-	16.2	17.2	17.1	16.8	16.9	16.5
Home									
City	1	1	-	1	1	2	4	9	19
Country	-	-	-	1	1	-	4	8	14
Appointment									
City	1	1	-	1	1	2	4	9	19
Country	-	-	-	1	1	-	4	8	14
Boarding	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	4
At Home	1	1	-	2	2	1	7	15	29

Gender

It is clear from earlier chapters that at most times there were far more females than males in the junior teacher system. In the period 1921 to 1930, for example, females outnumbered males by over two to one. Unfortunately it was not possible to locate many female respondents from this period for reasons already explained so the sample does not reflect the true gender balance of the times. However, the larger number of females from 1930 does allow for some indication of what it was like for a young female to be a junior teacher as the period of the reforms introduced by McCoy drew to a close.

Age

Nineteen of the respondents were below the age of 17 on taking up their appointment and five others were only just 17 or a few months older. The rest, whose ages ranged from 17 years and 8 months to 19 years 11 months, could well have been at the College if age had been the only criterion for acceptance. What can be said is that one reason for the majority of the respondents being junior teachers was because they were simply not old enough to be at the College. In this sense then, the memoirs well reflect the intention of McCoy that the few junior teacherships allowed under his reforms should be holding spots for those underqualified by age. The question of underqualification because of academic achievement is addressed in a later section.

Contact with home

As can be seen from the table, practically all these respondents were placed in schools near their homes whether in the country or in the suburbs of Adelaide. In the latter cases, some junior teachers had to travel by tram or train to a school while in the country they were generally placed at the school they had attended as students. Clearly there were advantages to the Department in such a policy. No boarding allowance needed to be paid and it avoided any criticism about taking young people away from their family influence at too early an age. In the few cases where boarding away was necessary the Department appeared to have been very understanding in ensuring that junior teachers were not far from home. Two respondents were able to get home each weekend and special arrangements were made for several others. The male from 1929 who had to board away was just over 7 miles from home but he explained that even at this distance it was not easy to contact his parents during the week:

- No - my parents did not have a telephone. It meant that I had to go home per bicycle if I needed to contact my parents urgently.

However, he was able to be at home each weekend. The female who was 12 miles from home in 1930 was able to contact her parents during the week through the 'Post Office' and she, too, got home at weekends. Special arrangements were made for two others. In 1928 the male respondent from the country was allowed to begin at a city school as his family was about to transfer to Adelaide. He recalled that he found board with a relative while he waited for his family and that it was 'Very satisfactory in every way.' A female respondent from 1930 who had to board in Adelaide for part of the year when her family moved to the country remembered why she was able to transfer there, too:

- I was told it was the policy of the Dept. to appoint junior teachers as close to home as possible. So I spent the greater part of the year there.

Social life

In a period when most respondents were at home, the question of whether they were able to join in district sport or local social activities is not as important as in later periods when most respondents were living away from home in quite strange surroundings. As might be expected, most of these respondents mentioned participating in 'local' sports such as cricket, football and basketball but tennis was the one most frequently recalled by those from both city and country. Only a few remembered other social activities such as those associated with church. In addition to sports and church, the Victorian respondent recalled a 'Literary & Shakespearian Society, and compulsory military service' in a large country town. A female respondent from a small South Australian country town added 'followed the local football team' and 'local dances' to her own sporting activities. One male from 1928 explained why he played no sports on the weekends when he came home from boarding away:

- No sports - worked on father's farm - needed time for study & social activities - local church - visited friends.

Academic Aspects

TABLE 10.2 Concrete Facts - Academic Aspects - 1923 - 1930

	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	Total
Educational level reached									
Intermediate	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	3
Leaving	-	1	-	1	2	2	6	12	24
Leaving Hons	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4	6
Matriculated									
Yes	-	1	-	-	1	-	5	11	18
No	1	-	-	2	1	2	3	6	15
Own secondary Schooling									
City	1	1	-	1	1	1	4	12	21
Country	-	-	-	1	1	1	4	5	12
Non- Gov.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Studying									
Yes	-	1	-	2	2	2	7	10	24
No	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	7	9

Educational levels

As has been seen, apart from providing a holding spot for those under age, being a junior teacher allowed those who needed one or more subjects for entry to a particular College course an opportunity to improve their academic qualifications. Except for the two respondents aged just 15

with Intermediate only, most of the others who were under age seem to have been otherwise qualified. Twelve had matriculated and several had reached Leaving Honours level. Six others needed one or more Leaving subjects and so were doubly underqualified for the College. Of those over 17, seven indicated that they needed further subjects to complete the Leaving Certificate.

As the table shows, the majority of these respondents had attended a city high school and none of them were from private schools. Apart from the fact that Leaving Honours was not available in country areas, there is little else to distinguish those from country and those from metropolitan secondary schools. In any case, practically all of them wanted to be primary or infant teachers and the Leaving was the entrance level required for entry to these courses. An almost equal proportion - 11 from the city and 7 from the country - believed that they had matriculated. Indeed only two country respondents recalled any kind of disadvantage regarding secondary schooling. One was a female who had had to leave her higher primary school which only went to Intermediate level, to attend Unley High School for her Leaving. She then returned to her hometown to take up the junior teachership. The other was a male who explained that he had not matriculated as he 'had done no Latin course'. One city respondent recalled a different kind of disadvantage on account of the type of school she had attended prior to going to a city high school:

- One year only - expected to pass Leaving Exam in that time after 3 years in a Central School with very elementary studies and failed Leaving English.

Academic advantage or disadvantage appears to have been dependent to a large degree on where the respondents spent the junior teacher year, an aspect well illustrated in terms of the access they had to assistance with studies. There is evidence that respondents appointed to the metropolitan area were more likely to get help with their studies than those in the country. Most of those studying in the country were doing Leaving subjects and several of them emphasised the fact that they had to manage on their own:

- Studied Leaving Geography and English on my own and passed both subjects.
- I was trying to complete my Leaving Certificate (3 subjects)
- One subject to complete at Leaving.

A couple of respondents received some help with these studies:

- I studied Leaving English and German privately. The Higher Primary teacher gave me some assistance with English.
- I was given time to attend lessons at the Kapunda High School.

Two country respondents however, were able to begin external University studies. One from a large town in Victoria managed to pass 'Melbourne University English A and Geology 1' in his two years as a junior teacher. The other had forgotten some of the details:

- University First Year Subject, but cannot recall what it was.

A number of the respondents from the city who needed further Leaving subjects were able to receive tuition. The one from 1924 was placed in a high school where he taught a '1st Year 40 - 50 per class' and at the same time was allowed to study four Leaving Honours subjects, an arrangement that enabled him to go direct to an "E" course to become a commercial teacher. One aged just 15 in 1926 with only Intermediate, recalled a less formalized kind of assistance from outside the Primary school where he was employed:

- Intermediate English with the assistance of my 1925 teacher who had expected me to do particularly well in this subject.

He became a probationary student in 1927 and his success with his studies must have been partly responsible for this change of direction.

Others were able to attend the School of Mines for a variety of subjects:

- Leaving Maths 1 & 11 - night classes at the School of Mines.
- Leaving English, lectures at night at School of Mines, weekly.

Some who had already matriculated were able to expand their academic interests in this way too:

- Leaving French at School of Mines evening class (from interest as I had not done it at school).
- Art at the School of Mines (evening).

A few other city respondents worked on their own:

- Yes - Leaving Latin. Had passed Leaving English at the February Supplementary Exam.
- I was studying 'Leaving English' which I had failed to pass at my previous attempt.
- Unsupervised and unassisted study in Leaving French and Leaving Honours Maths which I subsequently passed when at Teachers College.
- Yes - I did external studies for an extra Leaving subject.
- Studied and passed Leaving Honours 'Ancient History'.

Three females and one male were able to begin University studies by attending lectures:

- Yes - I studied Accountancy 1 as part of the Diploma of Commerce, this subject being offered every second year. I attended lectures twice a week at night.
- Adelaide University. Night lectures - Latin & Economics (involved three nights per week).
- Some subjects (commercial at Adelaide University).
- Attended night lectures in First Year Mathematics at University of Adelaide. (passed)

It would seem that most of these respondents had taken advantage of the opportunity to either gain essential entry qualifications or to considerably enhance their academic standing. Of the respondents who had done no studies, four had already matriculated but three who had not gave no

reasons for not attempting to complete that requirement. One of the latter, who had completed Intermediate level only, indicated that he was studying in 1930, but went on to describe it as 'Techniques of Teaching' under the supervision of the Headmaster.

Career Directions

TABLE 10.3 **Concrete Facts - Teaching Experience and Career Directions**

	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	Total
Teaching Wanted									
Infant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	6
Primary	1	-	-	1	2	1	5	8	18
Secondary	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	2	6
Art/Craft	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2
Unsure	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
School experience									
One Teacher	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Infant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Primary	1	-	-	2	1	1	6	10	21
High	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
Central	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	4
Higher PS	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	3
Career direction									
Probationary	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
Repeat JT	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
College "A"	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	3	5
"B"	-	-	-	1	2	1	4	5	13
"C"	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	7	8
"D"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
"E"	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	3

Teaching wanted

Four of those interested in secondary teaching intended to be commercial rather than generalist secondary teachers. Indeed, as was seen in Chapter 6, direct entry to the D (Secondary) course at that time was not usual but candidates were certainly admitted to the E (Commercial) course. McCoy's 'Conspectus' of the scheme of teacher training in South Australia showed the D (Secondary) course as an addition to the B (Primary) course for selected student teachers rather than one for direct entry from outside the College. The respondent from 1923 who became a probationary student explained how this worked in practice in his reply to Qu. 26:

- The only people who entered a secondary course, from Year 1 at the T College, were those who held State Scholarships or Bursaries. (when I entered T College in 1926, only two students went into secondary courses. At the end of the first year in College, a selection was made for the Secondary Course - two criteria 1) results obtained 2) Number of students required).

The Victorian system may have been different in this respect as the respondent from there recalled entering the equivalent of the D course in 1931 after two years as a junior teacher. One female from

1928 would like to have taught Domestic Arts and one from 1930 wanted to be an Art teacher. The one who was unsure about any kind of course was a 15 year old male who had reached Intermediate level only by 1926. He explained why he had written 'None' in response to Qu. 7:

- This was a means for continuing education which my 'new' stepfather persuaded me to seek.

In his case it turned out to be sensible advice because he was awarded a probationary studentship at the end of his junior teacher year.

School experience

It is important to note that at this stage none of these respondents were used to assist in very small schools (one-teacher schools) in the way the scheme was to develop during the 1930s and 1940s. Almost all of those interested in primary or infant teaching received appropriate school experience but this was not the case for most of those wanting to become other kinds of teachers. Of the two in high schools, the one in 1924 wanted to be a commercial teacher and did have some experience in teaching at First Year level. The other one wanted to be a primary teacher but was appointed to his local country high school where he also had some teaching experience with the lower secondary grades. The others who wanted to be secondary teachers were placed in primary schools as was the respondent who wanted to be a Domestic Arts teacher. An exception appears to have been made for the junior teacher who wanted to become an Art teacher. After an initial placement at a primary school she received a letter from the Director of Education to inform her that:

> ... it has been found necessary to transfer you as a Junior Teacher at the Welland School to the Croydon Central Girls School in order to give assistance to the Drawing Instructor.

Whether this was more in the interests of the Department or those of the junior teacher was not explained but what is particularly interesting about this case is that she did not achieve her aim of becoming an Art teacher even after this experience. She had to enter the C course because, as she recalled, 'The Art course was filled'.

Career paths

The other respondent who became a probationary student was also 15 years of age and with Intermediate only when offered a junior teachership in 1923. This gave him and the one noted earlier in that position, the opportunity to qualify for two-year courses at the College. His comments in response to Qu. 25 explained how the system worked in the mid 1920s:

- In 1924/1925 I attended Woodville H.S. as a student to complete the Senior - later the Leaving - Certificate. By Regulation you had to take 2 years to do the Leaving. As a teaching student I was exempt from paying the regulation fees.

He then entered the B course as did the other 15-year-old who was given this special career

opportunity. The only one to repeat the junior teacher year was the respondent from Victoria who spent two years in this role at his local primary school.

Only three respondents failed to get into the course that they wanted. One was the female noted above who had to become an Infant rather than an Art teacher. Another was the one who wanted to be a Domestic Arts teacher. She explained why this happened in Section 4 (a) of the cultural section:

- No intake in that course (not quite sure of this).

The third was the respondent from 1929 who wanted to be a commercial teacher but who was placed in the C course. However, she managed to change to the E course during her first year. Her explanation provides an interesting insight into career opportunities in the period leading up to the Great Depression:

- Changed to Commercial Course halfway through the year when I realised that too many students were taking the Infant Course and that therefore an appointment would be difficult to get.

The three others who wanted to be commercial teachers went directly into the E course. All those who wanted to be Primary or Infant teachers were accepted into such courses at the Teachers College but as can be seen from the table, several had to take the one-year A course rather than a two-year course. Clearly this depended on Leaving results. The experience of one respondent who managed to move out of the one-year course shortly after the year began illustrates this aspect:

- After I passed my Supplementary Leaving, I was placed in the Primary (B) Course.

Of those who remained in the A course, one had reached only Intermediate and was aged 16.6 when he became a junior teacher and three others had not matriculated. None of them commented on this here, but all indicated in the cultural section that they had in fact, entered a course of their choice.

Assistance with responsibilities

TABLE 10.4 Concrete Facts - Responsibilities and Assistance Given

	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	Total
Responsibility									
Sole	1	-	-	1	-	-	5	9	16
Shared	-	1	-	-	2	2	2	3	10
Both	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	5	7
None	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other duties									
Yes	1	1	-	1	2	2	6	15	28
No	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	2	5
Assistance									
Yes	1	1	-	-	2	2	6	13	25
No	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	3
Doubtful	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	2	5

Teaching responsibility

With just on 70% of these respondents having sole responsibility either fully or in part, it is clear from the above table that as far as they were concerned, the expectation of McCoy that no untrained person should teach was far from being fulfilled. As can be seen, the majority of these particular junior teachers had sole responsibility for classes or subjects and most of them kept these throughout the year. It is especially significant that no one recalled having no teaching duties at all. Most of those who had sole responsibility remembered very clearly the grades and/or subjects that they were required to teach and the number of children involved. As has been seen, the Regulations still allowed for a junior teacher to be responsible for 30 pupils and most of those with sole responsibility recall having about that number in their classes:

- Was placed in charge of 30 infants. Responsible for all subjects except singing. Rolls, Registers and weekly Absentee Forms. [male aged 15 - 1923]
- Taught grade V - 35 students [male aged 16.11 - 1929]
- 25 grade 1V girls all subjects [male aged 17.4 - 1929]
- I taught Grades 4 & 5, approximately 30 of them, in all subjects except singing which was taken by the Head Master. We were in the same room as his Grades 6 & 7. [male aged 19.2 - 1929]
- 20 students (Grade 6) [female aged 16.9 - 1929]
- Approx. 40 Grades 4-5. Taught full program daily [male aged 19.11 - 1930]
- Grade 111 - all subjects [male aged 16.10 - 1930]
- One week Gr 1. Rest of the year Gr 111. I complained after a week that I could not teach beginners' class [female aged 17.0 - 1930]

One male aged 17.3 recalled his responsibilities being changed in 1926 to meet the needs of the school:

- Grade 1V - 30 students (2 terms). Grade V11 - 57 students while the H.M. was on sick leave.

In only a few cases was an attempt made to widen the experience of those with full teaching responsibilities for a particular grade:

- Mainly Grade 3 (I think it was) but at one time or another, I was given practice in teaching every grade from Infant to Grade 8 - about 30+ pupils. [male aged 16.3 -1929/30]
- Grade V1 - all subjects. Experience with all other Grades from 1 - 7. [male aged 16.6 - 1930].

In other cases, respondents seemed to have been placed in schools with the intention of them being supernumeraries. Two of them remained in such a role for the whole period. One male, aged 17.9, recalled the type of duties allocated to him in 1927:

- I was a type of monitor to a classroom teacher, a Miss McKay, a strict but kindly teacher [of] Grade V (boys), approx 50.

Another male aged 16.11 in 1929 recalled having a roving commission across Grades 1-7 with 'occasionally sole' responsibility. However, two others began as supernumeraries but circumstances determined that in their cases the limit of 30 per class was honoured more in the breach than in any observance by what would seem to be somewhat unscrupulous Head Masters:

- After the first week 70+ grade V1 boys - their teacher was sent relieving - I was to assist the HM who left me in charge. Later I had Grade V11 girls for six weeks while the teacher was in hospital. On paper I did not have sole responsibility for these classes - in effect I did. [male aged 15 - 1926]
- At first I was put into a Grade 111 mixed to observe and help. I marked tests and books etc. and I taught some lessons under supervision. At the end of Term 1 a teacher left and as no replacement was sent I was directed to the Grade V class of 60 children with the Head claiming a load of 30 with my load of the other 30 being according to Regulations. The classroom was across from the HM's office. He rarely took a lesson but did look in. So from 9 am to 4 pm I had a class of 50+ to teach the prescribed courses. [male aged 16.10 - 1928]

Two of those who claimed shared, rather than sole responsibility were in high schools but neither explained how the system worked with secondary classes. One male aged 16.5 in 1924 simply wrote '1st Year - 40-50 per class' and the other, aged 16.6 in 1927, recalled 'First and Second Year English and History'. The female who was transferred to a central school in order to assist the Art Instructor recalled that she 'assisted the Art Teacher' and had 'no responsibility'. Some of those who recalled shared responsibility in primary or infant schools also merely listed the grades and/or subjects taught:

- Grade 1 - 18 slow learners for Reading, Writing and Number. [female aged 17.9 in 1928]
- Group of Upper 1 & Lower 11 [male aged 17.4 -1929]
- Grade V11 most of the time - approx 40/50. Reading, Spelling, Arithmetic, History & Geography. Grade 2 sometimes approx 30/40. Grade 4 sometimes - 40/50. [female aged 16.9 - 1930]
- Usual Infant School subjects - phonics, number, reading, singing, nature study, handwork, freework - about 30 in class. [female aged 16.9 in an Infant School in 1930]

The rest recalled having a variety of both sole and shared responsibilities. Some recalled the exact details of what they had to do in both these roles:

- All Grades from 1V -V11. All subjects as set down ...Various lessons each day on my own and then as an aid for Senior Teachers [male aged 16.10 - 1930]
- The Head Teacher took over my 4 & 5 grades with his 6 & 7 for singing and music and a general session once a week when I looked after 1 & 2 whilst the female assistant took the older girls for domestic science. [male aged 16.3 - 1929]

- All grades for a term [then sole for] Grade 11 for terms 11 & 111. [male aged 16.4 -1930]

Others could recall only the broad details:

- All subjects - infant level. [female aged 16.4 - 1930]
- Grade 4 girls - 20 students - shared responsibility for some subjects.

Only one respondent gave a clear indication of having been given training for a teaching role and then experience in it:

- For the first half of the year I was in a room with the class teacher who allocated and supervised my lessons. For the second half I was responsible for a Lower 2 class of approx 25 children. [female aged 18.3 in 1930]

Other duties

None of the 5 respondents who recalled having no additional duties beyond the classroom explained why they were excused what so many others were expected to perform. Yard duty was most frequently recalled and for 8 of the 13 who mentioned it, it was the only duty. Most merely stated 'Yard duty' and several seem to have regarded it as a normal expectation:

- Did 'yard duty' on equal footing with assistants.
- Shared yard supervision with infant teacher.
- I did ordinary yard duty the same as the rest of the staff.

Only a couple gave a hint of any problem with this duty:

- Yard duty (all recess period) - eat lunch with the children.
- Supervised yard behaviour - discipline in games etc.

The next most likely duty was assisting with sport. Several combined it with yard duty:

- Regular school yard duty at lunchtime and occasionally after school. Also looked after boys' football & cricket.
- Sports master - cricket and football. Yard duty.

The others simply mentioned the sports that they looked after with males taking boys' sports and females coaching basketball. One female mentioned '... training girls for Maypole' as part of her sporting duties and a male recalled being responsible for 'School basketball teams (girls)'.

Perhaps the most unusual duty required was that of being 'Head Prefect' of the high school where the respondent from 1924 served as a junior teacher. The respondent in a high school in 1927 had a quite different set of duties in addition to his shared teaching :

- As it was a new school I spent a lot of time preparing tennis courts, tree planting.

A male from 1929 whose teaching role was spread across a primary school with very little sole responsibility, recalled a long list of the extra duties expected of him:

- Assist Woodwork Centre, Agric.Science, School records, Admission Registers, Rolls,

Curriculum programmer (1 - V11), sports coaching. Library cataloguing. Aid making.

The respondent who served in a school in Victoria also had wide-ranging duties:

- As in above [teaching duties] + supervising games + swimming. Also trained Grade 3 as a choir, + as I seem to remember, they were successful, with me as conductor, in the annual Bendigo Competitions. I was then only 17.

A male from 1930 with a full teaching load in Grade V1 also recalled several additional duties:

- Supervised School drum & fife band. Swimming, supervised team sports e.g. football & cricket.

Apart from the possible dissatisfaction noted above in relation to yard duty, only three respondents felt that they had something to complain about. One was the female appointed to assist with Art in a central school in 1930:

- Had to take sport and help where needed but felt as though I was still a student to be given duties teachers were pleased to hand over.

Another was the male who was a supernumerary in a primary school in 1927:

- I seemed in effect, a relieving teacher in that I filled in for absent teachers, sometimes for a week at a time.

The third was the respondent noted above whose Head failed to carry out his share of a class of 50+ in 1928. He recalled how this Head burdened him down with yet another duty:

- The H.M. accepted responsibility for 'Singing' specifically. But I was gradually eased into this too. When I asked him to take singing 'He was busy'. 'Take a song or two'. Then I was told I could manage that easily.

Assistance

As the table shows, the majority - some 75% - of these respondents recalled receiving some kind of help. About a quarter of them recalled that help coming from the weekly lessons which remained part of the Regulations during the McCoy reforms:

- Had to attend early morning lessons (2 per week) with the HM. Had to go to school from 8 to 8.45 when the Head expounded on method etc. [1923]
- One session each week (8.30 - 9 am) spent with senior teacher in discussing teaching methods (very useful). Also one session per fortnight spent with the H.M. for detailed study of Education Regulations (I got to know the Regulations, Courses of Study, how to fill in forms etc). [1927]
- I had a session twice a week (8.30 to 8.55) with the Head Master. [1928]
- Chief Assistant took me and the other J.T. for half an hour two mornings a week - before school. Studied Green & Birchenough? [1930]

- My Head took me into his office one morning a week and read from a prescribed book on school rules, timetables, programs etc. [1930]
- The Head of the Primary School saw me every Wednesday at 8.30 am and went through the curriculum with me. I had no lesson with the Infant Mistress. [even though she was working in the Infant section in 1930]
- I attended early morning 'lectures' by the Head Master - twice a week. [1930]

Two others mentioned something of the same kind. The respondent from Victoria recalled 'regular meetings at lunch time for information & discussion with the Head and other teachers'. The respondent attached to an Art Centre in a central school remembered 'reading a printed book supplied'.

Others recalled a range of assistance. Some gave such brief answers as 'Advice', 'Assisted by Miss Thompson (Head Mistress)', 'I was given the usual instruction on lessons', and 'Help in preparation of material to be taught'. Others went into rather more detail:

- HM's office just across from Grade V room. I had little problem with discipline and order. Chief Assistant next door. He came into the room and gave me advice. [Ironically that Head Master was the one noted earlier as failing to take responsibility for his share of the 50+ students taught by this respondent.]
- [Head] Showed much interest in what I was trying to do [with a group of slow learners]. Stood by me with a very difficult teacher who was supposed to help me.
- Sound & helpful advice & assistance in teaching methods for all subjects. Special demonstration lessons given. Practice given on program completion, examination Registers. All records handled. Methods of control shown.
- Head Master, Mr Johncock, gave guidance when difficulties arose. Senior teachers readily responded to requests for guidance.
- Very much so. The Headmaster discretely kept an eye on me, & so did Miss Pinch in Grade 4, through the glass partition.
- Infant Mistress sometimes conducted a lesson for demonstration purposes. Staff members were pleased to advise on roll, programs etc.
- [Head] Always advising - especially with teaching problems & discipline in class & yard.
- Head Mistress often present - always helpful.

A few respondents who believed that they were assisted admitted to having forgotten any precise details but as the table shows three recalled that they were not assisted and five others had doubts about it. Amongst those with doubts were the two respondents from 1926. Indeed one of them saw the situation to be quite the reverse:

- [Yes] when there was no shortage of staff requiring me to 'take over'... I was the helper

when help was needed.

The other seemed to see the help he got as more in the interests of the smooth running of the school:

- I cannot remember any assistance other than the preparation of the program and the accurate recording of the roll book.

Interestingly enough neither of these respondents were expected to prepare lesson plans or notes. The first wrote 'seldom' and the other 'doubtful'. The respondent from 1929 who had doubts ticked 'Yes' but added 'To a minor degree' and went on to largely excuse the Head's lack of assistance:

- The Head was teaching Grades V1 & V11 so had little time to help in practice - only help was advice.

He was not required to prepare lesson plans and neither was the respondent helping the Art teacher at Croydon Central School in 1930. She ticked 'Yes' and mentioned the Art teacher as the provider of assistance but went on:

- I mainly seem to remember supervising artwork at the girls' desks and the preparation of materials.

The other one from 1930 ticked both 'Yes' and 'No' and explained:

- No - Head Master
  Yes - Infant teacher

He, was, however, supervised through his lesson plans:

- Each night's homework was full lesson notes for next day.

Of the three who believed that they received no assistance, the one from 1929 simply wrote 'No' and indicated that he was not required to plan any lessons or prepare notes for teaching 30 Grade 1V & V students at a higher primary school. The two respondents from 1930 who received no help were both supervised by way of lesson plans:

- A weekly program of lessons to be given in the coming week.
- Daily - lesson content (minor detail)

For most other respondents lesson plans and notes were of some importance. A few simply wrote 'Yes' and some had forgotten the details but most remembered a good deal about this aspect of teaching assistance and supervision. The variety of requirements seems to suggest that the form of lesson preparation could be decided at the school level:

- Had to prepare 3 lessons per week ... a notebook had to be kept - and presented to the visiting inspector. [1923]
- Under supervision of senior Master of subjects concerned. [1924]
- Yes but in no detail. Never when relieving grade of an absent teacher. [1927]
- Two lessons prepared each day. I usually prepared two or three days in advance and submitted them to Head. [1928]

- I had to prepare note 'lesson plans' for lessons as directed by the H.M. He supervised my lesson plans and discussed them with me. [1928]
- 'Notes of lessons' were handed to the headmaster on a weekly basis.
- Notes of each day's lessons prepared at home & shown to the Head Mistress for comment and advice. [1929]

In two cases in 1929 the respondents were being prepared for what they would have to do at the College:

- Normal preparation of lesson notes and aids and illustrations much as later indicated at Teachers College.
- Lesson notes modelled on Adelaide Teachers College lesson notes. Full lesson notes required for a day's lessons. Notes handed in before 9 am. Comments made on every lesson taken. Marks allotted for special lessons.

The comments from 1930 were very similar except that there was more attention given to special lessons to be observed by the Head or a senior teacher;

- One per week - Chief Assistant supervised.
- One day a week, I prepared a lesson (of my choice) & taught in front of the Head who later discussed it with me and wrote criticisms in my book.
- As I recall I prepared the given lesson in the first six months then of course I had to prepare all lessons taught when in charge of my class for the second half of the year.
- Each week I was an aide in different grades where I took various lessons after preparing notes, which were examined by the class teacher.
- Regular preparation submitted to the Head for advice and approval.

Apart from those mentioned earlier in connection with lack of assistance, only one respondent from 1930 ticked 'No' and explained why:

- Not to any degree except to put words, tables, notes, Geography maps on the blackboard.

Overall, the concrete data suggests that rather than having 'practically disappeared' as a teaching force, junior teachers in the 1920s were still more likely than not to have a variety of teaching responsibilities. The real change in the system was that service as a junior teacher was no longer a requirement of training, as it had been prior to the McCoy reforms, but rather an opportunity for certain candidates to satisfy the College entrance requirements in the terms of the new description of the junior teacher role in the Regulations of 1920.

The pre-1921 memoirs

With only three memoirs - two males and one female - from 1919, no reasonable assessment can be made of what it was generally like to be a junior teacher prior to the McCoy reforms. The recollections of these three respondents do tend to confirm some of the details of the time as documented elsewhere but what is of much greater interest is the similarity of their experiences to many of those of the 1920s. All three had reached Leaving level and two had matriculated and were over the age for entry to the College. One of the males was 16.8 and had not matriculated because he 'failed damned Latin!'. One male wanted to be a secondary teacher and he was appointed to a high school. The other two got their choice of primary school experience. The males were from the metropolitan area and could travel daily to school. The female was from the country and was near enough home to get there each weekend.

The two in primary schools had sole responsibility for their classes - the male for 48 Grade 1V students for all subjects in the curriculum and the female for a class of Grades 1 & 11. The respondent in a high school had both a sole and a shared responsibility for;

- Many subjects - First Year to Leaving - in Leaving class only three students.

Only the males recalled the lessons that Heads were supposed to give to junior teachers. For the high school it was:

- HM - two half-hour sessions before school each week.

The one in a primary school remembered a more varied experience:

- Training session conducted by HM - 8 - 9 am on Mondays. Started off well, faded bit by bit & ceased after 2 or 3 months. The Head blew us up for not turning up. OK for a while, then faded again. We were supposed to be taken through a very good book based on teaching techniques by Green and Birchenough.

He referred to those lessons again in the question on whether or not he received any assistance and added:

- If we asked older teachers, and knew what to ask, yes, but there was no systematic training.

Apparently he did not want to give the impression that all training was like his as he went on to say 'Heads of many schools were thorough'.

Both the males were studying:

- Two subjects - night lectures - at Adelaide University.
- Matric. Latin, but studied about as systematically as the course taken by the HM, (I failed. Too avid a reader of more important books).

By the time these three went to College there was a shortage of teachers. The one wanting to be a secondary teacher got into the D course but was limited to one year there and by 1921 he recalled

that he was 'A junior assistant at Wallaroo Mines High'. The female recalled being in a one year B course but the other male managed to get a second year in the B course. His comments reveal something of the staffing problems as the McCoy reforms were being introduced. After explaining that even the A course had to be shortened from one year to six months, he went on to give more details of the B course he entered:

- Shortened from 2 years to 1, because of the serious shortage of teachers. Three women and three men got a second year and were supposed to become High School teachers. Five of the six did. I applied for primary teaching ... Was advised by a Teachers College lecturer that promotion prospects were much better in primary than for secondary teachers. H.Ms, & senior masters were younger, considerably, than primary heads as High Schools were only 12 years old in 1920.

PART B THE CULTURAL DATA

As was seen in Chapters 6 and 7, the McCoy reforms changed the whole culture of teacher training in South Australia and with it, the nature of the junior teacher system. The day of young, inexperienced junior teachers learning how to teach on the job while also providing a significant part of the teaching force was supposed, by 1921, to be over. The remnant of the junior teacher system that survived was meant to be in the interests of those candidates for teaching who were still unqualified for some reason for the Teachers College. As the concrete facts show, most of the 32 respondents who became junior teachers between 1923 and 1930, were in fact, underqualified because of age and/or lack of secondary subjects and so were given the chance to remedy such aspects. For many of them however, the reality of the 'new' system was rather different from the official theory on how, or perhaps more accurately how <u>not</u>, they were supposed to be used in schools. More than half of them had sole responsibility for a class or for certain subjects and the rest shared some teaching responsibilities with other staff. This allowed for the continuance into the 1920s of problems that had plagued the system almost since its beginning and that were about to intensify as greater numbers of junior teachers had to be used to staff the schools from 1931 until well after the end of World War 11.

The cultural facts provided by those who experienced the junior teacher system during the 1920s allow for certain insights into the realities of that period that are not available elsewhere. Through eliciting the personal hopes and fears of former junior teachers and their opinions about good and bad aspects of the system that they found themselves in, it is possible to come to a better understanding of a period which began with that system on the verge of disappearing and ended as it was about to undergo a revival.

The cultural facts provided by respondents who were junior teachers in 1919 under the system McCoy set out to reform allow for some comparisons between the two systems and their recollections are included where appropriate. The recollections of the monitors and supplementary teachers provide for further insights into the continuing role of the untrained in schools and the ongoing use of such stopgap measures to staff schools in times of crises. Aspects of their stories are included only in the vignettes.

QU. 1 REASONS FOR BECOMING A JUNIOR TEACHER - READINESS FOR THE ROLE

Choice or circumstance ?

The first part of this question encouraged respondents to recall whether they chose to become junior teachers or whether circumstances decided the matter for them. If it was not by choice then they had the opportunity to say how they would rather have spent that particular period. The majority of them found it difficult to be clear about choice and circumstance. A number of those who believed that it was their choice also mentioned certain circumstances being involved. Most of those who referred to circumstance as the driving force also made it clear in some way that they had already chosen teaching as a career.

Some 28% of all respondents believed that they became junior teachers by choice and none of them indicated a preference for anything else during that time. One simply wrote 'By choice' and another seemed to have made his choice by rejecting an option of going to Adelaide for further schooling:

- Became a JT by choice. I preferred to live near home, and board with relatives near the school, rather than live in Adelaide. My uncle, a headmaster, suggested that I start in a small way to prepare myself for the exacting task of teaching, which I had ahead of me.

In the case of the others, however, it would seem that circumstances played a significant part too. Two linked being a junior teacher with their ambition to enter the teaching profession but the first was only just over 17 years of age and the other was a year younger:

- By choice as a furtherance of my ambition to become a teacher.
- My sister (4 years older) was a dedicated teacher - hence my aim to be like her

The rest were equally sure that they had chosen to be teachers and had considered no alternative but they also mentioned circumstances that meant that they had to spend a period as a junior teacher. Some were academically underqualified:

- I became a teacher by choice probably because I came from a family with a long standing teaching history. I needed a 'pass' in Leaving English to be accepted in the "B" Course.
- By choice - because I wanted to be a teacher. I lacked one Leaving subject which I did

during the JT year.

Several others were encouraged in the choice of teaching by their personal or family economic circumstances:

- By choice. It seemed the best choice in the depression years & also being in charge of children appealed to me.
- By choice. There was little offering in the country at that time (1927). My parents were poorly situated.
- By choice - I felt it was necessary to do something with my life and relieve my parents as there were four girls in the family.

A small group of respondents acknowledged both choice and circumstances:

- Both - I wanted to be a Domestic Arts teacher but no intake of the same in 1928. I was given the choice of Junior Teaching or Short Course. - No guarantee of Dom. Arts in the next year.
- By choice and circumstance. After passing my Intermediate I missed two years before returning to school as a Probationary student. Failed Leaving English & Latin, but passed English in the February Supplementary. I was happy to spend the year (1927) as a JT. & recognised that I was gaining valuable experience.
- By choice because of a Mr George Polson, who taught me in Grade V when I could not get to school before 10 a.m. because my mother was confined to a wheelchair. He took me at recess and lunch time to make up for the lessons missed. He was the H.M. and let me skip Gr.V1 and helped me get good results in Gr.V11. Circumstances also played their part due to the fact that my birthday is on March 27th, and I had to turn 17 by March 1st to make Teachers College in 1930.

The largest group - some 44% - emphasised the circumstances that lead them into spending time as a junior teacher prior to taking up their chosen career. One male respondent simply underlined 'circumstances' and added 'After high school I was just appointed' and went on to say that he had not thought about any alternative job preference. Most of the others indicated a clear choice of teaching as a career by taking the opportunity of saying that they would have preferred to have been at Teachers College or to be furthering their studies in preparation for it. Where such a preference was expressed, it is noted in brackets. For some the circumstances involved their academic status:

- By necessity. I failed English (my best subject in 1929) so had to take the next year off to repeat it. (If I had my Leaving Certificate I would have preferred to go to Teachers College.)
- I had not completed my Leaving Certificate. (I would have preferred to enter Teachers College.)
- Having attended a Central School, it was necessary to pass the Leaving exam in 3 subjects, English compulsory, to gain entry to Teachers College. As I did not pass English, it was

necessary to study that year. (I would have preferred to have had some experience in handling children before having a class thrust at me.)

For one male respondent the circumstances involved his health:

- I did not pass the medical examination for entry to the Teachers College Course A because of my catarrh and bronchiectasis. (I would have preferred to study Leaving English and some Leaving Honours subjects at Unley High. I had already had one week at Unley High when my appointment as a junior teacher [at a school near his country home] came.

Others were too young for College entry:

- I became a JT because I had not had my 17th birthday when the Teachers College started the academic year in 1930. 17 was the minimum age for entrance. (I would have preferred to have attended College.)
- I was too young to enter Teachers College. We had to be 17 on 31st Jan. I was 17 on 26th Feb, 1929. (With the help of hindsight, I should have come to Adelaide in 1929 to do Leaving Honours.)
- Under age of entry to Teachers College. Preferred to earn an allowance rather than do a second year of Leaving Honours. (I did not consider alternatives)
- I was too young to go to Teachers College and had passed Leaving Honours. My only other choice would have been to repeat Leaving Honours.
- Finance did not enable me to proceed to Leaving Honours after completing my Probationary Studentship. Below admission age to Teachers College so opted for alternative - Junior Teaching. (I would have preferred at the time to have completed Leaving Honours)

Several other respondents recalled that financial circumstances lead them into junior teaching when they would have preferred to stay at school:

- My parents thought that as I had the necessary entrance requisites for entry to the Teachers College, it would be of benefit to me to have experience in a school. As well, the annual salary of £40 would be welcome (it cost me £10 in fares!). (I would like to have returned to High School to do Leaving Honours. I liked school life & study, but I accepted my parents' opinion without question.)
- I became a J.T, by circumstance. An extra year would have enabled me to do Leaving Honours leading to a University degree but economic pressure on my family (5 children, father deceased suddenly, leaving mother to supervise our education) made it imperative for me to begin to earn some money. [she indicated no interest in another career path]

Two others were happy to accept the financial security that junior teaching provided:

- The offer to receive some remuneration was very welcome to the family finances. (Under the circumstances it seemed a natural progression)

- In those years (1928) the depression governed work choice. Very few jobs were available to school leavers. Our Senior Teacher persuaded us to join up as 'College candidates' - I was accepted - no regrets to this day! (Didn't have much choice - so few opportunities in Pt. Pirie in those days.)

Circumstances forced another 19% of the respondents into teaching when they would have really preferred to have taken up another career. In all these cases lack of finances played the major part:

- Because of financial reasons. The payment of £40 per annum was needed. Salary payments were made monthly - £4 each month (approx). To have further education you had to secure a situation where there was payment as a student. (At the completion of Junior Public (Intermediate) exam (1923), I applied to join the Public Service - wishing ultimately to get into Analytical Chem Dept - but no vacancies were available.)
- It had been my intention to study Law. I was Dux of Bendigo High School & won several scholarships to Melbourne University. But these (1930) were Depression years and so my parents could not afford to pay board for me in Melbourne. Accordingly, as a last resort, I decided to become a teacher as my means of getting to the University ... Though in the event, I found my metier in teaching and scholarship, taking an Honours degree in Arts and high Honours in the Dip. Ed. In the event, I was 'proxime accessit' in the Rhodes Scholarship & in lieu of that was awarded the Aitchison Scholarship on which I went to Oxford.)
- S.A. was encountering the severe 'Great Depression'. I was one of 7 children & was glad of the opportunity for work. (In the normal course of events it would not have been my first choice, as I would have preferred something like working for a stock firm.)
- To continue my education (in 1926). (I [aged 15] was considering an apprenticeship as a carpenter. My stepfather persuaded me to continue study and in those days our family needed the £40 per year.)
- When I completed Leaving Honours I was 9 months short of age 17, the entrance age to Teachers College. This was the reason for most cases at my time. [1930] (I would have preferred to have started a University course but to do this would have received no financial assistance and my parents could not have afforded my support.)
- Adelaide Teachers College was so overcrowded (in 1930) that many High School students were drafted to Junior Teaching. (I would have preferred School of Arts - Drawing, Draftsmanship, Architecture - lack of finances prevented this.)

Readiness for the role of a junior teacher

Respondents were asked to recall whether or not they felt ready to take on the role of a junior teacher immediately after leaving school themselves. Not surprisingly, in view of what some had

already said about the lack of choice in this matter, a quarter of them pointed out that as far as they were concerned, readiness did not come into it. They simply had no choice, either because they were underqualified, or because they needed to begin earning. Of the other three-quarters, some 63% recalled feeling ready to take on such a job and the rest did not.

Those who felt ready

Four of these respondents simply wrote 'Yes' and one other added 'Though so young, decidedly so'. The rest explained or qualified their affirmation of readiness in some way. There were those who felt that they had sound background reasons for feeling ready. Some came from a teaching family:

- Yes - I felt I could base my standards on those achieved by my father, who was a well respected Head Master.
- Teaching ran in the family - father, sister, brother. I seemed to have a natural aptitude towards teaching and handling children. Others had already had some practical experience in teaching, caring or leadership:
- I had already had two years' teaching experience as a paid monitor in my local school after I left Primary School, so I felt more or less prepared for that role.
- I was always interested in children & often acted as a 'nurse- maid' to younger ones – relations' or friends' children.
- Yes because I had held many controlling positions whilst at High School - Head Prefect, Captain for three different sports - football, cricket, tennis.

For others the opportunity fitted in well with why they wanted to teach:

- Yes - I loved children, especially infants.
- I always felt confident that I would be able to teach. Teaching had been my aim from a very early age.

One respondent felt ready because of the immediate help extended to her in the school:

- Yes - with the help of the other teachers.

Those who did not feel ready

Three respondents simply wrote 'No' and one added 'Emphatically No'. Several others recalled feeling unready because of certain perceived personal inadequacies:

- Not really - as I was rather shy and reserved.
- I was too immature.
- No - I was a young, very immature school-girl.

One did not even feel that she was a teacher:

- No - I did not think of myself as a teacher - probably felt I was a student, but was keen to

start my training.

Another felt unprepared for several reasons:

- One was given no introduction or training. At the age of 16 the prospect was not attractive, particularly as most of the children were well known to me – including a number of my close relatives.

Those who had not considered readiness

Of the 25% of respondents who did not recall having considered readiness, some put this down to being thrust into the role:

- No opportunity to think about it.
- I had no idea what I could expect. I guess I was scared.
- I had no concept of what was required until I actually entered the classroom. I originally expected it to involve solely observation but found allocation to class teaching a complete surprise in 1930.

The rest simply faced up to what had to be done in order to get on with their career aspirations:

- You did not have any choice to analyse your feelings - to consider pros and cons. If you wanted a higher education at that time [1923] and your parents were average hard working people - then the choice was meagre.
- No - had no choice about JT work. As the University age was 17 & I didn't turn 17 until mid March, Junior Teaching was the alternative. The Education Department made the ruling.
- I think I regarded it as a necessary part leading up to entrance to the Teachers College.
- The next step was the Teachers College.
- I don't think I knew anything about the role of a junior teacher. I just wanted to be an infant teacher and went along with the requirements.
- I didn't know much about it. I accepted the situation and had no regrets during my year as a JT.

One male respondent, aged just 15 at the time, and who would have become a carpenter but for the intervention of his step father, gave a rather deeper insight into what it was like to come from a disadvantaged family in 1926 as he explained why he had not considered readiness:

- I had not left [school] - this year was a hiatus. As my mother had been left a widow with six young children and I was the eldest, I had already worked on a milk run in the early morning hours and had been an usher at picture theatres. This was just another job as I remember.

Of the respondents from the old system of 1919, one recalled that he was ready, another felt that she was not ready for the responsibility and the third only considered the matter later:

- Didn't put the question to myself. Some (not many) years later I realised that I was far from

ready. Not yet 17, rather immature for my age both physically & personally. Hadn't finished growing by 2-3 inches, there were boys in the school taller & bigger than I. Wore long pants for the first time and was aware of it. Usually then 15, 16 & even 17 year old school boys used to wear shorts.

Further insights into readiness were provided by the responses to the final part of Question 1 where respondents were asked to try to remember how they felt on leaving home and as they approached the school on the first day.

On leaving home to begin junior teaching

As was seen in the concrete data, all but a few of these respondents were able to live at home. It is not surprising then that about half of them either left the space blank or indicated in a variety of ways that they had not left home. The other half interpreted the question in terms of leaving home to begin a new way of life and their answers reveal something of the worries and concerns or the confidence and bravado of teenagers about to face a challenge. Some, including two who had to board away, recalled having few qualms about it:

- Rather an adventure. I had been to Adelaide only once before. Relations were in the city so had a feeling of security during the JT year.
- I was near home and felt that help was at hand if needed. I was pleased to take the first step towards teaching, a career I had decided on years before.
- Delighted that I was starting my career as a teacher.
- Quite confident (Many student teachers were not offered employment in that year [1929])
- Quite blase. My companion JT at Norwood was an ex-High School mate and we were able to continually discuss daily events.
- I rode a bicycle and proudly joined the staff.

Some recalled being excited but generally feelings were mixed:

- Probably nervous excitement.
- One of excitement and wondering and nervousness.
- Curious & apprehensive.
- Nervous anticipation.
- Shy, uncertain, nervous, alone.
- I felt unsure about how I might be accepted as a staff member by students & school staff.

Only one respondent recalled a lack of any definite feelings as she left home that day:

- I cannot remember any particular feelings of either apprehension or elation. I just went to Glenelg infant School and hoped all would be well!

Of the 1919 respondents, one was 'elated' and the other two admitted to being 'nervous'.

On approaching the school on the first day

All but three respondents could recall their feelings as they were about to begin as junior teachers. The one noted above with no particular feelings either way on leaving home felt the same way as she headed into the school:

- I walked from my home, introduced myself to the Infant Mistress, accepted what she told me to do and settled in!

Only a very few recalled being particularly excited or keen:

- Adventure!
- I looked forward with some excitement to making new friends. I had no doubts about my ability to cope.
- Excitement and keen to start. Fortunately I had been a student at the school all my school life except for one year at Adelaide High School.

For most of the others, any excitement was tempered by some degree of anxiety. For some this anxiety was quite mild:

- Excitement about starting my life's vocation. A sense of fear and wonderment about the degree of success I might achieve.
- Naturally I wondered what was in store for me. I don't think that I was unduly nervous or apprehensive.
- Felt a degree of tension but was not unduly nervous.
- Just hoped I'd made the right decision.
- Embarrassed by the stares.
- A feeling of awe but not fear. HM, staff, very early on treated me as a staff member.
- Nervous but had to measure up. Staff were very supportive & HM concerned to help.

Others recalled stronger feelings of anxiety:

- Some temerity - even closely trauma.
- Distinctly nervous.
- Very apprehensive but the first step to becoming a teacher.
- Insignificant, still a school girl, uncomfortable.

A couple had good reason to be worried:

- Experienced some trepidation because the Head Mistress was well known as a very strict disciplinarian.
- The transfer to Campbelltown (in May) was immediate allotment to teaching [after a term as a supernumerary] of Grades 4 & 5. The problems were 'mind-boggling' - approx. 40 children in the same room as HM's Grades 6 & 7.

Of the rest, a number derived comfort from the fact that the school they were approaching was one that they knew well. In most cases they had attended it earlier, generally as primary students:

- I had been a student there 4 years before so I was on familiar ground.
- I was approaching my old school - I felt confident that I would be all right as going back there seemed like going home.
- I was appointed to a school I had left only 4 years before, and which my young brother had only just left.

One other was returning to the secondary school that he had just left:

- I was merely changing from student to teacher in conditions with which I was familiar.

In one other high school, the respondent had become a junior teacher part way through the year and he recalled that it was 'Simply a change of 'status' as it was mid year'.

There were however, a few respondents for whom the prospect of returning to familiar surroundings caused some concerns:

- A strange feeling of uncertainty because I was returning to the school I had left 4 years before and many of the upper grade children were at school then. New Head though!
- I knew the school, the teachers and the pupils were relatives of the children with whom I had attended High School. I felt at home, but a little apprehensive.
- Apprehension - as 2 of my younger sisters were still attending that primary school - our family was well-known in Kapunda - having been born and reared there.

Indeed, one respondent from 1923 was pleased that he was <u>not</u> going to a school where he was known:

- The one factor that stood me in great comfort was that I had not attended the school. Knew no-one there - and you made the best of it - if you wanted to have an education.

Of the 1919 respondents, one was 'proud' to be in a high school, one was nervous about her appointment and the third encapsulated the uncertainty and inevitability of the old order that, as can be seen from several of the later answers, had carried over to some extent into McCoy's reformed system:

- Trepidant but like going to the dentist! Something to be faced. (No choice in 1919)

QU. 2 LEVELS OF SATISFACTION - DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

This question asked respondents to recall aspects of the junior teacher experience that they found very satisfactory, less satisfactory and unsatisfactory. They were then asked to detail any difficulties that they had encountered in relating to the children, the other teachers or the townspeople and to explain how they had coped with such problems.

The very satisfying aspects

One respondent left this space blank, another put a question mark and two others made negative comments, the first of which was simply 'None'. The other, who was the respondent noted earlier as being a supernumerary in an Art Centre, went into rather more detail:

- None from memory. At the time I don't think there was feeling one way or the other. It was most important to study so looking back it was a marking time period.

Of the rest, some recalled just one satisfying aspect while others remembered several. These ranged from simply enjoying the experience itself to more specific aspects such as those recalled by the respondent from Victoria:

- The confidence imposed in me, the response & respect of the children (We called them 'scholars' or 'pupils' - not this pretentious term 'student'), the challenge of instructing them and the sense that I liked teaching and had the aptitude for it. The acceptance as a junior, and otherwise an equal, by the other teachers.

Aspects of teaching were rated highly, too, by other respondents. There were those who just found it enjoyable and most of them went on to say why:

- I just liked it.
- I enjoyed the whole time in surroundings with which I was totally familiar.
- I enjoyed the whole experience and, I think, had the advantage of knowing all the pupils and their families.
- My whole year was happy. The teachers were kind and helpful, particularly the one in whose charge I was first put.

Others were very satisfied to find that they had chosen the right career:

- I knew my choice of career was right.
- The discovery that I enjoyed teaching.

However, it was a feeling of success - general or specific - that attracted most comments here:

- Sense of progress in my chosen career.
- As a young student you had to adapt - and one did ultimately appreciate the confidence the young students (pupils) began to have in you.
- Work with Grade V was demanding and exacting. Day was long - (9 am to 4 pm) & exhausting at times for me but I felt I was doing a commendable effort.
- Gradual absorption of teaching methods - discipline was the most exacting but I learnt to favour congenial methods.
- A class of kids doing their best at whatever I set them.
- My achievements as sports master. My ability to control a class.
- I learnt to control a class without help. I was in a sink or swim situation.

Closely allied with this was the satisfaction of being given responsibility:

- Being left by Miss McKay to teach her class of Grade V boys. In the second half of the year I was given responsibility of teaching Geography and History (no Social Studies in those days) - Miss McKay was never far away, but she didn't intrude.
- Being responsible for 15 children including the Head's twin sons.
- Having responsibility for a class of children.

A couple found their satisfaction in teaching certain subjects:

- Subjects like History & Geography, as well as Arithmetic.
- Helping in physical exercises and basketball

Another group mentioned the children as the source of their satisfaction. Some made such simple statements as 'The children', 'Contact with scholars' or 'I enjoyed working with children' while others went into more detail:

- Discussing problems with my pupils.
- Satisfaction of guiding children and earning their respect.
- Helping children with special needs.
- Being with children and helping them to like school.
- Learning to know what made 'Johny' 'tick'.

Others found the contact with other staff very satisfying:

- The kindness shown by my Head Master.
- The companionship of teachers who went out of their way to help me.
- ... the interaction with the staff. The teachers readily accepted me as a fellow member & went out of their way to help me.
- ... and meeting friendly, helpful staff (on the whole).

Several anticipated a later question by indicating that their sense of satisfaction was related to having had some preparation for the practical teaching they were to face in due course. One made this his only point and two others added it to other aspects:

- The year was a great help & of great importance to my practical teaching in College.
- ... the class teaching as a J.T. gave me a great advantage ... in College work.
- ... I received excellent training for future days.

The responses from the 1919 junior teachers were on very similar lines. One recalled 'The help & Co-operation from HM & Staff' and the female found her 'interest in little children' as the source of her satisfaction. The other gave an interesting insight into the attitude of children to authority along with some comments on his personal satisfaction in teaching:

- Yes. Once I had 'got hold' of my 48 Gr 1V boys (didn't take long - for most 9-10 year olds

were amenable to authority 74 years ago, even of a 16-17 old, than later on). Yes - I fear being boss (& being bossy) did gratify me. I enjoyed teaching singing and poetry and what I misguidedly thought was History. Now I think of it as 'performing' lessons for the teacher. Yet I was hopeless at acting in plays or singing to an audience.

The less satisfying aspects

One respondent used the space to re-emphasise her satisfaction with the system:

- I found my job very satisfying and cannot recall any part being unsatisfactory or unsatisfying.

One other crossed out the 'less' and explained why:

- I remember feeling a little scared when given a class of my own in mid year but I think it was satisfying and I think I coped well.

Just over a third of the others left the space blank so it has to be presumed that they, too, found nothing less satisfying about the experience.

Of the rest, the largest number found the lack of preparation for the job and the lack of assistance with it as less than satisfactory:

- I had to go by trial and error. Staffing shortages [1929] really made me an assistant.
- The inadequate time devoted to 'teacher training'. The only reading material available was a textbook 'Green & Birchenough'. There was no mention of Psychology.
- Being assigned to classes in a relieving capacity. I hadn't the experience or maturity, but I profited. I learnt a lot about discipline.
- My inability to really know what I should be doing.
- Meeting situations that I didn't know how to cope with - e.g. unco-operative children.
- The disciplinary and supervisory aspects, especially during the early stages.
- Preparation of lessons.

Most of the other less than satisfactory aspects were recalled as individual problems and they ranged over a very wide area:

- Not being allowed to use my own ideas.
- Only that I would have preferred to be at University [the one who became a junior teacher 'as a last resort' in order to eventually do just that]
- The physical conditions - My 'room' was on an upstairs balcony - iron partition on the end - open to the North alongside a classroom.
- Perhaps only the miserly 12/6 ($1.25) per week which was my princely salary!
- Not having responsibilities.
- Not being in control of a class all the time.

- The Head Master was militant and very critical of my performance and offered no praise - he was extremely demanding of high percentage results in preparation for the general inspection.

Two particularly interesting comments came from the 1923 and 1924 respondents. It will be recalled from Chapter 2 that in 1890, W. J. Kennedy, in criticising the Pupil Teacher System for not being able to attract the right sort of applicants, had said that as soon as a boy became a monitor or pupil-teacher he instinctively thought that he was 'cut off' from the comradeship of boys he had hitherto associated with. Both these respondents commented on this very issue as a less satisfying aspect of the Junior Teacher System:

- You had to alienate yourself from the senior students. You could not fraternize for if you did you immediately lost your standing. [the 15 year old from 1923]
- Loss of contact with peers. [the one who became a JT during the year when he was the Head Prefect]

Two of the 1919 respondents left this space blank but the other reflected the attitude of the times:

- I think most of us poor JTs took the rough with the smooth. Didn't expect to find even the tough bits 'unsatisfactory'.

The unsatisfactory aspects

The majority of these respondents found nothing unsatisfactory about their time as a junior teacher. Over 65% of them merely left the space blank and several others made a comment ranging from 'No' to 'None that I remember', 'No real complaints', and 'Practically nothing, as far as I can remember'. One female respondent from 1930 who had found nothing very satisfactory, or even less satisfactory, about the experience used this space to re-emphasise that fact:

- Every aspect. A most unrewarding, lonely year.

The female who had found nothing very satisfactory about her experience in an Art Centre also re-emphasised that aspect:

- It was unsatisfactory in that I was neither a teacher nor a student and felt so, but the staff had to accept me.

Of the rest, several found the demands of the job unsatisfactory:

- At times regular staff had a tendency to impose upon you.
- I would have appreciated more study time. I had none after the February Supplementary Exams. [he needed Leaving Latin]
- Classes of 70+ were rather demanding; especially as [in 1926] every piece of written work had to be corrected for the inspector.

One respondent recalled being saved from the one aspect of the curriculum that he would have found unsatisfactory:

- Singing and music I was not competent to handle, but fortunately I was relieved of that by the Head Master.

Three others found the physical conditions unsatisfactory:

- Having to share room with the rest of Grades 1 & 11 [she had a remedial group of 18 and a very difficult supervisory teacher]
- The classroom was a partly enclosed verandah area on an upper storey of the school building. We were exposed to the extremes of summer and winter.
- Absolutely no access to teaching aids, reference library or suitable blackboard. (my b.b. was a 3' by 3' board on an easel)

There was only one complaint about the pay and it was a somewhat muted one:

- Really nothing except the pittance paid for full time work.

Only one of the 1919 respondents commented here and again it was a useful insight into the nature of the times:

- 'Ours was not to reason why' - or be dissatisfied. Men, women, junior teachers & even children were less demanding then. C'est la vie!

Difficulties in relationships

Respondents were asked to recall any difficulties they had encountered in relating to the children, other teachers or the town and its people and to explain how they remembered coping with such problems. The majority of them seemed to have had few such problems. Close to a third either left the space blank or wrote a very brief comment to the effect that they either had no problems or could remember none. Only one respondent explained this aspect in any detail. He recalled that he had made it his life's practice not to discuss such problems outside of school:

- I was living at home - I developed a philosophy of not bringing school problems home. In the whole 50 years of teaching, I carried that out - hence the fact of 'talking shop' was eliminated.

Of the rest, over two-thirds used the space to emphasise how well they had related to the various groups rather than to raise any problems. The problems raised by the rest mainly concerned relationships with children or other teachers. Several respondents had difficulty in relating to children for various reasons. Two of them were in their home schools in the country:

- Since I knew all the children by Christian names, had gone to school with them and had associated with them on numerous occasions, I found some difficulty in control in the Grade V11 class. [where he took occasional lessons]

- There were younger cousins at school who had not had the home training that I was fortunate to have & naturally they caused trouble & abused me & encouraged their friends to do likewise. [a 19 year old female]

One other female was in a metropolitan school where a very different kind of problem was prevalent:

- Le Fevre Peninsula School was at Glanville - not a town as such in the accepted sense. Children came from Birkenhead, Peterhead and Semaphore. It was already the Depression and many of the fathers were out of work. Stealing was a problem and strict supervision was needed. Cases were always reported to the parents concerned.

Another female had a problem that she and the children had to share:

- When given my own class, the physical conditions were not the best as there was no spare classroom so the children and I had to make do with a verandah enclosed on 3 sides only. Would that be allowed nowadays ?

All the others who mentioned relationships with the children took the opportunity to say how good these were or to explain why they had few difficulties:

- I enjoyed an excellent student relationship.
- The children were great - One could get questions such as 'Did you play football for the University?' - a compliment? [for a 15 year old in 1926]
- Students in those days [1928] were much easier to teach than in my later teaching days. I finished in 1975 & believe teaching now is very difficult.
- I quickly established a good relationship with the children in my care. I was confident I would cope.
- I found few difficulties in relating to the children. Perhaps this was because I was one of eight children, five of whom were younger than I was & in such a family the older members necessarily take some responsibility for the younger ones.
- No difficulties relating to the children or parents as I was a 'local'...

Even the female who had found 'every aspect unsatisfactory' in the previous section was able to say here that:

- The 20 or so girls were fairly well behaved and were not a problem.

One male respondent did not need to mention the children as he explained why he had no problems in relationships:

- Nothing. I just revelled in it all, especially as I was conscious that I seemed to be a natural teacher, with a long way to go, of course, but eager to improve my ability.

Only a few of those who recalled their relationships with other teachers had encountered any difficulties and usually these were problems with individuals:

- A feeling of non-acceptance by some of the female members of staff. [a male in a high school]
- Only one teacher [her supervisor] presented any problems, the others were wonderful.
- I was never encouraged by the H.M. to interrupt his time by seeking advice.
- ... but some teachers were less enthusiastic. [than the children & parents who knew her as a 'local'] (one male teacher never addressed me in a year).

The respondent noted earlier as finding every aspect unsatisfactory as she endured 'a most unrewarding, lonely year' did have a problem with the whole staff in a central school:

- I was too shy to relate to the other teachers who were so much older than I was, and who took almost no notice of me when we met in the lunch room or at any other time.

The rest were able to refer to good relationships with other staff:

- No difficulties with the teachers.
- I cannot recall any teacher treating me other than as a junior colleague.
- The staff were interested in my case as they had little experience working with a JT.
- No real difficulties. I could always rely on the other teachers to advise and assist with any problems which occurred.
- ... all members of staff could be approached for advice.
- I was extremely lucky in both schools ... I was learning about & doing work I wanted to do & and was helped and advised by the other members of staff.

Few respondents commented on relationships with parents and only one of them had a problem. He was in a large metropolitan primary school and gave no real details about the problem or how he coped with it:

- I lacked the ability to establish good parent-teacher relationships.

A male in a similar school recalled little contact with parents:

- Goodwood school was less than a mile from my home. I saw very little of parents except when Miss McKay held an 'open day'. No problem for me with parents.

The situation for those in the country was very different:

- No - I was a local girl and I knew many of the families.
- No problems as I had lived in the town all my life.
- I was well known and I think well liked by the townsfolk. I did not have to establish myself.

Of the respondents from 1919, one male recalled as a difficulty what would now be probably considered a significant 'put down' by a staff member:

- The lady teacher of the Junior Shorthand class - on first lesson 'Shall I introduce you as Mr Burr or Fred?' (The girls were nearer my age).

The female respondent recalled no difficulties and the other male commented on relationships with children, other teachers and parents:

- I think we all had to struggle to establish discipline; some quickly; others, a wearing & unpleasant battle. Other teachers were willing always, to be helpful, but they had classes of 60 to over 70. Parents? Very few came to the school & most of those who did had a complaint to make. Home & school - were largely separate worlds.

QU. 3 TREATMENT BY THE HEAD - HELP, SUPPORT AND DUTY - ASSESSMENT

Respondents were asked firstly to recall how the Head had treated them and to describe the type of help and support he/she had given. They then had to assess whether they thought the Head had done his/her duty by them and the classes they had taught. They also had to consider the help given by other teachers and to try to recall whether or not they had been any official assessment of their work. The question concluded with an opportunity for them to assess the level of their success.

Part of this question had already been canvassed in the concrete data where it was found that some 75% of respondents had recalled receiving help of some kind from the Head or from other teachers. A number of them had already described what that help was but now they had to consider such factors as interpersonal conduct and social relationships in order to indicate how it was given and to evaluate whether, in the case of the Head, it constituted duty being done. The majority of the respondents - some 70% - believed that they had been treated well by the Head and most were able to give one or more reasons why they felt that way. Of the rest, one left the space blank, four had doubts about it and five others believed that they had not been treated well or helped.

Those treated well

One respondent recalled that his Head '... could not have treated me better' and another simply wrote 'O.K' but most others were able to supply details in support of their belief that they had been treated well. One female appreciated the Head treating her 'as one of the staff' even though she added that his 'routine was very strict - almost a martinet'. Many recalled only the helpfulness and supportiveness of the Head:

- He was most helpful in every way.
- He helped me very much. Was thoughtful & gave me his time when he was free.
- The Head was always ready to listen to my problems & was usually there when trouble threatened.
- The H.T. did all he could to prepare me for my teaching career. I was one of the first J.T.'s the school had had, and in organisation, discipline, record keeping & teaching practice I lacked very little.
- The main support was undoubtable control and discipline. The fact that he was in the same

room was the main help. He was however, most careful that any interference was neither blatant nor likely to affect my own confidence and control.

- The Head was always helpful. He gave me confidence to approach him when necessary for advice when needed.
- She [the Infant Mistress] took a lesson for me from time to time & was always available with help and advice. She made examples of rolls, programs, reviews, accessible so that I got an idea of how things were done.
- I could not have wished for more support & good advice from one of the 'greats' of the Ed. Dept, in Mr F.G.N. Cawte (the Headmaster).

Only two respondents referred here to any help provided in a formal context. One simply noted that she had already mentioned the morning lessons in the concrete section. The other gave similar details:

- There were weekly early morning lectures - 40 mins from 'A Primer of Teaching Practice' by Green & Birchenough.

Others remembered the kindness and understanding shown by the Head:

- The Head Mistress was kind and sympathetic - seemed to understand the difficulties with junior teaching (large classes, immature teacher).
- Mr Johncock - Principal: a kindly, benevolent old gentleman took a keen interest in what I was doing.
- The Head treated me as one of his family (he had taught me from Grade V1 to Intermediate). He was very helpful - in giving me help & support he made me think I could do 'anything'.
- Although a Junior Teacher, I was treated by the Head Mistress as a Teacher, especially in front of the children. During University terms my day started at 6 am - and 3 nights a week I did not get home to Outer Harbour by train until 10.20 pm. The H.M. always gave me special consideration for this.

Some respondents appreciated the confidence placed in them:

- He seemed to have complete confidence in me - happy for me to have charge of his class - Grade V11 - during his sick leave.
- The H.M. was considerate especially in that he gave me a maximum of freedom & responsibility which meant that respect from the children was forthcoming.
- ... I deemed it a great privilege to be given sole charge of a Grade V1 class.
- The Head Teacher was a friend. I was treated as if I was an assistant. Because of his own classroom commitments he could not demonstrate but he did discuss problems.

The respondent from Victoria summed up how it must have been to have been treated well:

- Admirably. My debt to Mr Kilfrender as a true mentor is undying. He was gentle but firm,

never intrusive or dictatorial, but always ready to listen and advise patiently. He treated me as a potential equal.

Those unsure of their treatment

Most of these respondents found the Head helpful and/or kindly but recalled some shortcomings as well:

- The HM was an elderly German - he had some very peculiar ideas & ways (e.g - a great believer in fairies). His early morning lessons were quite helpful - but throughout the period he never gave a demonstration lesson - He had many idiosyncrasies & he was nearly 70 years of age.
- Mr Bonner was a former Head of the Sturt Street Practising School & had very definite views about teaching practices. I heard about these in our morning sessions. I suppose he should have given one more support during my relieving stints (he seldom, if ever, came near me) but I suspect I was glad enough to find my own way.
- My Head Master, Mr Johncock, was a very kind and gentle superior. He helped me through difficulties, but I felt he did not impart enough theoretical knowledge.
- With respect [but] apart from 'study' periods & 'crit' lessons left me to the care of the Infant teacher.

Those who were not helped

Two of these respondents recalled some good aspect about the Head but could not say that he had helped them in any way:

- The Head was kindly but offered no help.
- I don't remember getting any help - he was a good man and well respected, but in my opinion rather weak as he did not help my position. [she was the one noted earlier as having trouble with younger cousins]

The rest could recall nothing good about their treatment. One male who had already identified his 'militant and very critical' Head as the unsatisfactory aspect of being a junior teacher went on to explain how he survived such ill treatment:

- Assistant (Grades 1,2,3,) completely took over H.M.'s value as an advisor - if her aid had not been so generous I probably would have had a nervous collapse - her main philosophy was 'Learn to love the children'.

The female respondent who had found nothing satisfactory about the whole year described the way her Head had behaved:

- The Head Mistress [of the Central School] was formal, severe in manner, and gave me no

help whatsoever in managing a class. It was hard to believe that she not once came and gave a lesson, or let me watch another teacher. She barely conversed with me, and spent practically all her time in her office - even lunchtime.

The respondent in an infant school who had to report to the Head of the whole school rather than to the Infant Mistress recalled little help from him:

- Apart from the weekly meetings with the H.M., I had little or no contact with the Primary School. I always had the feeling that the Head regarded our half-hour weekly sessions as quite unnecessary - reading the book was all we did.

Of the three from 1919, one male believed he had been treated well:

- HM gave special instruction twice a week and was most helpful in planning my program of lessons.

The other male referred again to what he had said in the concrete section about the Head starting the morning training sessions well and then allowing them to 'fade, bit by bit' until they ceased altogether for two or three months. Otherwise though, he recalled him as:

- ... Kindly & usually courteous; addressed us always, even on a casual meetings and encounters, but especially when pupils were around, as Miss & Mister, as he did his teachers.

The female did not remember this aspect.

Did Heads do their duty by the junior teachers and their classes?

It might well have been expected that those who had been treated well and/or helped and supported would also have considered that the Head's duty had been done. However, only 55% believed that duty had been done compared with the 70% who had been treated well. Not surprisingly those who felt that they had been treated poorly also believed that the Head had failed in his or her duty as did most of those who had doubts about their treatment.

Most of those who differentiated between treatment and duty felt it necessary to add something in the way of an explanation. One who did not had believed that the Head had complete confidence in him but he answered this part with a question mark and did not explain why. The others perceived a sense of neglect of some important aspect despite having been otherwise well treated. Some were able to see some personal benefit flow from the way the Head had neglected them while others found an excuse for it. One respondent whose Head Mistress had been kind, sympathetic and understanding recalled another side of her treatment:

- I was left mainly to work out 'my own salvation' so to speak. The freedom to pursue my own ideas, helped me in future situations.

Another who had appreciated the 'measure of freedom and responsibility' given to him by the Head recalled a different feeling about duty:

- I didn't want it & didn't get it. He was likely to come in for a lesson & leave the children in fits of laughter for me to restore order and carry on. This made it clear to the children that I was the teacher & they must act accordingly.

One who was in the same room as the Head and who received his main support in discipline and control felt that the Head had neglected other aspects:

- He gave me few guides on teaching methods & clearly he was not trained to do so - as were those at practising school.

Another respondent whose Head had shown 'keen interest' in what he was doing recalled a different practical side to it:

- Yes - he did not give much advice himself but made time available for his Chief Assistant to supervise and assist me. Nevertheless, it was still a good deal of 'sink or swim'.

Several of those who had had doubts about their treatment by the Head also tended to excuse him. One who had described his almost 70 year old Head as having 'many idiosyncrasies' could also see why his duty may have been other than with the progress of his junior teachers:

- He was one of the old school - very set in his ways and his teaching was dominated by his strict adherence to the 3Rs. Supplementary activities had no place in his school. The final aim was the possession of the Grade 8 (Fifth Class) Qualifying Certificate. This opened up avenues to many jobs, including Nursing etc.

One other who had felt that the Head should have given him more support while he did his 'relieving stints' later came to realise that he had benefited in other ways:

- My first appointment as a teacher was to a one-teacher school of 35 children in 7 grades (including 10 part Aboriginals). Thanks to Mr Bonner I had a good knowledge of the Courses of Instruction (for all grades) & I had heard from him a great deal about discipline and ways of achieving it, the need for attention etc. All this stood me in good stead in my early teaching days.

Others, however, just felt that the Head had neglected his duty:

- I was frequently left to my own devices. I taught in the same way as my father who had been my H.M. during my primary school days.
- Head was helpful but left direct support to the Infant Teacher whom I was to assist.

Those who felt that they had been poorly treated also believed that duty had not been done. The one who felt that her Head was 'rather weak' did not write anything about him doing his duty but the inference is clear enough in her earlier statement. Others simply explained why they felt duty had not been done. The respondent with the 'militant & very critical' Head saw that man's duty lying

elsewhere:

- He definitely did the duty required by the District Inspector – to strictly establish high percentages in basics (Spelling, Mental, Arith, Reading, Composition).

The one who had to go to the Primary School for lessons with a Head whom she felt regarded them as 'quite unnecessary' recalled how she was treated:

- ... the Head gave me minimal help - that was left to my supervising teacher and once I was on my own - I was on my own. [when she got a class in mid year]

The one with the 'formal, severe' Head Mistress was the only one to take up the final part of this question and comment on whether duty was done to the class as well:

- The Head did not do her duty by me or the class. Those children must have been disadvantaged by spending a year of their schooling with someone completely untrained and so immature. She could have taken lessons while I watched.

Two others who had not been helped by the Head were prepared to waive the question of duty. One whose Head was kindly but who had offered no help found excuses for him:

- In those days [1930] Heads were aloof and I was given necessary help from staff members.

The one who was posted to a central school to assist in the Art Centre believed that the question of duty or treatment by the Head did not apply in her particular case:

- As I was not responsible for a class it was not necessary for me to need help. The Art teacher was compatible.

A number of those who believed that the Head had done his/her duty simply wrote 'Yes' and several added 'See above' in a reference to the way they had been treated, helped and supported. Others made such brief statements as 'Very helpful' and 'Yes - in every way. I only had to ask'. One whose Head was a full-time teacher felt that he had to explain how duty was performed:

- He did what he had time to do. Advice and suggestions were given outside of school hours.

Others went into greater detail in order to describe the way they saw duty being carried out. The way the Head had acted clearly made a lasting influence on several respondents:

- The Head and his staff were fine, experienced teachers. His help & advice I remembered and used Throughout my teaching career. The Head wrote to me while I was in College, and also when I received my first appointment.
- His informal lunchtime sessions with the J.T.'s in his office laid the sure basis of my pedagogy. He was a wise, experienced & practical teacher of children & instructor of us neophytes.
- I never felt I was lacking support or help. I was amazed at the way children's attention could be gained and held and can remember explicit examples still.
- Yes - especially when it came to discipline concerning top grades. His approach to discipline

helped me greatly in dealing with wayward students.

One male felt the need to explain his particular situation and the way the Head was able to exercise his duty:

- It may appear strange that one so young and a beginner should be in charge of a Grade 6, but as Grades 4, 5, 6, 7 and 1st & 2nd Year classes were all in the same room with the Head Master and the male assistant, any assistance and supervision I needed were readily at hand. [a Higher Primary School in 1930]

The comments of one respondent about her Head Mistress contrast markedly with those noted above by the female whose Head Mistress had neglected her duty to the junior teacher and her class:

- The Head Mistress definitely did her duty by me and my class - taking classes for me to observe and when I took a class, <u>always</u> commenting on its good or indifferent points.

Of those from 1919, one simply wrote 'Yes'. the female left the space blank and the other male went into some more general detail:

- He, a nice, gentlemanly chap, thought he did his duty. He came into my class 'room' now and again, but he was too gentlemanly to say 'Why did you say that?' or 'Why didn't you etc'. Some H. M's were over zealous, a few were sadists (I had a blazing row with one on teaching practice as a Teachers College student, 1921). But since I was in full time charge of my class of 48 Grade 4 (smallest class in the school) systematic help could have been given only before or after school ... 'After' would have meant beginning no earlier than 4.30. All conscientious teachers kept a few to several pupils back to finish something, correct something or to write impositions.

Help from other staff

All of these respondents were in schools where there was at least one other teacher besides the Head and most were in even larger ones. About a third of them found the other teachers unhelpful. Four left the question unanswered and others gave a variety of details of why they recalled feeling neglected in this regard:

- You were a member of staff & you had to paddle your own canoe! Many staff had large classes in 1923 - & a great deal of marking. Mental Arithmetic; Transcription; Dictation; CopyBook Writing; Drawing Books; Grammar; Arithmetic etc - all these were examined by Inspectors - classification & salary depended on his assessment.
- In the main I was left to proceed as though I was a fully trained teacher. One teacher did give me excellent support with my 'Sports Master' activities.
- I cannot remember other staff giving help.
- I don't remember help from the other teachers. The Infant Teacher of Grades 1 & 11 was

always pleasant to me, but never offered suggestions. My sister in law (ex-teacher) gave me a lot of help.

- I had no help from any of the staff. I would like to have been able to watch teachers in their classes or have a teacher take my class. I just used the set curriculum books - Readers, Spelling, Arithmetic, and Tables. Copy Writing, Children's Hours - and went page by page each week.
- There was no other staff than the female teacher of Grades 1 - 3. I [a male] saw very little of her.

One male respondent preferred not to seek help:

- Staff were particularly helpful but I found it better to stand on my own two feet.

A female respondent turned the answer around to show that in fact she was the helper - to the staff:

- I was actually used in any capacity where and when needed.

The rest recalled getting help. A few made such general statements as 'Yes', 'Very helpful', 'I felt I was just another staff member' and 'I was assisted in preparation of lessons in every possible way', while others went into rather more detail. Several made it clear that they had to seek help:

- All members of staff were very helpful & gave valuable advice & help when approached. They gave me support & the feeling that I belonged to the organization.
- Staff were generally friendly and helpful when approached for assistance or advice. They were, in the main, all old and experienced teachers.

Others recalled help being readily offered:

- Every staff member helped me. They set standards in dress, speech and behaviour in the community where they were highly respected. An excellent pattern for a young teacher-to-be.
- Staff were friendly - willing to point out 'unseen' pitfalls for the unwary, e.g. treatment of parents.
- I was regarded by the staff as one of them. I noted what they did & joined in all their activities in the ordinary day to day way. Looking back. I'm sure it was a happy introduction to my future teaching life.

Some remembered the help given by particular staff members:

- The Grade 2 teacher, Miss Hill, assisted me with programming, preparation of aids, standards to be reached and suggestions. Other staff members gave assistance.
- The male teacher, in charge of Grades 4 & 5 & who was also responsible for some super-primary subjects, and the female teacher with Grades 1 - 3, in a separate room, were both very helpful and encouraging to me.
- Term 1, I was assigned to a teacher of Grades 1V & V who tended to demonstrate & 'show off' too much. Terms 11 & 11 I was given charge of Grade 11 (35) alone and entirely - it

was good with help from the Infant teacher & Head.

Others recalled particular situations:

- Staff members gave me most help in the schoolyard. Yard duty was shared by all, encouraging all children to take part in games, marching, rhythm etc. & keeping attempts at 'bullying' in hand.
- Two junior teachers shared the grade 4 girls (20 each) while the Grade 4 boys & their teacher were also in the same room (at the other end). The boys were sometimes told to 'put down pens' & listen to Miss ..., either in a history or geography lesson. In return, the Grade 4 boys' teacher took the whole room for singing.

In the larger schools, senior teachers and specially assigned supervisors were the source of most assistance:

- The Senior Masters were always willing to assist if I had problems. [high school]
- The Chief Assistant could not have done better. He supported me with discipline problems (few in number) and gave advice on techniques of teaching. This was invaluable as he was the leader of the assistants. [primary school]
- The senior teacher, formerly a H.M., in dealing with the Courses of Instruction outlined how he would teach the various subjects. All this was helpful, but I profited most from working with Miss McKay - she was an outstandingly skilful teacher of those days.
- All did the same as the Head, so I remember them all by name, Mr Newman, in particular, the senior master, was a companion & friend, a lively wit & an original thinker & inventive teacher.

Assessment of time in the school

A third of these respondents recalled no assessment of their time as a junior teacher. Three of them left the space blank, two wrote 'No' and the most of the rest said something like 'Not as far as I know', 'Have no recollection of any assessment' or simply 'I don't know'. One other 'supposed' that there had been an assessment but went on to say that he had no knowledge of it. Only one recalled any detail to support his feeling that there had been no assessment:

- I do not know if any assessment was made. I cannot recall that the H.M. ever visited Miss McKay's class. Never did he see me at work.

The rest recalled some aspect that suggested that a report had been written and most connected it with the role of the Head and/or the Inspector. The comment of one respondent highlighted the general importance of reporting and assessing in the 1920s:

- Inspectors spent at least a week at the school each year. In those days 'reports' were the 'blood stream' of the Education Department. Teachers wrote a report on students. The HM

wrote a report on every staff member, and the Inspector did the same. Promotion under the existing 'Skill Mark' scheme came from reports. My report was written by the HM & Inspector.

What is particularly interesting about this reporting system is that few of the respondents seemed to know what was in the report, to have actually seen it, or to know what happened to it. However, several of them did recall the details of the actual inspection:

- I was in charge of Grade V1 girls when the Inspector made his annual assessment. I took the class (I think about 70) for him to assess my ability. Whether his report went further than the Head Master, I have no idea.
- At the time of the School Annual Inspection, I was sent to the room of the other Grade 3 teacher (who must have had at least 60 children). I was asked to stand in front of them and ask questions - possibly Mental Arithmetic or Spelling etc.

Others also recalled the lead up to the inspectorial visit and the role of the Head in preparing them for it:

- I prepared 3 special lessons daily. The lesson was analysed for me, and I was given marks for each lesson. My observation notebook was marked weekly. Once a term the Head gave me a methodology test on the lessons he had given me throughout the term. The D.I. (School Inspector) inspected me handling a class and giving lessons on two occasions during the year. He wrote a report on my work.
- Weekly assessment of a prepared lesson by the Head Master. Incidental & detailed assessment by the District Inspector as for other members of staff.
- I believe that a report was written - prepared by the Chief Assistant and the Head Master. The District Inspector, Mr Pitt, spent some time with me at his Annual Inspection of the school.
- Within the school, it was mainly informal and descriptive. There was also the D.I.'s report. In the latter, in particular, I did very well, as we were fellow members of the Literary and Shakespearian Society and he praised me for the talks I gave that body.

Other respondents remembered only that a report was written:

- Inspectorial visits and Headmaster reports were forwarded to the Education Department.
- A report was issued by the Inspector and later forwarded to the Teachers College by the H.M. (fortunately I was never able to see this report). [he was the one who found the Head 'militant and very critical']
- A written report by the Head with comments by the District Inspector. What happened then heavens knows.
- The normal inspection was undertaken. I never saw the report he made, but he was kindly & encouraging to me personally.

- No doubt the Head Mistress had to write a report on my work, because I remember the Inspector mentioning it on his visit to the school.

Some recalled the Inspector's visit but not a report:

- So far as I know No! - other than the normal inspectorial visit.
- An Inspector visited the school but I cannot recollect any details.
- I guess so, but do not know as I was never invited to staff meetings etc. So did not know much about anything 'official'. My 'crit' book was shown to the Inspector.

Only a few respondents did not mention the role of the Inspector:

- Remember an assessment was given verbally - which was very encouraging.
- No assessment other than the Head Mistress's report. This, I believe, went on through the Head of the School.

Two respondents linked their report to getting into Teachers College:

- Then of course there was the Headmaster's report in support of my application for Teachers College.
- The only assessment that I recognized was perhaps the fact that I was accepted for training at the Teachers College the following year.

Only one of the respondents from 1919 recalled a report and it would seem from what he wrote that things had remained much the same for some junior teachers even after the McCoy reforms:

- HM wrote a report on each of us. District Inspector read it. Watched each of us give a lesson, & wrote his own report.

Self assessments

After having considered the way they were treated, the help and support they received and whether they recalled any official formal or informal assessment of their work, respondents were asked to assess their own level of success or failure in the role of junior teacher.

TABLE 10.5 **Respondents' Assessments of Levels of Success**

	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	Total	%
Very Successful	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	3	7	21 %
Successful (Qualified)	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	3	9 %
Moderately Successful	1	1	-	1	1	2	5	10	21	64 %
Failure	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 %
Other Response	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	6 %
Totals	1	1	0	2	2	2	8	17	33	100 %

The categories in the questionnaire suited all but three respondents who were unable to accept that they had been 'very' or 'moderately' successful. It was necessary to add a further category to the Table to accommodate those who qualified 'success' in this way. Taking into account the three categories of successful, 94% of these respondents recalled having achieved something worthwhile during their time as a junior teacher. All but four respondents took advantage of the space provided to explain why they felt as they did. Three of them left it blank and the other wrote a rather enigmatic 'No comment'. The comments of the others made it possible to identify some of the factors that made for high, moderate and low estimates of success in this period.

The very successful

Most respondents came to this conclusion because they had a feeling of having enjoyed the experience, of having done well, and of having been appreciated:

- Seems big-headed?? Enjoyed the staff, children, job. I was a teacher no longer a child. [he had begun as a 15-year-old]
- I knew I had gained the respect and admiration of the staff and the affection of my pupils. I was quite sorry when this phase in my life came to an end.
- They [1929/30] were some of the most formative years of my life. I loved the work, was aware of myself rapidly maturing, & discovered a genuine vocation for teaching.
- I had worked hard & the Head thanked me.
- I was praised by each member of staff. As I had taught before each of them at sometime in the year, I felt I had done reasonably well.

One other seemed to see the experience as having laid the basis for a very successful career:

- Very successful, because throughout my forty years of teaching, I received very satisfactory reports on my ability to impart knowledge.

Two of those who qualified their response also claimed to be successful because of what came after the junior teacher year:

- Successful. My teaching reports from demonstration schools while in Teachers College were very good indeed.
- I think I can claim to be successful, otherwise I would not have been selected for further training, as there was strong competition for positions due to the depression.

The other respondent saw it just as an experience he got through:

- It was explained to me by the HM that the purpose of my Junior Teachership was to give me first hand experience. I got that experience, so in this regard, the year for me was successful.

The moderately successful

Most of these responses were similar to those above but they tended to be expressed in more temperate language than the comments of those who had seen themselves as very successful. A number used the word 'moderately' to qualify what can generally be seen to be very sound achievements for inexperienced, untrained young people.

Several recalled being made aware of their success in one way or another:

- The Head seemed satisfied with the work I had done.
- I felt that I had a fulfilling year & that I had succeeded in furthering my ambitions by the reports of my supervising teacher, the Head and the District Inspector.
- I felt happy as I was considered capable of managing & teaching a class from Term 11 till the end of the year. A similar situation was rare but the Department made no effort to appoint another teacher to take over what a Junior Teacher was never intended to do. [1928]
- I felt that I had been moderately successful. My pupils had been happy, well behaved & had achieved what the Head considered very satisfactory academic results. Particularly pleasing was my acceptance as a colleague by the other teachers. It was for me a happy year.

Others gauged their success from the results of their teaching, their contact with children or the realization that they had made the right choice of career:

- All of my 15 children were promoted to Grade 1V. I loved the children & and they appeared to at least, like me. What more could a J.T. want?
- I knew I had been able to help several children by getting to know them & their families. That I was appreciated I knew by the loving nature of the goodbyes I received.
- I feel I was moderately successful in so far as I had good rapport with the students. I am sure that being from a family of 6 children helped me a great deal in relating to the children. I felt as if I had their trust.
- Always wanted to be a teacher and was lucky to have been given a class of 20 eight-year-old girls. At the end of the year I cried too, when we parted.
- I think I was moderately successful from my point of view. I don't know about the class. They would certainly have been better off with a trained teacher. However, we all got on well together. I decided I was in the right job after all & the children liked coming to school & all moved on to Upper 1.
- I had a good class & liked what I was doing.
- I enjoyed it, and was quite satisfied that I had made the right choice for my future.

There were several who simply felt that they had made moderately successful progress in a variety of ways. One recalled quickly coming to terms with teaching a class:

- Moderately successful in that my initial fears regarding control and other abilities were fairly soon overcome. Practically all the students reached a reasonable standard, and several reached quite high standards.

Another took some time to realise how valuable the experience had been:

- I recall that the task ahead of me (i.e. to become as efficient a teacher as those who had helped me) was formidable. After I began teaching in a one-teacher school, I realised how much the Head and staff had assisted me in the J.T. year.

The male noted earlier as being transferred in May to a teaching role and a very difficult Head, believed that he had been moderately successful but felt that he needed to add an explanation:

- Everything happened so 'suddenly' in the 8 months that I found it practically impossible to absorb.

Only one mentioned the experience as moderately successful in that it helped prepare her for the Teachers College:

- I probably approached the College with a little more confidence for having a year as a junior teacher.

Other responses

One respondent chose not to assess herself. The other was the female who had already indicated in several places that she had not had a happy experience. Apparently she did not see herself as a failure but the year was certainly not a success:

- I felt no different from what I had at the beginning of the year. I had learned nothing, and had spent the most miserable year of my life. I had seen nothing of Infant Schools, where the teaching was using new methods (like Montessori) which my young sister was enjoying at our local school.

Two of the 1919 respondents replied to this question. One based his level of success on examination results:

- Very successful - one boy earned a credit in his Leaving subject.

The other preferred to comment rather than to rate himself:

- I was told I was doing all right, but I didn't think of myself as very successful or moderately successful. I did not think of myself as a failure, either. If I'd been asked at the end of my first few months in 1919, I might have said not 'successful' but a grateful survivor.

QU. 4 AT THE TEACHERS COLLEGE - ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES

Following their own assessment of their time as junior teachers, respondents were asked to consider other aspects that could indicate measures of success or failure. The first of these was whether they entered the course of their choice. As was seen in the concrete data, only three respondents failed to enter the course of their choice and each of them referred again to the reason for this. There had been no intake in the Domestic Arts course for the respondent who had become a junior teacher in 1928 in the hope that there would be an opening there in 1929. The respondent who had been placed in an Art Centre in 1930 because she wanted to be an Art teacher was also frustrated in her ambition because the course was otherwise filled in 1931. The only one who shed any further light on her situation was the respondent who had wanted to be a Commercial teacher but who had first entered the C course. In the concrete data she explained why she asked to be moved out of that course. Here she explained why she had entered it in the first place:

- I entered the infant course, mainly, I believe, because an elder sister in our family had done this course. Half way through I switched to the Commercial course for reasons already explained.

Most of the rest simply wrote 'Yes' but a few added comments that further explained what a junior teacher could expect about his/her future at the College. One respondent explained how entry to the D course was obtained and why, after being nominated for consideration for that course, he did not get into it after his first year at the College:

- The course available was the "B" Course and according to first year results the "D" Course was available. In 1926 no additions to "D" were made from "B".

Two others were happy to be in the B course:

- Yes - the Primary Course offered the chance to complete 5 subjects of a degree plus professional subjects. [1926]
- Yes, I felt that primary levels were my limit and secondary were 'frightening'. [1930]

One respondent made a decision to shorten his course:

- Yes I entered the B course in 1928 and, in the following year, transferred (my decision) to Bx, so after one and a half years in College, I started my teaching career (on July 1, 1929). I did this for financial reasons, as did 15 or so others who transferred to Bx. I never regretted that decision.

One other explained how being a junior teacher had enabled him to avoid the A course:

- Yes, I entered the B Course as I had passed in English and German (Leaving) in my year as a J.T.

The respondent from the Victorian system explained his very special situation;

- Yes, the secondary course of 4 years. I insisted that I should do Honours & specialise in

English. Incredibly I got my way. Perhaps I was naive but I was not intimidated by the bureaucracy.

Only one of the 1919 respondents commented here and his answer illustrates what had changed at the College under the McCoy reforms and what had remained the same:

- Yes - except that only two courses were available (other than Domestic Arts & Woodwork), Infant teaching & Primary teaching. Secondary teachers took the Primary course of training & may or may not have had an extra year or two for degree studies.

The second part of the question required respondents to reflect on whether the time as a junior teacher had helped them in any way and over 80% of them believed that it had. Two of the others simply answered 'No' but two others seemed rather less definite in their replies of 'Not in any detail' and 'Not particularly'. Two others recalled why they did not feel advantaged. One was the respondent who was given experience of secondary Art but then put into the C course:

- That year's work did not prepare me in any way.

The other was the one who wanted to be an Infant teacher but who had had a thoroughly unhappy time in a primary school:

- No. I felt like an older sister just passing on what I had learnt in my own school days. I had marked time for a year.

The largest group of those who felt that they had been helped were the ones who saw the benefit of the experience when they had to face up to Teachers College, especially as regards practical teaching and the associated 'crit' lesson that was observed and commented upon by supervisors and peers:

- As a student in the "B" Course - and when one had to take 'criticism lessons' when doing 'Prac Teaching' - your approach, confidence and presentation were, if anything, greatly helped by your previous J.T. experience.
- Certainly. Teaching practice - criticism lesson in front of teachers, lecturers and students held no fears after having 'performed' in front of an old time inspector.
- My required teaching was invaluable & helped me with later College training & demonstration, observation and lessons taught.
- Dem teaching discipline.
- Yes - certainly in the art of practical teaching.
- Yes. I encountered some nervousness when doing teaching practice, at first, but quickly settled into the situation because of my year's good solid experience.
- Yes, a wonderful help. After a year in front of a class, lessons at Dem Schools did not fill me with terror.
- My time as a junior teacher definitely helped me - especially when preparing lessons for

criticism at the practising school.

- Very much: particularly in my practice teaching. I was also able to relate the Education theory and Psychology to my practice as a teacher. Certainly I was much more confident than I would otherwise have been.

Others did not mention practical teaching or 'crit' lessons but recalled improved personal growth that would certainly have been of benefit in such situations:

- I am sure that having been a JT helped me enormously. I was much more confident and self assured.
- I had learned to face a class without nervousness. The class, and I, expected me to control the class.
- Undoubted in that apart from the experience in teaching and securing a good relationship with the children, I certainly matured greatly & developed self-confidence.
- Yes - chiefly confidence in front of every eye watching.
- Definitely - classrooms no longer appeared as frightening areas.
- Yes - to mature and to handle a class.
- More confidence to tackle what lay ahead in very difficult economic times.
- The main benefit was to suddenly stabilize my daily rounds rather than be free and frivolous.

The respondent from Victoria recalled gaining the confidence that enabled him to insist on his special course at the Teachers College:

- Yes ... The very fact that I had already externally passed two University subjects proved that I was not over-estimating my ability.

One respondent saw the real benefit coming after he had completed College:

- The brief answer is - immensely. I succeeded right from the start as a teacher in my own school and had the confidence to give expression to my own ideas.

Another had a misgiving about the experience despite recognising a decided personal benefit:

- Yes, it gave me confidence in the classroom but it did nothing to mend fundamental errors in my approach.

For others, the advantages came from particular understandings they had picked up:

- 1931/32 were still depression years and again I feel that my experience as a Junior Teacher [in the Port Adelaide area in 1930] helped me understand children a great deal.
- Not so much in teaching skills but how to approach parents and problems.
- Yes - help in school organization, school records, classroom records, curriculum and program planning, lesson notes.
- Yes - especially in preparing lessons and realizing what was necessary to become a

successful teacher.

- Yes, I had learned a lot about children and ways of getting their response. I had learned also about school records.

Only one of the 1919 respondents commented here:

- Gave me confidence in teaching practice as a Teachers College student.

The next part of the question required the respondents to reflect on whether they were disadvantaged in any way by being a junior teacher. In view of the findings in the previous section, it is not surprising that just over three-quarters of the respondents could recall no disadvantage at all. Some of them left the space blank and others wrote such things as 'No', 'No, I think not', 'Not in my experience' or 'I can't think of any'. The respondent who was unable to achieve her ambition of becoming an Art teacher had already said that the year had not prepared her in any way for the C course she had to enter and she referred to this again:

- I can't say how it disadvantaged me, but it did not assist me in my goal or for what eventuated.

The female who had felt no advantage from her experience believed that she should have remained a student:

- I would have benefited much more from continuing at High School doing Leaving Honours.

Several others felt that they had been disadvantaged in terms of academic progress:

- 12 months away from academics. Difficult to re-adjust.
- I was away from study for a year. Starting again in Teachers College was not easy.
- A year in a Leaving Honours class would have made my tertiary studies easier.

Two respondents recalled what seemed to be rather mild disadvantages:

- Only to the extent that I became impatient to leave College, to have my own class.
- Financially there was nothing in it. In a sense I lost a year, but this I never regretted.

One other respondent referred to a much more serious matter - one noted earlier in connection with criticisms of the pupil teacher system made by W. J. Kennedy in 1890:

- Probably the necessity to become a <u>de facto</u> adult at the age of 16 meant I missed out on the full range of experiences of life as a teen-ager.

The final part of this question asked the respondents to consider the advantages and disadvantages of being a junior teacher in terms of practical teaching and academic progress with those who had come to the Teachers College direct from school. As might be expected from comments in the previous section, a majority - some 64% in fact - of the respondents believed that they were better placed as regards success in the practical side of the training at the Teachers College than those straight from school. As might be expected too, there was some repetition of what had been said in

the section on general advantage but a number of the comments gave a rather deeper insight into aspects of this important question. Some simply wrote 'Advantaged', 'Slight advantage' or 'Clearly advantaged' while others seemed somewhat tentative about it:

- I think I had an advantage.
- I think the experience of junior teaching was a help.

However, most were prepared to substantiate their argument in some way:

- Better prepared.
- Not so confused - wore an easy grace.
- More at ease with a class: did not rely on theory but had experience to draw on to get on top of problems.
- I had much more idea of what teaching meant.
- We had a self-confidence they lacked.
- Much more relaxed and knowing more 'What it was all about'.
- Clearly more efficient & effective with greater assurance & self-confidence.

Others based their views on more tangible aspects:

- I think our teaching records as students were a little better (every lesson we gave in the Practising Schools [in 1929] was awarded marks, so we could compare).
- The other JT's in my group all seemed to agree with me - we had good teaching reports.
- I am sure my year as a JT gave me a distinct advantage. I did well in my practice teaching, and was given excellent reports and awarded top skill marks in my early years of teaching. I wonder if it would have been so if I had not spent a year as a JT. It's a question I cannot answer, but I know I took up my appointment with a good deal of confidence.

Of the rest, one hinted at both advantage and disadvantage:

- Non JTs were highly theoretical - and won every discussion about method.

Three others did not answer and the one who had been placed in an Art Centre explained why she had difficulty with this question:

- In my situation I don't think I could make any comparisons.

Most others did not recall other junior teachers at all which is not surprising in view of the reduced numbers of them in this period:

- I don't remember any.
- Did not meet up with others who had worked as a JT, or at least I have no recollection of such a person.
- I was never aware of those who had been JT's, but later I found out that the student who had topped our course had been a JT in an Infant School where she had a lot of help. [this was the respondent who had been placed in a primary school where she got no help in her

ambition to be an infant teacher]

One other felt that it did not matter anyway:

- I do not remember ever discussing these differences. In College we were all students - learning our profession - all different from each other.

The respondent from Victoria did not make any comparisons either although the situation in that State was clearly very different:

- I am not aware that there was any way of entry to the Melbourne Teachers College [in 1930] than first serving as a J.T.

The only one of the 1919 respondents to comment here hinted at a strong sense of superiority amongst the junior teachers of that time:

- We ex J.T.'s looked down upon those who entered direct from High School as 'kids'.

When it came to comparing the situation regarding academic progress at the Teachers College, things were very different. Only two respondents recalled any advantage and one of them did not seem really sure about it:

- Was a more definite purpose in the subjects studied.
- No difference - except that I was more mature perhaps.

Another was quite sure about his particular situation:

- No advantage or disadvantage noticeable.

A small number of others felt that they had done as well as any other student teachers:

- In the first year as a "B" Course student - completed 3 first year subjects, Pc, Chem, Biology plus the normal College work. At the end of the year was also nominated for a "D" Course. I think I held my own. I was the only one with a Junior Teacher experience. [from 1923]
- There were only 8 in the Commercial course in my year at the Teachers College and all completed our Diplomas at the University at the end of 2 years at the University. [from 1924]
- As far as concerns my E group, the greatest proportion of those who achieved the best results had been junior teachers. But in drawing conclusions as to cause and effect it must be borne in mind that at that time [1929] at least most of the students became junior teachers because they had completed high school at age 16 rather than the normal 17. Of the four who secured immediate appointments from my group upon completing Teachers College, three had been junior teachers ... [himself and two others whom he named]
- ... and some of us went on to complete our A.U.A. (diploma of Commerce) which I completed in 1933 - as well as doing Education, History & Geography at the University.

Five respondents left the space blank and several repeated that they had known no other junior teachers or were aware of no differences.

Overall, however, some 43% of the respondents recalled a measure of disadvantage regarding their academic progress at the Teachers College. Several merely stated this as 'Disadvantaged' or 'Rather disadvantaged' while others gave such brief explanations as 'Disrupted' and 'Lacked'. Others went into details of how being a junior teacher had disadvantaged them. Some referred back to lack of adequate assistance during the junior teacher year:

- Nil. I was not given any study time although it was known that I needed to pass the Leaving subjects. I only passed Leaving History at the end of the year and had coaching for the Supplementary Exams (English & Latin).
- No academic progress apart from passing my English exam.

One male recalled the effect of the duties he was allocated at a country high school in 1927:

- I found that I had become so accustomed to my outside duties at the school that any interest in academic progress was temporarily halted. As a result, when I entered Teachers College I wasted my first year's study and was brought to my senses only when I was faced with the prospect of a shortened second year term, which I very fortunately avoided.

Others realised that they might have been better off at school:

- Personally speaking - I very likely had a setback in academics. A year at Adelaide High School doing Leaving Honours would have advantaged me in my studies.
- Those who had studied at Leaving Honours level performed generally better than those who had not done so. There were some Leaving Honours students though, who were not as successful as those who had only Leaving Certificate Matriculation.

Interestingly enough, there were several who found other reasons than having been a junior teacher for their lack of academic progress. Some believed that aspects of their general educational background may have been at fault:

- Disadvantaged, but more because I had my education up to Intermediate in a Higher Primary School (only 6 subjects taught - no languages - no sciences)
- Less [progress] - this applied to me. When I went to night lectures I found the Public Library for the first time, and spent much time reading...

For others there were more personal reasons:

- I've never been an academic in the true sense of the word. I managed to pass the necessary exams but I found the practical side of my chosen profession much more appealing.
- I was almost useless in this regard through lack of steady influence from the rest of my family.
- I was amongst the youngest in the group. Many of the others had done other jobs before entering College. One student already had a degree.

Again only one of the 1919 respondents answered this question. He believed that junior teachers had an edge over those entering from school:

- I think those who entered College after Junior Teaching took University studies a little more seriously - not because of their teaching experience but because we were a year older, & because teachers themselves were talking of the value (for promotion as well as personal education). We J.T.'s were a little more mature about the worth of academic studies. We certainly got more out of lectures on 'Method'.

QU. 5 OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS:

- WAS THE SYSTEM EXPLOITATIVE?

- DID CHILDREN SUFFER UNDER IT?

- SHOULD IT HAVE BEEN ABOLISHED?

As has been seen in earlier chapters, serious questions about the propriety of allowing the untrained to teach had been raised from as early as 1881 and the debate about faults in the system and claims and counter-claims for its abolition was to continue with increasing vehemence well into the 1940s.The views of those who experienced the system in this first period of change add considerably to an understanding of these issues.

Exploitation?

Just over 36% of these respondents believed that they had been exploited, 52% felt that they had not been and the rest either did not reply or had special claims in this regard. The most likely reasons for feeling exploited related to the work performed and the remuneration received. The fact that they did the work of an assistant teacher yet were lowly paid led some respondents to feel quite sure that they had been exploited:

- Yes: the junior teacher in the main was exploited & it was a case of cheap labour ... I had a class of 30 [in 1923] - taught all subjects except singing - and did all duties similar to a regular staff member.
- In hindsight I would have to say 'Yes'. I was responsible for the work of a normal teacher with oversight by the HM and with the Chief Assistant nearby. Whether the Dept refrained from sending a full-time teacher (was one available?) or was the E.D. satisfied with the arrangements [he replaced a transferee for Terms 11 & 111] I cannot say. My pay was about 32/- and I paid 27/- board. Full-time teachers received about £220 - £240 annually.
- Looking back I would say we were exploited. In all but pay I was an assistant on £50 a year but I accepted the situation.

Others saw only the work load, conditions or general treatment as exploitative:

- Yes. I taught full time and performed the duties, even yard duty, of a qualified teacher.
- Yes. I felt quite strongly that young people were being exploited. Classes were very big by today's standards - often as many as forty plus in a class - a case of 'sink or swim'.
- I would have to say that the Ed. Dept definitely got teachers on the cheap - often at the expense of the children as the junior teachers took full responsibility for students - usually Junior Primary. They were often housed, as I was, in substandard conditions.
- I think I was exploited. For the first 3 weeks I was sent to a school where some Grade 8 girls wanted to learn Shorthand & I was put to teach them as I had studied it. Then I was sent to another school where it would seem there was an overflow of Grade 3 children & I was given 20 or so as a class.

For a couple it was the pay alone:

- I don't think I could have become a junior teacher if I had boarded away from home because of the financial strain on my family. My 12/6 per week would not have gone far. I was able to augment this by doing casual work loading wheat or another form of manual labour.
- The monetary rewards were inadequate to pay board & living expenses. The women J.T.'s were exploited for they were paid less even though they did the same work. I [a male] worked under fairly good conditions - neat classrooms, lunch room. Cupboard for my books, aids etc.

Several others were also prepared to qualify their feelings of exploitation by referring to something satisfactory as well:

- Yes I think the Education Dept expected too much of inexperienced young people. As I have earlier stated, I was for 6 months completely in charge of a class and I was paid a mere pittance. However, in those bad economic times it was leading up to permanent work.
- Maybe the Dept got JTs on the cheap but I was under the care of a fully trained Infant Mistress who couldn't do more to help me.

With the exception of one respondent who merely wrote 'No', those who did not feel exploited were able to say why. Several simply saw it as part of their entry into a teaching career:

- I was not exploited. I just accepted the fact that 17 was the minimum age for entry to Teachers College.
- I did not feel exploited. It was the beginning of my career which I accepted.
- Junior teachers were not exploited. They were too young to go to College & were given the chance for some experience until old enough to be fully trained. They gained from being juniors.

Others gave details of the gains that were possible:

- I don't think that Junior Teachers were exploited in my day. I spent sometime observing other teachers, some time marking papers, some time helping children to read, spell & learn their tables. I received a small allowance and was happy with this. I received 2/6 pocket money per week and was happy with that. My train fares from Grade 1 to University were totally free. [she lived at Outer Harbour]
- Not exploited. Given the opportunity to gain diploma.
- No. Our allowance (I think 15/4 per week) compared with lads our own age in outside employment.
- No - I did not feel exploited. Taught on an enclosed verandah (satisfactory) - I received an allowance (highly prized during depression years) - Rewarded by learning to understand children, learning to teach and to be a compatible staff member.
- Assisted class teacher, marked spelling tests, prepared lessons, gained good insight into workings of a school. Assisted individual pupils.
- I did not think so at the time and the small remuneration (7/6?) helped the family finances of a widow with 5 children.
- No, I did not feel exploited. I was allowed to return to Penola to complete my Leaving Certificate, and was paid £40 a year to teach 15 children. As a fully certificated teacher in 1933, I was paid £133 p.a. for teaching 61 children in 4 classes. That was exploitation!

Others, while not feeling exploited, were prepared to see that there were certain drawbacks in terms of money or conditions:

- The answer is No. True I 'filled in' for absent teachers occasionally but mostly for short periods. A form of exploitation - I suppose, but I believe - with due modesty - that in the view of the Head Master, I was showing promise. The monetary rewards were practically Nil.
- I don't think so. The monetary rewards were poor, but I enjoyed excellent conditions.
- I would not say exploited because at that time [1928] we were only too glad to get a job but the small pay we received for a lot of work was very poor.
- No, but I might have been a better teacher had I completed my studies before being placed in charge of a class.
- I seem to recall that I received 36/- a week, which seemed then [1929/30 in Victoria] a good income; 30/- of which went to my mother for my keep. Certainly we did almost as much teaching as our seniors.

Two respondents did not answer this section and three others made quite unusual comments. One who had served as a junior teacher in 1926, and then as a probationary student for two years, saw himself in a special position:

- Mine was a special case. I believe only a few, who entered College in 1929, as I did had been JTs. I believe Victorian students were compelled to have one year as JT. [this backed up what the respondent from Victoria wrote in an earlier reply]

Another apparently interpreted the notion of exploitation in a very different way by applying it in terms of what a school could have been like without a junior teacher:

- I saw no evidence of exploitation as all cases known to me were appointments to schools which would not otherwise have received alternative trained teaching assistants.

There was one comment that linked the low pay in 1930 with the increased number of junior teachers and student teachers that the Education Department was able to employ at that time:

- My salary (?) - £1-13-4 per fortnight. Teaching staff was low due to economic depression. However, on low rates of pay, numbers were increasing.

Two of the 1919 respondents commented on exploitation. The female did not feel exploited because she expected things to be as they were and 'all wages were low'. One of the males made a very interesting comment that related to the evidence put to the Education Inquiry Committee [of which he was a member, much later in his career]:

- Exploited? No, <u>not</u> in the early 1900s; nor before; not until the S.A. Public Teachers Union made a stand against it in the 1930s & 1940s. Most junior teachers came from lower middle - working class homes. Junior teacherships were a career opportunity & the allowance of £60 for boys & £40 (I think) for girls + a boarding allowance for those required to live away from home, was an inducement. Most of us <u>wanted</u> to be teachers & as I said earlier, we took the junior teacherships for granted.

Did children suffer under the system?

Respondents were asked if they had any reason to believe that children suffered under the junior teacher system. Some 64% of them could recall no such evidence and half of them simply wrote 'No'. The rest qualified their answer in some way. There were those who believed that it was unlikely under the conditions of the time:

- I doubt it. The subject matter was outlined in text books which were followed to the letter.
- My knowledge was inadequate but in those days all children studied set texts.

Others recalled the supervisory structure under which they worked:

- Not to any great degree. The Head Teacher required good work and I, in my turn, required good work from the children.
- Maybe, because I was a learner but the H.M. in his report was satisfied with the results of the tests he set & the detailed examination of work written in exercise books.
- Not under our scheme because the Head kept his eye on me and my class.

- No - not at our school.

Several others believed that it depended very much on the individual junior teacher and, that in some cases, children could well be advantaged:

- It depended on the individual JT. There would be a normal curve on the ability. One plus was closeness to the age of their pupils.
- I hesitate to say children suffered. In many instances they developed a sort of camaraderie with their young teacher.
- No. I believe that a junior teacher who had natural ability could often obtain better results than many trained teachers.
- Children did not suffer under the scheme. They were given the opportunity of working under different conditions.
- Well I hope the children I taught did not. I certainly did the best I could.
- No - apart from the inexperience of the junior teacher.

One respondent went so far as to compare the situation in his day with that of today:

- Children under the J.T. Scheme fared no worse than those children of today who are taught by some products of today's teacher training schemes.

The rest of the respondents divided fairly evenly into those who were quite sure that some children would have suffered under the system and those who had trouble in deciding about it. Several had no hesitation in saying that children did suffer:

- Yes - the incompetence of the junior teachers left the children to be 'animals' for experimentation.
- In my case they did. I knew nothing of teaching methods for slow children or of extending or interesting bright children, and I had little knowledge of life.
- I am sure that they would have at the Primary School. [she was only there for three weeks before being sent as a supernumerary to an Art centre]

Others preferred to qualify their feelings about this aspect:

- I expect that they must have done so. Everything depended on the attitude of the Head & other staff members. I was fortunate, but, without co-operation, it would have been very different.
- I see it as possible if the junior teacher was inefficient or ineffective. In my case, and all those I knew personally, I think not seriously.
- They must have done but I seemed to get on very happily with my class.
- Not if the JT had some natural aptitude. Some children suffered under other junior teachers I saw - they had no natural aptitude and other teachers were too busy to help them a great deal.

- The problem depended on two factors: The application & dedication of the Junior Teacher: [and] the quality of the headmaster & pupils. I would say many JTs did a far better job than many of the qualified teachers that ultimately came to my staff.

One respondent left the space blank and one other explained why he did not feel competent to answer such a question.

- I'm not able to give a valid opinion. I did not discuss it in 1927 nor have I since discussed experiences with other JTs. I didn't think children suffered harm from my efforts. I was, in effect, for most of 1927 a TEACHER AIDE. In my view I should never have been entrusted at age 17+ with the responsibilities of teaching unaided classes of 40+ boys. I doubt if I did much for them.

One of the 1919 respondents had similar views:

- Did mine? No. I did my very best. Later, I came to see the enormity of putting J.T.'s in sole charge of even a small class.

Should the system have been abolished?

Respondents were asked whether they thought the eventual abolition of the system was a good thing or a bad thing. Opinions about this were equally divided with a third in favour of abolition and a similar number who would like to have seen the system retained. A few left the question unanswered but most of the rest were unsure about it. Two-thirds took up the option to compare the junior teacher system with the training that they received later in Demonstration Schools.

Those in favour of abolition

Some took a very general view while others compared the experience with the training that they received while at Teachers College:

- I think that abolition of junior teaching was a good thing. More teachers were being trained and appointed.
- Yes - more room for older teachers on staff.
- Probably a good thing. Demonstration schools were equipped with the best teaching staff.
- In my view Demonstration Schools were the way to go not junior teaching. I learnt from example.
- I think the junior teacher scheme belonged to the past - and this is how it should be ... in my opinion, time spent in schools observing experienced teachers in action, is of the utmost importance in the training of teachers.

One other respondent was not particularly impressed with Demonstration Schools:

- The abolishing of the junior teaching scheme was a good thing & long overdue. Demonstration Schools were inadequate in that usually an artificial class situation discouraged and often dampened enthusiasm.

Others indicated what they saw as significant failings in the system:

- I believe there should be a better way of giving early teaching experience to teacher trainees than the junior teacher scheme which was rather like teaching a child to swim by simply throwing him into deep water. In my time I saw merit in the Demonstration Schools though they seemed inadequate by themselves.
- I suppose it was for the most part expecting too much of immature, untrained young people.

Not surprisingly, two respondents who felt that they had been treated poorly were in favour of abolition. The male respondent who had a harsh Head Teacher was quite sure about it:

- Under the circumstances I knew, J.T. abolition was essential.

The female who had felt totally neglected was not as positive about abolition but she clearly benefited significantly from her later experiences:

- It was possibly a good thing. Demonstration Schools played a valuable role in my training. We saw the most competent teachers at work and were able to practise on their classes and then were given constructive criticism. I don't think this plays a big enough part of present teacher training.

Those who thought abolition was a bad thing

Some respondents saw the greatest value in the junior teacher system being the opportunity it gave for candidates to decide on teaching as a career:

- The experience of a JT gave him or her some idea of what to expect. The J. Teacher could make a decision whether to continue or to pull out. He continued with his eyes wide open. Later in the Demonstration Schools the student came in contact with professionals - theoretical and practical - you <u>cannot</u> have one without the other.
- I think the scheme was good. By the time you had a year's JT, you knew if you really wanted to teach. Demonstration Schools certainly had their place.
- I think the scheme enabled a young person to find out whether they liked teaching and it helped to give confidence after their appointment.

Others, too, appreciated the personal benefits that they had received as junior teachers rather than as student teachers:

- The JT year did give a little more maturity. Time spent in Dem Schools was inadequate - students were given plenty of instruction there but too little responsibility. The <u>student</u>

'stewed ants') [as they were called by pupils] title made discipline difficult – 'He or she is not OUR teacher'.

- The use of Junior Teachers was a phase in the development of education in South Australia but I learnt much more as a JT than I did at Demonstration School. My stay there was too brief & to a degree not true to life.
- I think it was a sad day when the junior teaching scheme was abolished, because it entailed a full year of one's pre-Teachers College experience - observing and actually teaching. In first year of Teachers College I remember little time at Demonstration Schools because Course B entailed attending University lectures by day and evening.

Some took a more general view of the benefits of both the junior teacher system and Demonstration Schools:

- Junior teaching followed by Demo schools was very good. It gave the student the chance of experiencing teachers working under various conditions.
- My circumstances were good. It was a great introduction for my year in Demonstration Schools.

Several others seemed to believe that there could still be a place for both systems:

- There were advantages for teachers who did a JT course and could be again if there were skilled teachers & Heads to train them. The Dem Schools, if run by skilful, dedicated Heads & staff, could provide a training for teachers that today's training does not appear to do.
- In my opinion there is a place for the Junior Teacher System, provided it comes under the jurisdiction of the Demonstration School. Academic success does not always create the ideal teacher.
- I think the junior teacher system had a lot of merit & later in life as I became a Deputy Master of Method in Demonstration Schools, I felt that the year spent as a junior teacher would have been a good preparation for the career.

Those who were unsure about abolition

Two respondents did not answer and one other simply said that she not know. Another felt that he could not comment because he had only stayed on in the Department for five years. One recalled the situation in his time:

- As I remember it, not many probationary students, in 1927, served as JTs, nor would it have been practicable to involve all students in such a scheme.

Several others saw two sides to the question:

- These schemes always have their good and bad sides. We gained valuable experience but were poorly paid. I think I was fortunate in being sent to a school where the staff regarded

me as one of them & helped whenever it was needed or asked for.

- The scheme was good but badly managed.
- A mixture. In my unusual situation [as a reliever for two terms in 1928] it helped me with practical lesson teaching and class control. I was praised for my teaching ability by my Head as being better than a newcomer to classes when I set out after training. It could be an unnecessary strain on a J.T.
- I believe that under the conditions under which I taught - the training, advice, assistance given, it was a good scheme. But from my experience, few other junior teachers were so fortunate, particularly those who taught in country schools where the Head Teacher himself was a full time teacher. Some of those Head teachers were poor teachers with little to give. On the other hand, Demonstration Schools were staffed by selected teachers, often of outstanding ability. Generally they transmitted their enthusiasm to student teachers. The Dem Schools were accused of being artificial in that the standards that they set could not be maintained by teachers in the usual classroom situation, but I do not agree with this.

Others had problems in deciding on this question because of the individual nature of the experience:

- Depended so much on teachers who had charge and how they criticised.
- This would depend on circumstances. I was fortunate in my appointment. The continuous training over a year gave me a feeling of stability. Practice in Dem Schools was often of too short a period.

QU. 6 HOW THEY REMEMBERED THE EXPERIENCE

As a final appraisal of the experience, respondents were asked to recall how they remembered it now. They could express this by ticking an appropriate category from the four listed in the table below or they could choose some other appropriate label. They were not confined to one response and many of them ticked two of the categories. This is best illustrated by the two sets of figures in the following table. The first figure indicates the number who marked more than one response and the figure in brackets indicates the number - if any - who marked that category only.

TABLE 10.6 How Respondents Remembered the Junior Teacher Experience

	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	Total	%
Happy generally	1(1)	1(-)	-	2(-)	1(-)	2(-)	4(1)	9(3)	20(5)	44% (46%)
Frustrating	-	-	-	-	-	-	1(-)	1(-)	2(-)	4% (-)
Useful	-	1(-)	-	2(-)	1(1)	2(-)	5(1)	10(2)	21(4)	46% (36%)
Just bearable	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2(2)	2(2)	4% (18%)
Other	-	-	-	-	-		1(-)	-	1(-)	2% (-)

As can be seen, most respondents remembered the experience as being both useful and generally

happy. The 'Other' response in 1929 was the only one that was unanswered. Most were able to explain why they felt the way that they had indicated and the responses show what made for happiness, usefulness, frustration and bearableness for junior teachers passing through the McCoy reforms and approaching the Depression.

The 'Happy generally' recollections

Several of those who marked this category only felt happy because they had achieved something:

- I did have a sense of achievement - of influencing the younger & perhaps guiding them along a course for the future. It had laid the foundations of a career of 50 years for me.
- I felt that I had achieved the respect of the pupils, my Head Master, and all the staff. I have met many of those people over the years and these meetings have been happy occasions.
- It was an absorbing year - novel & interesting - my first experience of working with adults & being accepted as one. I did not have the trauma of leaving home but had the support each day of a closely knit family.

For others, the happiness came from being with children:

- Enjoyed the time spent with children & watching them learn.
- I feel I was fortunate in having 20 small girls to be solely responsible for. They quickly became 'my children' and I felt like their 'mother hen'.

All the rest who ticked this category also recalled the experience as being 'useful'. Some of them were able to separate the two feelings quite clearly:

- It was a happy time in that I had a job in which I was satisfied. Useful in that it allowed a person to find out whether they liked teaching & helped to give confidence after this appointment.
- I grew fond of my little group and we had fun together. It was useful in teaching, as it would not always be plain sailing as a teacher.
- Happy - because of a good relationship with children and staff. Useful - certainly in developing prowess as a teacher.
- A happy time because I enjoyed trying to teach and I still had lots of mates in the top of the school (remember I'd only been away a year). Useful because I gained lots of confidence & some ability to cope with future days.
- The children and I were happy together and I felt that they were happy to continue going to school ... I learnt a lot & I hope they did too.
- My time was an apprenticeship which helped me a great deal in my teaching years ahead. I felt happy to be taking my first steps towards my goal - to be a teacher.

Others described situations that were clearly both happy and useful:

- I enjoyed my year as a JT. Student responses and the friendly attitudes of the staff were quite pleasing to me. I'm sure I learnt much of class work by having the experiences I had.
- I was amongst family and friends in 1929 - worked as hard as I knew how and felt I could handle a class reasonably well for a 17 year old when my period as a JT ceased.
- Good cheerful staff who went out of their ways to help - and gave me confidence in front of a class.
- Perhaps I was fortunate to have begun my career with such a wonderful team of teachers and be able to live at home. I was involved with all the sporting & musical activities in the town + felt that I was quite ready for future training.
- I remember my life as a junior teacher as a happy time & certainly as a useful time because of the H.M. who taught me a great deal about understanding children. It was the time of the depression - and this was a real study in itself. The H.M. was a great believer in the 'Golden Rule' – 'To do unto others as you would like others to do unto you'. No lying or cheating would be tolerated & I feel this worked well.

A smaller group tended to explain both feelings in more general terms:

- I had 12 months of happy & useful time that set me up for my career.
- I feel my time as a junior teacher helped me in my subsequent time as a member of the Regular Army and the rank of Lt. Col.
- My experience came when I was becoming tired of being a <u>child</u> at school. Being in a responsible position [at age 15!] was great. (Even if I had a headache most nights).
- Looking back over a period of 60+ years, I can recall no really unhappy time or incident.

A few others simply referred back to what they had already written to substantiate their expressions of happiness and usefulness.

The 'Useful' aspects

As the table shows, few recalled the experience as merely useful. One who did referred back to what he had already said and another gave no explanation. Two others briefly summarized what they remembered as useful:

- I reassured myself that I had chosen the right career for myself - my parents certainly supported me in this.
- I learned, though perhaps in the hard way, much about control, teaching & relating to children - developed maturity & self- confidence.

The 'Frustrating' aspects

Both respondents who found the experience frustrating also conceded that it was useful. One was a female who did not give any further details but who earlier had noted - along with some satisfying aspects - a strong feeling of exploitation and a sense of disadvantage through not having done Leaving Honours. The other was the male who had to teach from Term 11 under a militant and very critical Head who gave him no praise but who had been greatly helped by the assistant teacher. He recalled that he:

- Blundered through a period with some beneficial results.

The 'Just bearable' aspects

Not surprisingly the two respondents who remembered the experience as just bearable had already noted a number of sources of dissatisfaction. One was the female who was placed in an Art centre as a supernumerary:

- A means to an end. It was the menial tasks that could be given to the JT to perform that one had to accept.

The other recalled her experience as 'Uninteresting, uninspiring, boring and lonely' and once again referred to the major problem she had faced in the primary section of a central school:

- I wanted to be an Infant Teacher, but I did not even see an Infant class that year, although there was an Infant Department in the same grounds.

One of the 1919 respondents recalled being generally happy and another could not accept any of the categories as she had found it:

- Strenuous - too much was expected of children and young junior teachers.

The third one ticked 'Useful' but went on:

- Useful (then, but I changed my mind [later]).

He then gave an interesting insight into pre-McCoy expectations:

- Not 'just' bearable but a necessary & therefore 'put uppable with' year.

The evidence in the cultural data generally confirms the earlier finding that the system that had survived the McCoy reforms existed mainly for the benefit of candidates who were underqualified for entry to the College. It is clear, however, that such an advantage was taken of their presence in schools that a majority of them could be said to be de facto members of the teaching force despite the official ruling on the status of junior teachers after 1921. While numbers remained small, the fact that the untrained, who were in schools largely for their own benefit, could be expected to take responsibility for classes and subjects may not have been of any great significance. However, the

potential for even greater use of junior teachers as part of the teaching force was there and, as was seen in earlier chapters, the period under review was little more than a prelude to the introduction of yet another 'new' junior teacher system.

A number of respondents used the space provided in Question 7 to recall particularly memorable aspects of the experience and a selection of vignettes from this final section of the Memoir Document are included as Appendix 1. These further illustrate the nature of a junior teacher system that was described in Chapter 7 as the first of the two 'new' ones that spanned the 1920s and 1930s, and which, while certainly no longer an integral part of teacher training, nevertheless still allowed for the survival of certain of the less desirable features of the system McCoy had set out to abolish.

Chapter 11

MEMOIRS OF JUNIOR TEACHERS FROM THE 1930s

As was seen in Chapter 7, the junior teacher system that came into place from 1931 was different in a number of ways from the reformed one that McCoy had set up in 1921. The cause was, of course, the failing economic situation which forced quite profound changes to the lives of young people wishing to enter the teaching profession. With the abolition of probationary studentships at the end of 1930, the junior teacher system became the point of entry to the Teachers College. Candidates who were qualified by age and academic status could no longer expect to go direct from school to the Teachers College. When the College was unable to accept entrants in 1932 and again in 1934, the junior teachers from the previous year simply had no option but to spend a second year in that role. An equally dramatic change was in the appointment process. In the previous chapter it was seen that practically all the respondents up to 1930 had been able to live at home and the few who had to board away were near enough to return home at weekends. From 1931, this was no longer the case. Junior teachers were once again regarded as part of the teaching force and as such had to go wherever the Department had vacancies, no matter how far from their homes or how difficult it might be to go back there on a regular basis. They were generally expected to undertake full time teaching, too. Many of them were needed to help staff the larger one-teacher schools where trained assistants could not be afforded, while others were placed in primary and secondary schools where teaching or supernumerary type assistance was required. The closure of the College to new entrants on two occasions meant that the supply of trained teachers was greatly diminished so a large junior teacher system remained a necessary part of the teaching force throughout the decade.

The records of the time indicate how many junior teachers were appointed, where they served and what courses they entered at the Teachers College. The results of those who sat for the PEB examinations are available in the annual manuals. Gazette notices from each year list the documents that they were required to study and remind Heads of schools of the need to supervise lesson notes for presentation to the Inspector. What is not recorded is how the Departmental policies for staffing certain schools with untrained junior teachers affected the personal lives of these young people. There is no indication of the effect of having to board away from home nor is it known what boarding conditions might have been like, how frequently junior teachers could get home or even if the communication systems of the 1930s allowed them easy contact with home. The records reveal nothing about their social lives or whether the allowance paid to them was adequate. Details of their teaching duties are not on record nor is there any information available about what extra duties might have been required of them. It is unclear whether the needs of the Department allowed for any experience to be given in the type of teaching for which these young people hoped to train. It is not

known either how well head teachers carried out their supervisory duties or whether special attention was given to the needs of the pupils in the care of the untrained. Provision was made for junior teachers, especially those in the second year, to begin University work but information on whether many did, and how well they succeeded, is not readily available. What is known is that by 1938 the S.A. Teachers' Union had become concerned enough about the conditions under which junior teachers worked that a survey of their work was carried out. What it revealed is not known as the details were not published at the time and it was only referred to at the Education Inquiry Committee in 1943 in order to show the long standing concern of the Union about the role of junior teachers in the work force.

The concrete and cultural facts as recalled by 114 respondents who were junior teachers between 1931 and 1939 add considerably to the limited store of knowledge of what it was like to serve in this capacity during and immediately after the Depression. Details of both personal aspects and teaching duties help to fill in areas about which very little is otherwise known, such as the reality of the day to day lives of junior teachers inside and outside the classroom at a time of great economic stress.

PART A THE CONCRETE DATA

The concrete facts that illustrate significant aspects of the life and work of junior teachers in the 1930s have been taken from the responses of 114 former junior teachers to the 26 aspects covered in Part A of the Memoir Document.

Personal Aspects

TABLE 11.1 **Concrete Facts - Personal Aspects 1931 – 1939**

	1931* &32	1933* &34	1934	1935	1935* &36	1936	1937	1938	1939	Totals
Respondents	12	6	4	14	6	20	14	19	19	114
Gender	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F
	11 1	6 -	4 -	6 8	- 6	5 15	3 11	2 17	5 14	42 72
Average age										
Male	17.7	19.3	20.3	20.0	-	18.11	17.10	18.8	17.10	
Female	20.9	-	-	18.5	17.3	17.4	17.5	17.2	17.0	
Home										
City	9	1	2	8	-	12	7	10	9	58
Country	3	5	2	6	6	8	7	9	10	56
Appointment										
City	8	-	-	1	-	4	3	5	4	25
Country	4	6	4	13	6	16	11	14	15	89
At Home	11	3	-	4	2	7	3	8	6	44
Boarding	1	3	4	10	4	13	11	11	13	70

* Respondents employed for the whole or part of both these years

The respondents

Some 712 junior teachers, just over 21% of whom spent up to two years in that role, were employed between 1931 and 1939. Overall, the 114 respondents represent 16% of that contingent but in certain years the representation is higher. The respondents from 1936 and 1938, for example, represent 21% and 18% respectively, of the junior teachers of those years. Recruitment patterns changed from time to time to meet new staffing needs. The four from 1934 were taken on at the beginning of that year in addition to those carried over from 1933. The six listed under 1935 & 1936 represent other variations to the appointment of junior teachers. Two of them served in both years but the other four were taken out of their high schools during 1935 - one in May and the other three in October - to be posted to one-teacher schools.

Gender

In 1931/32, female junior teachers outnumbered males by almost two to one. As can be seen, the majority of memoirs available from that period were from males so they cannot be said to reflect the true gender balance of the times. In an earlier chapter it was noted that the years 1933 and 1934 were exceptions to the general trend of more females than males but with no memoirs at all from females there is a decided lack of balance here, too. By 1935 the Department was again employing increased numbers of female junior teachers and by 1936 there were more than three females for every male. Overall then, except for 1938 which is even more heavily weighted to females, the responses from 1935 to 1939 allow for a reasonably accurate representation of the proportions of male and female junior teachers.

Age

As was seen in the previous chapter, in the 1920s, the junior teacher system was most usually meant to serve as a holding spot for those under age for the Teachers College. With the restrictions imposed on entry to teacher training due to the Depression, the average age of those accepted as junior teachers increased significantly, particularly after 1933 when the College had accepted no new entrants. While seven of the respondents from 1931 would normally have been eligible by age, all of those from 1933/34, 1934 and 1935 were well over 17. The oldest male was 21 years and 3 months at the beginning of 1935 and the oldest female was 19 years 10 months in the same year. As can be seen from the average ages on the table, the situation had practically returned to normal by 1939 when eight females and two males were under the age of 17. What is of particular interest is what candidates did while they waited for several years for the chance to begin a teaching career. Some began working while others continued at school or began University studies. A later section of the concrete data allowed for details of further studies and some respondents also used the cultural

section to explain how they filled in the waiting time in a variety of other ways.

Appointments and contact with home

As the table shows, the number of respondents from city and country homes was almost equal but the appointment pattern was very different indeed. Overall, almost 80% of these respondents were required to fill vacancies in country schools and the practice of placing junior teachers near home could no longer continue. Over the whole period, some 61% of the respondents had to board away from home. Most of them were from metropolitan homes but a number from country homes also had to move away to where they were needed. The trend towards being away from home and in country schools is very noticeable between 1934 and 1936 and boarding away only began to taper off slightly towards the end of the decade.

Questions 10 to 13 gave respondents who did have to board away the opportunity to comment on how far from home they were, how regularly they could get home and how easy it was to contact their families. Some of the answers reveal a great deal about the effects that the changed appointment policy had on relatively young junior teachers and their relationships with home. Of those boarding away, just over 63% recalled that they could get home only in vacations. Just a very few added that it was also likely that they could return for some long weekends between vacations. Some of these respondents were several hundred miles from home but the fact that even some between 35 and 60 miles away got home only in vacations reveals something of the difficulty of travel and the isolation of some of the small schools in the 1930s. On the other hand, distance and the cost of travel severely limited home visits for several respondents. Two did not get home at all during the year:

- Only in the Christmas vacation. I couldn't afford to travel more often. [450 miles away - ship or bus only]
- Not until the end of the year. [360 miles]

One other managed one visit:

- Once during second term vacation because of the cost. [500 miles - ship or bus]

Another 15% managed to get home more regularly than vacation time and most of them were reasonably close to home. One explained how he managed it but others simply mentioned the frequency:

- I bought a small second hand motor cycle. [30 miles]
- Once or twice a term. [42 miles]
- Perhaps once mid-term. [18 miles]

The other 22% of respondents managed to get home every weekend or at least every fortnight. They were mainly ones from 1936 onwards when it seemed that it was possible for the Department to begin to take some account of distance from home. Most of them were within 50 miles of home and with access to public or some other means of transport:

- Every weekend by train. Friends drove me back as they regularly visited their parents there on Sundays. [27 miles]
- My brother who was a teacher too was appointed to Minlaton during my year as a JT. As his girlfriend lived in our home town he used to pick me up and we spent the weekend at home... it was a very satisfactory arrangement & I'm sure it helped me a great deal in my first year away. [50 miles]
- Mostly every second weekend. Dropped off at Gawler by Head Teacher & his wife who visited Adelaide. [25 miles]
- When friends were going there for various reasons. [30 miles]
- 96 miles but got home as lifts were available from people who had relatives in my home town.

Those who were not lucky enough to have alternatives had to be careful about the cost of public transport:

- Most weekends - perhaps fortnightly. Bus fare had to be considered.
- About every other weekend as I couldn't afford the fare each weekend. I think I received 6/6d over from my 15/- board. Rail fare was 5/- return
- I could have gone home every weekend if I wanted to but I was not getting enough pay to do this.

One had another reason for not going home even when it was possible:

- Every weekend if I wanted to, but I played tennis there & started a women's basketball team.

Those who lived at home generally left this section unanswered but there were several interesting comments. One respondent from 1931/32 recalled how the cost of travel within the suburbs could be avoided:

- I lived with my parents in Everard Park. To reach Westbourne Park I had to use the Glenelg tram to Goodwood Road where I caught another tram. Often I walked - via Millswood & Clarence Park (It was in Depression times).

Two females who travelled 16 miles to Morphett Vale each day by bus, one in 1935 and the other in 1936, did not comment on what it cost.

The responses to the question of how easy it was for those boarding away to contact home and by what means they did so, highlighted some interesting aspects of life in the 1930s. The majority of those away from home had to depend on letters only for communication with their family and many recalled a weekly letter going each way. A number also mentioned the availability of the telephone

but few used it. In most cases either the parents or the boarding place lacked a telephone and only a few had neighbours who could take a message in an emergency. The attitude of others to the telephone varied between indifference to this mode of communication and worry about the cost:

- Phone could have been possible but not thought of as an option in those days.
- Phones were available but I never needed one.
- By phone from store near school (but don't remember using it).
- Yes by telephone but no contact was made except by letter. It was too costly.
- Telephone available if necessary but too poor to use it. Wrote weekly letter.

A small number did use the telephone but most stressed that it was only for an emergency. Those who went home at weekends generally indicated that there was no contact with home during the week but most noted that post, telegram or some telephone access would have been possible in an emergency. Only one respondent seemed to have little interest in communicating with home:

- Little communication. Mother a widow.

Boarding

Most respondents were content at this stage of the memoir simply to indicate the type of board that was available and those with particularly good or poor conditions generally went into greater detail in the cultural section. Most seemed satisfied as they described the board as 'full', 'private', 'family home' or 'home board'. Others recalled that it was 'excellent', 'comfortable', 'a marvellous home' but for one it was merely 'satisfactory'. Some respondents made a point of mentioning particular aspects such as the food – 'good', 'beautiful', or the actual building – 'an old style cottage', 'comfortable weatherboard cottage', or the people – 'most helpful lady', 'very caring people', 'kind and well-meaning family'. Others went into greater detail and some had pleasant memories of their board:

- Excellent - good plain food and plenty of it. Pleasant atmosphere in the home. 25/- per week was quite a reasonable charge - laundry was included.
- Very good. The meals were good and I was treated as one of the family. I kept in touch with Mr & Mrs until they died.
- Room to myself - treated as one of the family.
- Excellent - with a 50 year old lady ... wonderful cook & smothered me with kindness and fussing.
- A room for myself - I was very lucky.

Some seemed to have little choice in the matter of where they boarded:

- Private home - Chairman of School Committee. When family shifted in mid year to Tanunda I went with them. There was no other board available. [then cycled to school]
- Lived in the home of the School Committee Chairman (where JT always boarded). Meals

were provided at 7.30 am, 12.40 PM & 6 PM & a single room.

- Board provided at a Rest Home where I occupied the attic. This became unavailable at end of year so School HM provided accommodation.

Several females recalled very unsatisfactory boarding conditions, some of which make the emphasis of others on a single room quite understandable:

- Private home - only place available. Shared bed with 15 year old daughter of the house. No bathroom. No electricity. No wardrobe.
- Private home - shared room with 3 daughters aged 14, 8, 5.
- Private board - shared room with 21 year old daughter.
- Full board of a very basic nature. When wind blew from a certain direction the bath (outside verandah) water couldn't be heated in the copper.
- Stayed on a farm (mainly sheep) very nice people but conditions left much to be desired.

Some of them managed to escape from difficult situations:

- A bedroom shared with two daughters for two months - then my own room built on. Daughters 5 and 7 whom I taught.
- Had to leave first place - dirty old man - adequate second time.

One male also found better board than that provided:

- Stayed a fortnight in a private house (not very suitable) then moved to Hotel which provided complete board at a reduced price for JTs - in return some assistance e.g. wiping dishes at night, going across to the shop - nothing too arduous.

A female also had to help in the house but she did not mention reduced board:

- Full board but was expected to help in the home - dishes - clean own room - a little ironing and dusting.

Social life

Question 16 asked respondents whether they took part in district sports and social activities and provided a space for them to give details of such involvement. This is a particular aspect of the life of a junior teacher about which very little seems to be known. Practically all the respondents answered the question and 67% of them had joined in some sporting and/or social activities. Of the rest, just over half had not been involved in local activities simply because they went home at weekends and joined in home rather than local school activities. The others did not become involved and a few merely stated the fact as 'No', 'No sports', and 'No part in social/sports' without giving any reasons. Others recalled that the town where they lived had no sporting or social activities. One female answered the question with a question and provided her own answer:

- What district sport? What social activities? Nothing to do.

Others explained why they found nothing to do:

- No. Small village (Teutonic). No clubs etc. Lutheran Church centre.
- Very little social life. Mainly married people. Only a few of my age. None of my religion.
- An occasional game of social tennis. Most clubs did not want an 'outsider' to upset the team 'cliques'.

One female who found herself in a town without much emphasis on sports and social life looked elsewhere:

- No community hall at M... only Lutheran Church (Services in German). Went to G... two and a half miles away to church, dances, concerts and tennis. Played tennis at M... on a private court. Occasionally asked out for a meal.

Another recalled finances interfering with his wish to be involved in sport although he did manage some social life:

- Because of lack of gear didn't participate but very much wanted to. Attended local dances.

A number of others who did not, or could not, participate in certain social and sporting events where they boarded explained why and all of them recalled finding some compensatory activities:

- Afraid I was not a sport or church goer, although I did make some wonderful friends, and had many invitations to visit & attend football & cricket matches & dances etc. Long walks in the country and the swimming & diving were wonderful.
- My chosen sports (tennis, hockey) not available. Learned to play Euchre for card evenings. Occasional dances in school room. Attended local church.
- No sport at S... that I know of, except a private tennis court ... Social activities in barns of various outlying farms where somebody always provided transport and wonderful suppers. Every Sunday morning there was a service in German at the Lutheran (the only Church) where the bell was rung twice allowing people 30 minutes to get ready.
- No organized sport but I attended & enjoyed local dances & Church Youth Socials.
- Can't remember district sport. I went walking a lot & played bridge with hosts.
- There was no social activity apart from a tin kettling for a bridal couple. I started a basketball team for the local girls.

One of the respondents who was taken out of school late in 1935 recalled why she did not participate in activities at the first school she was appointed to:

- School 1 - all my spare time was given over to study for the two Leaving Honours subjects I had commenced at High School. School 2 - Tennis - Debating Society.

Many of those who did participate in local sporting and social activities simply mentioned them by name. Cricket, football, basketball (netball) and both social and competitive tennis predominated in sports. Social activities included dances, balls, card evenings, concerts and church going. Overall, attending dances and balls seemed to be the most popular social activity and tennis topped the list of sports closely followed by football which was popular, too, amongst female spectators. Although a few earlier comments seemed to mention church in a somewhat negative way, it played a very important part for some 20% of the respondents. Some simply mentioned 'Church', 'Religious observance', 'Church each Sunday,' 'Church choir' and 'Church Youth Groups'. Others went into some detail about this aspect:

- Methodist Church activities mainly around the district with the Parson.
- Attended Methodist Church - became a member of the Methodist Girls Comrades.
- I taught in the Methodist Sunday School and took part in drama group and social activities of the Church. I also went to the local pictures and later to dances.
- Took RE classes out of school hours.
- ... also some activities with the local church.
- ... church activities were very much alive.

One respondent recalled being somewhat dominated in this respect as she listed only church here:

- Mainly religious as I was led by my 'landlady' who believed I needed it!

Some respondents recalled being very active in their new communities and clearly they contributed considerably towards sporting and social life:

- Yes played cricket. Boundary umpire in football. Secretary of the Great Flinders Football Association at 18 years of age! - Opening bowler for cricket team. Won the Tintinara Anzac Day Sheffield. Attended local dances. Took leading role in 3 act play. Took part in a debate in the local hall. I was instrumental in getting both the play group and debating group started.
- Played with the school mouth organ band which performed locally. Sang in Liedertaft Choir, which performed locally and beyond. Learned to play Euchre, and attended the card evenings. Picked grapes at weekends during harvest time.
- I had a very good season at football and cricket. My musical ability stopped short of Conservatorium but I was a fairly competent pianist. Music & sport opened doors, so that a decidedly conservative community accepted me socially. The children too, appreciated coaching during playtime. I was fortunate in this way too.
- Tennis (I was a good player - ranked 6th at Adelaide High School). Regular Saturday night dances & after I had been there a month I acted as MC on a fortnightly basis.
- Tennis, hockey, church, dances (whatever was held, I attended e.g. circus & a political meeting and at least one picture show).

Academic aspects

TABLE 11.2 Concrete Facts - Academic Aspects 1931 - 1939

	1931* &32	1933* &34	1934	1935	1935* &36	1936	1937	1938	1939	Totals
Educational Level reached										
Intermediate	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Leaving	8	3	1	5	5	11	6	14	11	64
Leaving Hons	3	3	3	9	1	8	8	5	8	48
Other	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Matriculated										
Yes	7	4	4	12	4	14	11	15	15	86
No	5	2	-	2	2	6	3	4	4	28
Own secondary Schooling										
City	9	2	3	10	4	12	10	10	12	72
Country	2	4	-	3	2	6	3	6	4	30
Non-Gov.	1	-	1	1	-	2	1	3	3	12
Studying										
Yes	9	4	3	8	4	14	6	16	9	73
No	3	2	1	6	2	6	8	3	10	41

* Respondents employed for the whole or part of both these years

Educational levels

The one who marked 'Intermediate' did not comment here but elsewhere he gave a clear indication that he had in fact reached Leaving level without gaining the certificate. A female respondent who wanted to be an Art teacher explained why she could not tick any of the PEB levels on the survey sheet:

- Two years Hindmarsh Central. Four years Girls Central Art School & School of Arts part-time until junior teaching.

Few others commented at all but the figures themselves indicate that the delays in appointments had opened up opportunities for a number of them. The most striking aspect of the figures in this section of the table is the number of respondents who were able to undertake some studies at Leaving Honours level. As was seen in the previous chapter, less than 20% of the respondents to 1930 had gone beyond the fourth year but between 1931 and 1939, 42% had studied at Leaving Honours level. It would seem that a number of them had taken advantage of the longer waiting period for entering teacher training up to 1935 to remain at school and do a full or part Leaving Honours course. Not all of them had completed a certificate at fifth year level but most had managed to pass some subjects. When entry to the College became easier from 1936, respondents were more likely to enter from Leaving, particularly if they wanted to become infant, primary or craft teachers. Over two-thirds of those who had studied at Leaving Honours level from 1936 onwards had wanted to become secondary teachers.

An important aspect about the level reached was the access respondents had been able to have to studies beyond the Leaving level. Only 17% of respondents from country secondary schools indicated that they had studied at Leaving Honours level compared with 40% of those at metropolitan schools. Respondents who had attended non-government schools were even more likely to have had this opportunity with 56% of them coming from fifth year level. A number of the country respondents ticked the Leaving Honours box but indicated that they had only studied one or more subjects at this level. Most of them managed two or three subjects without the benefit of a Leaving Honours class being established and one respondent from 1936 explained how it worked in her case:

- This may be of interest - At Moonta High School students could not sit for a complete Leaving Honours exam, but as we had to wait to be appointed as junior teachers we were permitted to attend school & study a maximum of 3 subjects by ourselves. The teachers were kind enough to help us with some lessons after school hours. We then sat for the exams at the end of the year, even though we could not gain the four subjects necessary for Leaving Honours standard. Thus I passed two subjects, English & French but failed Latin. These two subjects were the ones I studied at Uni while in Teachers College, so it did help.

Not all country secondary schools offered this opportunity and some respondents had to be content with increasing the number of Leaving subjects. One ticked 'Leaving' and added:

- 2 years - 8 subjects. No Honours at country H.S.

One female from 1936 gave an interesting commentary on the times as she explained why she gave up her studies at leaving Honours level:

- Not completed - low morale when Training College closed

Several others who had reached Leaving Honours had been able to begin University studies while they waited to become junior teachers:

- Plus 2 University degree units completed while attending school. [1931/32]
- 1st Year University.
- + Ma1 & Pc1 at Adelaide Uni.
- + University degree subjects

Matriculation

The 75% rate of matriculation in this period compares more than favourably with the rate of 56% achieved by the respondents up to 1930. Those who attended country secondary schools were slightly less likely to have matriculated than those who lived in the metropolitan area. One respondent explained why he had not been able to matriculate in his particular country school:

- I still needed Latin (It wasn't offered in my early secondary years).

Few others commented here and details of what many of them still needed in this regard only came

to light in the responses to Question 25 which asked if they were studying during the junior teacher year. Several of those who did add something here had problems with the requirements in the field of Mathematics where a pass was required at Leaving or Intermediate level:

- Couldn't pass Maths 1.
- Granted provisional matriculation & did Intermediate Maths 1 in first year at ATC (at night at School of Mines)
- Still needed to pass Intermediate Maths 1 which I did the following year.

Others lacked essential Leaving subjects:

- Missed English. English passed a year after leaving school while working in an office.
- I think I still needed Leaving Latin.

One male knew that he needed Latin but:

- I took Art in preference to Latin. A choice which has disadvantaged me [for matriculation] but which has been of advantage in my teaching career.

A surprising feature was that a number were unsure about what matriculation meant in their day:

- We didn't have matriculation classes in those days. [1937 - and had done Leaving Honours!]
- I did not do Leaving Honours but was given permission to attend University whilst at College in 1933 & 34.
- I had passed the Leaving & was able to do University subjects but don't think matriculation had been introduced yet.
- As I understood the Matric situation, a pass in Leaving English, 1 Maths + 1 Science (Botany) + 1 language, was equivalent to matriculation.

The respondent who had not been able to mark a PEB level also knew why she had not matriculated:

- Was not possible to matriculate at a Central School.

Studies

Only one respondent who had crossed out 'Yes' explained why he was not doing any studiues:

- I was busy enough coping with lesson preparation, marking compositions etc & making aids in the form of charts, busywork etc.

Of the 73 who were studying, 33 were taking University subjects, 34 were preparing for the PEB examinations and several of them were doing both. Others were taking Departmental classification subjects such as Woodwork and Art. The rest considered the work that they did under the direction of the Head as study. The passing rates for University and PEB were very different. Almost a third of those attempting a University subject admitted to having failed it but it would seem that some 90% of PEB subjects were passed. Some who passed and some who failed commented on aspects of their studies so it is possible to see something of what made for success and failure, particularly at University level where the opportunity to attend lectures was an obvious advantage.

Some of those who did a University subject were content to simply name it and perhaps put in brackets that they had attended lectures or that it was done externally. Others added more detail. A number of them were able to attend lectures as they were appointed to a city high school:

- Passed Maths 11 at Adelaide University by attending night lectures.
- Yes - I was permitted to begin a B.A. course at University of Adelaide, attending Latin 1 lectures 4pm to 5 PM four days a week.
- Latin 11 at Uni. (could attend lectures)

Some even managed to do two subjects in this way:

- Did French 1 & Latin 1 (after school lectures) if I remember correctly.
- I did two University subjects at night - Mathematics 1 & Latin 1
- Physics 1 & Maths 1 at University.

One respondent attended lectures despite being appointed to a school at Morphett Vale. She was one of those noted earlier as travelling 16 miles daily to and from the city:

- I managed to attend 1st Year University Maths 1 - 6.15 PM - 7 PM 3 evenings per week.

Others had to rely on external studies and several explained how they managed this:

- Adelaide Uni Latin 1, which I passed (I had done Leaving Hons Latin, and sent work in for marking).
- I was doing First Year University Latin - with notes being sent to me by students who received a small payment.

Latin 1 was by far the most popular subject but not the most easily passed. Of the 15 respondents attempting it, 4 failed. Some simply found it too difficult to manage away from lectures:

- I tried 1st Yr Latin but it was too difficult on my own.
- I tried Latin 1 but did not complete the year.
- Studied Latin 1 for one year - failed

One had to give up the subject for a number of reasons:

- Started Latin 1 but found boarding conditions, social conditions & school duties not conducive to study.

Two male respondents were already well advanced in Latin but had to abandon their studies for similar reasons:

- Enrolled for Latin 11 but withdrew - too involved in sport and social life (plus required preparation).
- One B.A. Unit (Adelaide Uni) - Latin 111 but abandoned it during Term 2 partly because of lack of study facilities at night (eg candles in the bedroom! & no other quiet room in the house).

Others experienced difficulties with a variety of University subjects. Some who realised that they were ill prepared for study at that level tried to remedy this by doing some preparatory work:

- 1931 - Inter & Leaving Latin
  1932 - University Latin 1
- I had not studied for 4 years (having matriculated (Leaving) in 1929) so decided to try Economics. I enrolled for Economics 1 at University and sat for Leaving and Leaving Honours Ec. I passed at Leaving & Leaving Honours but not at University (Ec 1) level.

One respondent was able to succeed by repeating his subject:

- Geology 1 after completing Leaving Certificate requirements at a Supplementary exam in March 1931. I repeated Geology 1 in 1932 and passed.

Others gave the impression that they had not studied very seriously:

- Economics 1 (allegedly) - did not pass.
- My French teacher had suggested that I do French 1. The matter hardly got off the ground. [she was one of the respondents taken out of school in May 1935, in her Leaving Honours year]
- ... I also tried to do Psychology 1 - but not for long. [she had reached only Leaving level because no Honours was available at her country high school]

Just over 70% of the PEB subjects studied were at Leaving level and it is clear that many of the respondents were attempting to matriculate and/or complete the requirements for entry to the course that they wanted at the College. Most simply mentioned the subject or subjects studied and these tended to be the ones most likely needed for matriculation such as English, Latin, Arithmetic or Mathematics or one of the sciences. Some explained what they were doing and why:

- The new requirements had been introduced & for Matriculation I required Leaving Maths and a language. As I had not done these at school, I started Maths & French in 1931 self taught, and did Leaving Maths & French in 1932 at the School of Mines.
- I studied and passed Leaving Latin which gave me entry to the University in a wider range.
- ... I continued my study of Leaving Latin in order to matriculate.
- Leaving Latin. One (perhaps 2) lessons a week in class. (Passed)
- I studied Modern History (Leaving standard) by correspondence from Muirden College & Leaving Drawing - 3 parts - object, perspective & plant drawing by correspondence through the School of Arts. I did this in order to gain 2 more subjects for my Leaving Certificate.
- Leaving Arithmetic and Botany and passed these.
- As a junior teacher I took two Leaving subjects and passed them.
- In preparation for the subject 'Education' to be studied while at Teachers College later, I studied the book 'Ancient History' by Breasted - sat for Leaving Ancient History & managed to pass.

Only a few of those studying at Leaving level seemed to have failed:

- Scarcely studying. I spent Term 111 reading History for one extra subject in Leaving Certificate but did not sit for the exam. The routine of junior teaching, plus the blackboard illustration, reading cards etc, did not allow much time for study.
- Leaving Maths because I liked it after doing Intermediate in one year. Had a tutor - did not pass.
- I tried another Leaving subject but study was difficult as there was no electricity and conditions were not conducive to study.

Some 23% of the respondents taking a PEB subject were studying at Leaving Honours level. Some just listed the subject but others explained why they needed to or wanted to study at this level:

- Leaving Honours Physics which I had unexpectedly failed in 1934.
- Leaving Honours French for interest - private tutor.
- I studied Leaving Honours French on my own.
- I did 2 Leaving Honours subjects - Geography which I had not done at that level, and Latin.

Several who were taken out of school during 1935 to fill vacancies in schools tried to carry on with their Leaving Honours studies. One did not say whether or not she was successful in what was a heavy study load:

- I had left school half way through the year. I carried on with the subjects viz. Latin (Leaving), Ancient History (Leaving), English (Leaving Honours), Geography (Leaving Honours).

Two others were unsuccessful:

- Leaving Honours Maths - I was trying to finish the year. I did not even take the exam at the end of the year.
- I had been taking 2 Leaving Honours subjects when I was appointed [in October] to this school. I continued my studies with a little help from my previous High School teacher. My studies were seriously disrupted and I did not pass either subject.

Not all the respondents wanted to study University or PEB subjects. Some gave details of Education Department subjects that appealed to them and that were a useful preparation for College and for a teaching career:

- Attended Saturday a.m. lessons at the Gilbert St Woodwork School.
- I studied the College Woodwork Course and passed the examination at the end of the year.
- Education Drawing Certificate subject.
- Attended Art School to do a Classification subject - one night per week.
- I had correspondence lessons in Drawing to complete a subject for what was called a Teachers' Drawing Certificate.

- ... also Showcard & Lettering 1 (to help with blackboard work) per correspondence with the School of Arts.

For some the only study that they remembered was that associated with being a junior teacher:

- Compulsory instruction given by the Head Teacher from Regulations and text books recommended for departmental education for certificate (The district inspector gruffly commented that REGULATIONS were THE topic).
- A book concerning teaching was set for study and once a week the Headmaster discussed various topics from the book with me. At the end of the year I was examined on this book. I understand that all junior teachers at the time [1937] did this, and the result of the test was submitted with our request to be accepted for Teachers College.
- The 'Method' book (I've forgotten the name) At the end of the year I had to do a written exam for the Head. I think the results went to the Department.

One had his doubts as to whether that task could be described as study:

- Not really study - I read 'Green & Birchenough' - educational treatise - & on Tues & Thurs we met early before school to discuss a chapter.

Others mentioned this type of study in conjunction with whatever PEB or other subjects that they were doing:

- Course of Instruction for Junior Teachers. Rules and Regulations of Ed. Dept. Leaving Arithmetic, Music (Private tuition).
- I had to study the Regulations & be familiar with the Gazette or Course of Instruction...I continued with my study of Leaving Latin.
- Studied Course of Instruction for Junior Teachers for half an hour on Tuesday & Thursday mornings. H.T. often present. Gave me a brief oral test at end of year. Also studied Leaving Arithmetic for PEB.

Career Directions

TABLE 11.3 Concrete Facts - Teaching Experience and Career Directions

	1931* &32	1933* &34	1934	1935	1935* &36	1936	1937	1938	1939	Totals
Teaching wanted										
Infant	1	-	-	3	2	1	4	6	4	21
Primary	7	4	3	4	-	8	2	6	7	41
Secondary	3	1	1	7	3	8	7	2	7	39
Art/Craft	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	1	6
Unsure	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	3	-	7

(TABLE 11.3 CONTIN.)

	1931* &32	1933* &34	1934	1935	1935* &36	1936	1937	1938	1939	Totals
School experience										
One Teacher	1	5	4	8	6	13	9	13	11	70
Infant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Primary	8	1	-	3	-	1	3	-	3	19
High	1	-	-	2	-	4	1	2	4	14
Central	2	-	-	1	-	2	1	4	1	11
College Course										
"A"	1	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	5
"B"	10	5	2	7	4	13	8	9	14	72
"Bx"	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
"C"	1	-	-	3	2	1	3	7	2	19
"D"	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	4
"E"	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	4
Art/Craft	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	3	-	7

* Respondents employed for the whole or part of both these years

Teaching wanted

The only space for a comment here was for those looking for something other than infant, primary or general secondary teaching so most respondents simply indicated the level of teaching that interested them. A few who marked secondary added that their interest was in commercial rather than general subjects and those wanting Art/Craft teaching generally simply indicated the nature of the course – 'Manual Training Instructor (was the title then)', 'Domestic Arts (Present day Home Ec.)', 'Arts & Crafts' and 'Art Teaching - secondary school'. Only one respondent explained why she chose a craft course in particular in preference to any others:

- Just to teach. Decided to apply for Home Ec to avoid possible isolation in an outback country school.

The small number under 'Unsure' were either willing to accept any course - a very reasonable approach in the light of the restrictions in place at the time - or had not really made up their minds at that stage:

- I was intent on getting employment as a teacher. I don't think I was concerned with any particular branch. [1931/32]
- Whatever was available - Primary or Secondary. [1933/34]
- Primary or secondary - either - eventually I taught both. [1935]
- I didn't have any preference. [1935/36]
- Infant or primary. [1937]

- I didn't have any plans - probably primary. I don't think we had infant schools or infant departments in those days. [1938]

School experience

There is a striking contrast between the teaching aspirations of many of these respondents and the type of teaching experience that they were given, especially from 1933 onwards. As was seen in Chapter 7, the first group of junior teachers appointed on 1/1/31 were generally placed, as had been the custom in the 1920s, in large schools near their homes. Nine of the respondents from 1931/32 were from that group and all of them taught primary classes, including one who wanted to be a commercial teacher and the one female who wanted infant teaching. The other three were from the second group of junior teachers from 1931, those appointed on the 16th of February, the date from which the needs of the Department determined where a junior teacher served, regardless of where they lived or what kind of teaching experience they might have expected in preparation for the College course they hoped to enter. Two of these respondents wanted to be secondary teachers. One of them had to board away for one year to teach at a country high school before returning to teach at one in the city and the other had to board away to teach at a primary school for the two years. The third wanted to be a primary teacher and was appointed to a one-teacher school near his home.

As the table indicates, from 1933 onwards, the majority of these respondents were needed to assist Heads of one-teacher schools. Those most affected by the new policy were respondents who wanted to be generalist or specialist secondary teachers as some 57% of them had to take their teaching experience at Grades 1 - 111 level in one-teacher schools. Another 13% were in primary schools or teaching primary classes in central or higher primary schools. Of the rest, a few were appointed as supernumeraries in large metropolitan high schools and the others had to go where their expertise was needed to teach secondary classes. In 1936, for example, a respondent who had already passed Mathematics 1 and Physics 1, was placed in a small country high school where he taught:

- 1st year - Eng, Ma, Science, Geog. (30 students)
  Leaving Honours Physics (4 students)

Two respondents who wanted to be craft teachers were located where they could get experience and at the same time assist with the teaching. One who wanted to be a Manual Training Instructor was appointed to the Adelaide Woodwork Centre and the female who had attended the School of Art recalled being appointed to 'The School of Art and Crafts'.

Some 80% of those who wanted to be primary teachers had to teach one-teacher schools, and so got some experience with at least one primary class. Those wanting to be infant teachers were the most likely to get the kind of experience they needed as only a few of them were needed elsewhere than

with the infant classes in one-teacher schools. One from 1931/32 had to teach primary subjects at middle primary level as well as dressmaking to Grade V111 in a central school. One from 1937 had to board away to teach Grades 111 & 1V at a primary school but two in 1938 were at local schools. One of them took Grade V in a central school and the other had to teach a variety of subjects from First Year to Leaving at her local high school.

College course

While the Department was not able to give all respondents the type of teaching experience that they might have wished for, it was able to ensure that most of them became the kind of teachers that they wanted to be. From the table it would appear that few of those wanting to be secondary teachers got their choice. This is because, just as in the 1920s, few students were admitted direct to the D course but rather had to serve for a time - generally two years - in the B course. Actually most did eventually get into the course that they wanted and some of them described the process and the factors that made for success in this regard:

- B with the expectation of moving to secondary - successful. Only those who gained places on Honours list of Leaving Honours went straight into the secondary course.
- Although we had applied for the D course for 1935 we were forced to enter the B for a minimum of one year. In any case we stayed in B course for the full two years and then went to D as we had already obtained 6 of our 10 University subjects.
- I wished to enter the D (Secondary) course, but, being in depression times, the Department took in only a few "D" students. However, after 2 years in the A.T.C. I was transferred to D.
- I was accepted as a B student with the option of transferring to D depending on my results.
- Primary - no secondary admissions for 1936, but those who passed degree & the College course in First Year were able to apply to transfer to secondary at the end of 1936, which I did.
- B - then at the end of 1939 I transferred to Commercial Teachers course (E). There were 5 students only and we were an adjunct to the primary course. The E course was a two year course, not leading to a University degree.
- After 2 years I transferred to D course so that I could take a Dip Phys Ed during years 3 & 4.

Not all of those who could have transferred between courses took that option. A couple explained their reasons:

- At the end of second year we were invited to apply for D course. I did not apply and received an appointment to a school from Jan. 1, 1932. (Most students did not get an appointment from Jan. 1 but were gradually employed).

- At the end of the second year in College I was chosen for the Phys Ed course but declined, as I did not wish to be 'bonded' for a further two years.

As the table shows, four respondents recalled being amongst the few junior teachers admitted direct to the D course. One from 1936 had begun her degree before being accepted as a junior teacher and she only needed to stay in College for two years:

- I attended Teachers College for 2 years (1937 & 1938) & by then I had completed my degree and College subjects.

The other one from that year did not explain how she got direct entry but she had something to say about the length of her course:

- D - 4 year course was interrupted by shortage of teachers in 1939. Virtually forced out to the country - thereby losing much pay later because no 'College subjects' done.

Although two respondents recalled being direct entrants in 1937, only one of them appears in the Gazette lists for that year:

- D - because I'd surrendered a Leaving Honours Scholarship.

The other one actually entered the B course for one year and her nomination of D most likely refers to what happened in 1939.

Overall, only 5 of those wanting to be general secondary teachers did not go from B to D and none of them offered any explanation at this stage. One other respondent who had started off wanting to be a secondary teacher appeared to have changed her mind as she entered the C course instead. All of the respondents who wanted to be Art or Craft teachers appear to have got into the course they wanted although several of them also had to go by way of "B" first:

- B then "G" for Manual Instructor. [1936]
- B then "G" course for Manual Training in 1941 at that time a two year course. In July 1941 I joined RAAF and was discharged in Nov. 1945. I re-entered ATC & completed the Hb. course for Manual Training in 1946 -1948.

Those for Art and Girls Craft were able to enter their courses direct. Several of them gave details about aspects of the latter course:

- A two year course named "F" Course. It was then called Domestic Arts ... We studied Education at the University and English, Method & Psychology with the B group students. Practical & theory of cooking, laundry, home management, needlework, art, interior decorating, dressmaking, physiology were studied at the Norwood Training Centre for Home Economics which was really part of the Norwood Central School. We spent at least half of each day at Norwood, usually morning and returned to Kintore Ave for lectures in the more academic subjects.

- Home Ec - a two year course which included a year of Primary Method ... only time for one University subject 'Education' (I passed!)

One respondent who was unsure about the kind of teaching she wanted entered that course, too, but realised that it was the wrong one for her:

- A two year Home Science Course. I never wanted this and was really suited for another type of teaching. But I was too naive to insist on a change. My mother was a widow and no help.

All of those wanting primary teaching seem to have got into a course that they wanted. Some had to accept the one year A course but none of them complained about it here. One of the respondents from 1931/32 who entered the B course explained the difference between it and the A course:

- All matriculated students entered College as B students. Non matriculants entered the A course.

That may not have been so for the 1934 respondents who entered the A course as they were much older - 20.9 and 21.8 - than usual and may well have preferred a one year course. As can be seen from the table, there was a one year B course - Bx - introduced in 1935 because of the shortage of teachers and each of the three male respondents who chose to enter that special course described some particular aspect of it:

- The one year term was labelled Bx for those who chose one year as I [aged 21.3] did for financial reasons.
- Bx - This course covered all professional subjects at B level, including Education at University. We were not allowed to take other Uni work. We had no study time in normal hours. Our advantage was 111B certificate after one year. [aged 20]
- 1936 Bx course - allowed to take Education - (7th credit) and got permission to take Uni Geography (B.A.) at night and got 3rd credit - only 3 credits given. Dr. Fenner (Director of Education) was the lecturer. [aged 20.7]

Not all of those who wanted to be infant teachers were successful in getting into the C course. However, only one of them explained why this occurred:

- I wasn't eligible for the Infant course because I didn't play piano. I took lessons in College and was told that I could transfer to C course when I could play a couple of marches. I remained in B course. Ironically after teaching all grades in 1 teacher schools ... I taught Grades 1 & 11 at Thebarton Infant School.

Responsibilities and Assistance Given

TABLE 11.4 Concrete Facts - Teaching Responsibilities & Assistance Given

	1931* &32	1933* &34	1934	1935	1935* &36	1936	1937	1938	1939	Totals
Teaching Responsibility										
Sole	7	6	3	11	5	15	11	14	11	83
Shared	1	-	1	-	-	1	2	2	5	12
Both	4	-	-	2	1	3	1	2	3	16
None	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	3
Other duties										
Yes	12	4	4	14	3	17	9	17	17	97
No	-	2	-	-	3	3	5	2	2	17
Assistance										
Yes	11	6	3	10	3	10	11	13	10	77
No	-	-	1	2	3	6	2	4	4	22
Doubtful	1	-	-	2	-	4	1	2	5	15

* Respondents employed for the whole or part of both years

With 73% of the respondents recalling sole responsibility for classes or subjects and another 14% having both sole and shared responsibilities, there seems no doubt that close to 90% of them could be regarded as being very much a part of the teaching force. The situation for those from 1931/32 remained much as it had over the previous two or three years with most being responsible for single or mixed primary classes averaging around 25 pupils and ranging from as low as 14 to as high as 36. Most of those with sole responsibility simply listed the grade or grades taught and the number. One respondent modified his claim to sole responsibility by adding 'up to a point' and explaining that his 14 students were the overflow from an oversize Grade 1V and that the teacher of the main class did the programming for both classes. The one who believed his role was a shared one explained that this was so because his Grade 1V & V was 'in the same room as the HM with Grs V1 & V11'. Two of those who recalled both roles had acted as supernumeraries for at least part of the time:

- 1931... grade V11 girls (about 20), sometimes with the boys, sometimes apart, as an assistant to the Head Teacher who was virtually the class teacher. Last half of the year Gr V boys (about 20). 1932 - half year Gr V boys (about 20). Second half Gr 1V boys (about 20).
- 1931 - Attached to each class 111 - V11 for approx one month for observation & teaching similar to a student teacher. Was given control of Opportunity Class on several occasions when teacher was away.

  1932 - All primary subjects as for other assistants - Gr V1 - 35 pupils.

A female in a central school had sole responsibility for 36 pupils in Grades 111 & 1V but believed that her work with 'Grade 8 - Dressmaking - 20 students' was a shared role within the secondary department. The one respondent who worked in two high schools had a different role in each. In one he was the only Maths teacher but in the other he was part of a team:

- 1931 - sole [country HS] - Mathematics throughout the school including Leaving. Grade 8 Science.
  1932 - shared [city HS] - Mathematics only, again at three levels, including Leaving.

From 1933 on, most of those who recalled having sole responsibility were in one-teacher schools where they generally taught the lower grades. One respondent from 1936 explained how the system worked in those schools:

- The school had students in every grade from 1 - V11. The Head Teacher took Grades 1V & V together and V1 & V11 together, and the JT took Grades 1, 11, 111. The number of students would be approx. 35 upper and 15 in the lower grades.

There were only two cases where the junior teacher did not have responsibility for infant classes. One male respondent from 1933/34 taught Grades 1V & V and explained that he had a woman Head Teacher who, presumably, took 1 - 111 together with V1 & V11. A male from 1938 also taught '1V & V - 17 - in separate room' but in his case the Head was also a male. Numbers varied with 10 being the lowest and 'about 30' being the highest but most had a few more or a few less than 20. Some had difficulty recalling the numbers taught:

- After 54 years, I'm not sure how many children were in my group - 23 is the number that comes to mind but can't be sure.

Most simply listed the grades taught and the numbers but a few emphasised the range of subjects within those grades:

- 1 - 3, - 25
- 1 - 3 - all subjects - 22 pupils
- Gr 1 - 6, Gr 2 - 7, Gr 3 - 6, - every subject

Others listed the additional teaching duties that they had to undertake and these not only illustrate the extra demands made on untrained juniors but also give a further insight into how one-teacher schools operated. For female respondents the most common additional teaching duties were to take sewing and rhythm. A number of them also had to take one or two subjects with the upper classes in order to allow the Head Teacher to take the boys for craft and sports. Some saw such duties as 'extras' and included them in the next section but for a number they were decidedly part of their teaching duties:

- 1 - 3 all subjects + sewing to girls 4 - 7.
- 1 - 3 plus 4, 5, 6, & 7, sewing, rhythm & basketball.
- 1 -3 for set curriculum subjects. Domestic 'Arts' for older girls (Gr 5 -7, I think).
- 1 - 3 (18 - 20). Also took all the girls for sewing and folk dancing while the Headmaster took the boys for woodwork/craft & some sports.
- Grades 1-3, 4-5 Mental & 6 & 7 Geography. 1-7 Singing (!) Girls 4-7 Sewing.

A few of those in one-teacher schools who marked 'sole' responsibility went on to add something about the role of the Head:

- Yes - but with basic guidance from the HT.
- Yes - but the school consisted of two rooms separated by a large open archway so that the Head Teacher had quite clear access as to what was happening to the juniors.
- Yes though doubtless the Head teacher kept an eye on progress to a small extent.

Several in similar circumstances preferred to regard their teaching as a shared role:

- Since it was a one-teacher school plus the JT, the seven grades were all in one room. I suppose I had charge of the lower grades - 1 - 3
- HT planned lessons & taught children at first while I supervised other children working. My teaching was modelled on the sorts of lessons he gave. Increasingly I became responsible for 1, 2, & 3.

Others marked 'shared' as well as 'sole' because they took the upper classes for sewing, singing or other subjects.

As has been seen, there were only a small number of junior teachers in primary schools from 1933 onwards. The majority of them recalled having sole charge of classes - usually at the mid-primary level and generally of less than 30 students - and they simply listed the grade and the numbers. Several also mentioned extra subjects that they either had to teach or were exempted from:

- Grade 111 & 1V 25 - 30
- All subjects for Grade 1V - approx 25
- Goodwood Central Gr 111. 20 or less - all lessons including singing - no piano but I could sing.

  Grade 111 - 40 - [sole] except for music.

Few regarded their role as having both sole and shared components:

- I taught mainly in Grade 111 but took some other classes when teachers were away. No [sole] except when teachers absent.
- I was officially appointed to assist with Grades 1 & 11. However, I was really the 'relieving' teacher whenever any staff member was away.

Those in high schools were far less likely to be given sole responsibility for a subject, particularly if they were located in a metropolitan school. In fact the only ones to claim sole responsibility were from country high schools:

- 1st Yr Eng, Ma. Sc, Geog (30)
- German Inter & Leaving

  Maths Yr 8 to Intermediate - class of 25 to 30.

  English 1st Year. [Sole] For German especially.

- 1st Year Arith & History - about 15

  2nd Year Shorthand, Typing & Bookkeeping - about 10.

Some of those in metropolitan high schools were able to claim shared responsibility but others believed that they had no teaching responsibilities at all. Some simply mentioned the subject and numbers that they claimed shared responsibility for and others explained themselves more fully:

- Intermediate girls (50) English.
- Science - mainly Physics to Inter & Leaving classes but not to a regular timetable - only selected topics. Practical science workshop sessions to some groups of Leaving students - partly as an extra curricular activity. No [sole]- not on a daily basis.
- 1st Yr General Science - 30

  2nd " " - 30 [at an Agricultural HS]

  Leaving Maths 1 & 11 - 5

  Leaving Physics - 5

  No [sole] – the usual sharing responsibility between subjects at a particular year level that applied in secondary schools.

One respondent did manage to be given sole responsibility for a short time in a city high school - but only in an emergency:

- Special Commercial class for students who had obtained the Intermediate or Leaving General Certificate and returned to school to study Bookkeeping (Accountancy), Shorthand, Typing & Commercial English to Intermediate standard in one year - 7 students ... I had sole responsibility 3rd term after my supervisory teacher married & left.

Two of those who recalled neither sole nor shared responsibility came from large city high schools. One was at a large suburban high school where:

- I filled in when teachers were absent. I can remember taking only one regular class in French. I was the general rouse- about, tea lady etc. Never overworked.

The other was a male junior teacher at the Adelaide High School:

- I was not required to teach at all. I was loosely attached to the teacher of the second-to-top class of Intermediate (Yr 10) girls, basically to mark language or other tests. In the afternoons I worked in the Head's office assisting his secretary with clerical and other duties.

One person who declined to fill in the questionnaire was also at the Adelaide High School in the mid 1930s and his comments in a covering letter back up those above:

- I have looked at your questionnaire carefully and. I came to the conclusion that the particular conditions which applied to the J.T. position at Adelaide High School meant that most of the information you seek did not apply. I was stationed in the headmaster's office and, in effect, was an assistant to the headmaster's secretary (junior clerk? - office boy?) ... My predecessor ... may have more to offer as he was sent up to P... for part of a year to fill a temporary vacancy.

As it happened, his predecessor was a respondent and he did recall both experiences:

- City HS - none (office duties)

  Country HS - [shared] 1st Yr Eng, Sc, Ma, 2nd Yr Chem (for one term)

The one other who had neither sole nor shared teaching responsibilities was at a central school but unfortunately she gave no explanation at this point of the survey.

Other duties

Just over 85% of these respondents recalled having other duties besides the classes or subjects assigned for teaching. For over a third of them the most well remembered duty was that associated with supervising children in the yard. Most simply wrote 'Yard', 'Yard duties' or 'Playground supervision'. A few recalled yard duty as an accepted part of the role of any staff member:

- Yard duty and all duties performed by a trained teacher.
- Yard duties as for any regular assistant.

Some recalled the shared nature of such a duty:

- Rostered to take yard duty as did Head and assistant.
- Shared yard duties.

The responses of others, however, seemed to suggest that they had to take more than their share of this duty:

- Lots of yard duty.
- Yard duty at lunch and recess.
- Yard – can't remember how often I was rostered but it seemed to be about every break.
- All yard duties - before school - after school - recess - lunch & bus duty after school. The Headmaster always went home for recess & lunch - his house being in the school yard.

The next best remembered duty was taking sport. Some 20% of respondents recalled some aspect of it such as 'school sport', 'games', 'exercises'. Such brief comments came mainly from those in one-teacher schools where the small numbers probably prohibited much organized and competitive sport. In the period 1931/32, however, when most respondents were at large primary schools, they had to undertake not just coaching but very responsible supervisory roles outside the school:

- Acted as sports master - accompanied teams to school matches.
- Took boys for football in winter - involved taking them to inter-school matches to schools on the Henley Beach train line (including Brompton)
- Football, cricket and taught swimming on the beach.

A few of those at high schools throughout the whole period recalled similar heavy involvement with sport:

- Phys Ed, coaching, supervise inter-school sports.

- Supervised sports - coached basketball - organised tennis.
- Sports supervision on Saturdays.

As has been seen, some of the respondents from one-teacher schools listed such roles as sewing, rhythm and lessons with the upper grades as part of their teaching. Others saw such roles as being additional duties and their comments give further insights into what was expected of unprepared and untrained junior teachers. Female respondents commented in particular on the sewing duties expected of them:

- I was expected to teach sewing to all girls from Gr 111 to V11 with no qualifications or ability whatsoever.
- Friday was Manual Day ... I was responsible for sewing but I was fortunate that two sisters doing Gr 8 & 9 by correspondence were very good & helpful with sewing.
- Teaching sewing to 4 - 7 girls (They knew more about it than I did). Also some rhythm.

Other females simply listed sewing and/or rhythm as additional duties:

- Teaching needlework & taking rhythm (or folk dancing).
- I taught rhythm to all girls in the school. I remember we put on a Maypole display for some school activity.

What others recalled gave further insights into how one-teacher schools were organised:

- Taught sewing to girls ... and also took them for Phys Ed. I also supervised Grades 1 - V11 while the Head Master taught older boys Woodwork in an adjoining shed.
- I also took some lessons with the older ones - mainly history. This may have been to give me practice in the primary work I was aiming for and to give the Head teacher a chance to see how my little ones were progressing.
- All the girls for sewing while the Head took all boys for gardening.
- I took Grades 1 - 7 for Singing while the HM did banking for 'School Bank'.

Other respondents, too, remembered their special talents being well used:

- Piano for singing lessons.
- School choir which participated in the '1000 Voices Choir' at end of year.
- Took music for whole school (1-7). Established and trained a drum & fife band (am a flautist).

There were others who had more mundane extra duties. Some had to assist with cleaning the school:

- Supervised cleaning (children did the cleaning, sweeping etc.)
- Sweeping classroom & attached enclosed verandah.
- Swept school room 3 times per week.
- At first swept school (my father complained to Ed Dept!)

The way some respondents in city high schools were used in non teaching roles has already been noted. The one who spent the morning marking language tests and the afternoon went on to describe his clerical duties:

- I became an expert chromographer of teachers' tests and vocabulary lists and incidentally chief boiler-up of chromograph jelly. I was required to fill in the attendance crosses for an entire term of a teacher's roll book. etc (You name it, I did it)

The one who described herself as a 'general rouse-about' had no extra duties to list but commented on her role:

- I had a fairly boring time. I would have preferred to have had more opportunity to teach. I left school early most afternoons to attend Latin lectures at the University.

One teaching commercial subjects had additional administrative duties to fill in any spare time:

- Spare lessons were spent in the school office! - Answering the phone & running messages.

Those in other schools had a variety of roles such as 'Book sales' and 'Attendance returns' and one respondent even came to appreciate the many administrative duties he was given:

- HT allowed or required me to fill in every school record. His excuse was that he was a poor writer. I became familiar with forms, returns, registers, rolls, reports, school funds, book orders, free books etc. This was invaluable experience when I went to my own one-teacher school.

Others recalled a variety of duties connected with school routines such as looking after the school vegetable garden, preparing concert items and ensuring that children were well presented and prepared:

- At assembly every morning, I supervised the junior classes in keeping straight lines, checking that their shoes were clean, nails clean & hair tidy - and making sure that they knew the words for saluting the flag.

The question allowed for a mention of any local duties but few commented on anything not connected with their teaching or supervisory duties. However, three female respondents in one-teacher schools did recall having very unusual extra duties that could be said to be partly school and partly locally related. One was 'President of the Mothers Club' and the other was 'Secretary of the School Welfare Club'. The other had an unwanted duty thrust on her because of the Head Teacher's involvement in local affairs:

- Taking charge of the whole school while the Head Teacher 'gossiped' with locals at nearby store from recess to lunch.

Most of those who listed no additional duties simply left the space blank but a few explained themselves. Some simply could not remember any details:

- I really cannot recall any - I think I was more like a minder.

- Can't remember duties but I seem to remember [being in] whatever was going.

Others recalled that little or nothing was expected of them:

- No - except to help with Phys Ed.
- None were expected of me. I was involved in all school activities - mouth organ band, sport, and fund raisers.

Assistance

As was seen in an earlier chapter, according to an annual notice in the Education Gazette junior teachers were required to study the Course of Instruction for the Primary Schools, the Departmental Regulations and the set text book. Those doing a second year were excused from studying Green and Birchenough again provided that they prepared lesson notes under the direction of the Head Teacher for presentation to the Inspector. Although no instructions were given about supervising teaching, it could well be expected that this would be a normal part of the role of a Head of a school as he or she carried out their responsibilities towards the pupils. There is wider scope in the cultural section for considering this aspect, as respondents had to assess whether or not the Head had done his/her duty by all concerned. The concrete facts simply set the scene in terms of how the regulatory aspects were carried out, what other assistance was available, and what was not done.

The table shows that close to 70% of these respondents felt that they had been assisted in some way, slightly less than 20% believed that they received no help and the rest were not sure about it. Of those who did receive help, some 46% referred mainly to a weekly instruction given by the Head. A few mentioned such lessons very briefly – 'Yes – Instruction', 'Regular before school instruction', 'Weekly lesson after school', 'HM – bi-weekly lessons at 8.30 a.m. each week'.

The majority however, recalled some details of what went on during these periods. Several remembered the regulatory nature of the lessons:

- HT especially - one 40 minute lesson on theory and practice before school as per regulations.
- Yes - weekly sessions on teaching techniques & ideas - and held without default every session required by Departmental regulations.

Others recalled what they studied in the way of Departmental documents:

- My attention was called to the Ed. Dept Regs, Gazettes, and Curriculum.
- Yes - 2 mornings a week starting at 8.00 the Head Master went through the Course of Instruction with me.

Many remembered a text book and the role of the Head in its study. A few were rather vague about it but most recalled the name and/or what it was about:

- Yes - I was given a teaching manual to study (forget the name).
- Yes - attended school at 8.15 on 2 mornings a week to study a book on Training Methods.
- Yes - I made summaries of a text book set for study re teaching. HM initialled them from time to time.
- I attended a lesson on 'Teaching Methods' twice a week ... The text book was Green & Birchenough. (What was not discussed I did not read)
- We had a weekly session ... when the Head Teacher and I worked through a book by Green & Birchenough. I wrote notes which the Head marked.

The strong sense of formality about such lessons was highlighted by a comment from a respondent from 1931/32 who after describing lessons on 'Green & Birchenough (A Primer of Teaching Practice)' given in 1931 and lessons on the Course of Instruction & ED Regulations in 1932 added:

- No assistance or advice in the classroom.

However, it would seem that not all of the weekly lessons revolved around the text or the Departmental documents. A few respondents recalled additional aspects and much more general kinds of lessons:

- The Head set aside a period before school one day per week to help with study of the prescribed text book, and to help with and discuss lesson notes for all the Arithmetic & History lessons. I could not have survived without him.
- The Head Teacher gave me some periods of instruction on teaching practice after school - how to prepare lessons etc.
- The Head used to have a session with me every week on what I was required to teach.

The other 54% of the respondents who recalled being assisted with their teaching made no mention of weekly lessons or texts as they described how they were helped. About a quarter of them recalled that assistance was readily available because they were in the same room as the Head. Some of them referred to the supervision a Head could maintain in such circumstances:

- Supervisory - in same room
- Head Teacher and I taught in the same room so I was constantly supervised.

Others described the way a Head could assist in such situations:

- The HT gave advice & help discretely. There was only one classroom so we were always in each other's presence except when occasional outdoor classes were taken.
- The Head taught at one end of the school room, I at the other, and was able to give help if he thought I needed assistance. He gave suggestions as to how I could get better results.
- There were about 50 in the classroom. We divided the room by turning the desks in opposite directions. I had an easel and a couple of blackboards. The Head had never taught Grades 1 - 111...[he] assisted me by encouragement and praise only.

Whether in the same room or in a larger school, respondents generally recalled three main ways that they were assisted. For one group assistance only had to be asked for – 'Irregular but supportive if I asked', 'Help given on request', 'If advice was needed it was always there', 'Yes - HT if necessary.' Others recalled the general helpfulness of the Head:

- HM was a mine of information, suggestions and kindly criticism. I learnt much from him.
- Head and I comprised staff. Head Teacher with his own class in room next door supervised but allowed me much freedom & scope to work in. Encouraged, directed, and supported - we got on well.
- Head and all other teachers were most helpful to me in every way.

The largest group remembered the practical assistance given by their Heads. Most responses were brief - 'Some help with preparation', 'Yes - supervised lesson notes' – but some went into details:

- Head Master gave me guidance on what I had to teach and on methods of approach.
- Head Teacher went through the curriculum with me and did the programme book each week - 3 weeks in advance.
- Gave full backing with any disciplinary problems.
- Head helped with advice & checked any study & teaching notes. - By preliminary discussion and supervision in preparation - particularly of practical aids in my particular [science] area
- Head - very carefully supervised my work at all times. It was a task he took seriously.
- Each afternoon the Head Teacher went through next day's time-table giving brief instructions. At night I prepared examples, Blackboard schemes or plans - which he vetted next A.M. He encouraged me to present all lessons in my own way - suggestions and criticisms were offered in a kindly way.
- The Head frequently gave hints on subjects - how to mark compositions, how to deal with pupils facing difficulties such as speaking English (as some spoke 'doggerel' German), suggestions re craft.
- Yes - 2 afternoons weekly a commercial teacher from another school came to take my commercial subjects and I observed.

As the table shows, a small number of respondents had doubts about the help that they received. Most of them were from high or other secondary schools. One marked 'Yes' but gave no supporting detail. Others remembered being given very basic assistance and then more or less left to fend for themselves:

- I followed the programme supplied.
- I was given an old copy of the school programme - and told to make my own copy.
- No formal lessons in Methodology - just gave the teaching programme for the week - I just did it how I was 'done by'.

Several recalled getting help only in routine aspects:

- I guess they did although it was probably only instruction in marking rather than any reference to methodology of teaching.
- Limited assistance in routine matter - programme, roll, marks book.
- They didn't help a great deal, but helpful if you asked them. Typing for instance - I don't think any other teacher knew much about it. Nor basketball.

A couple from one-teacher schools also expressed a sense of neglect:

- To a point. There were no instructions as to methods of teaching. I just carried on with what I remembered from my own Primary School days.
- Probably - I forget. But he was always there. I can't remember much assistance except the one or two obligatory lessons at the beginning of the year and again later. The HM was an excellent disciplinarian and a fine teacher, so his help was as much by example as anything else was.

Of the 22 who marked 'No help', 17 were junior teachers in one-teacher schools, 11 of whom simply marked 'No' and gave no supporting details. They had another opportunity of course, to comment on this aspect in the cultural section and it was interesting to see there how many of them believed that their Head Teacher did his/her duty by them. Two respondents who clearly did not get on well with their Head Teachers felt the need to comment here. One was from a one-teacher school and the other from a higher primary school:

- No - Headmaster occasionally bawled me out in class for being 'wrong'. In fact he wouldn't have known!
- School 1 - The Head Master deemed me as useless early in the piece, but one of the women on the staff tried to help & interceded on my behalf.

That last respondent went on to a one-teacher school in the next year and received no help there:

- School 2 - No help at all.

One of those from a city high school left the space blank as he had already indicated that he did not teach and the other explained her situation:

- There was no need - I taught so seldom.

Two of those from one-teacher schools seemed to find some excuse for any neglect:

- The Head was supposed to give me lessons before school but he was just too busy. I was given a book to read on teaching.
- No not really, but would have given advice if asked for it. The HT gave me a book to read on Principles of Teaching. I had to arrive one hour early once or twice a week to study the book. The Head was busy blackboarding work & did not actually go through it with me.

Two others simply recalled their situation:

- Left me to my own devices.
- No - Apart from the early morning supervision of my reading of the required book.

The question also asked about help from other staff but few were in a position to comment apart from some from 1931/32 who added something after mentioning the Head:

- ... all assistants were friendly and helpful.
- ... and the other Grade 111 & 1V teachers helped me prepare lessons.
- ... all teachers treated us as would Dem teachers - prepared lessons and criticism.

The only other such comment came from a respondent in a high school in 1939:

- Strong support from all teachers who were readily accessible at all times.

A further check on the supervision by Heads and supervisors is possible through Question 24 which asked the respondents whether or not they were required to prepare lesson notes, and if so, to give details. As has been seen, the annual Gazette instructions indicated that 'teaching notes' were to be prepared under the direction of the Head Teacher for presentation to the Inspector. There is an air of vagueness about such an instruction but it has to be presumed that Heads of schools knew what was required in the way of notes. The responses, however, do not fully support such a presumption. Although some 60% of the respondents ticked 'Yes', the quantity and quality of the notes varied considerably. About half of them recalled the involvement of the Head and/or the number and type of lesson notes required. The majority of those from 1931/32 remembered lesson notes and the way they were supervised:

- I was asked to prepare a detailed lesson once a week (Matter, Method, and Aids) - all subjects - watched by the Head who then gave helpful hints and advice.
- Two lessons daily. Examined by the Head and appraised after criticism.
- Lesson notes using the Herbartian Steps.
- Yes - had to prepare my lessons and submit the notes etc. to the main teacher of the grade. Lesson notes were detailed and formal. Much too detail and formality I thought at the time.

From 1933 onwards, fewer respondents recalled such detail but in every year some did remember what their lesson notes entailed:

- Yes 2 lessons prepared fully for each day's work. [1933/34]
- ... specific lesson requiring subject matter, method, student activities - outlines for all the rest. [1933/34]
- I wrote out lesson notes in detail for the lessons and activities with Grades 4 & 5. These were corrected daily & suggestions made. My lessons were under scrutiny as I shared the room with the Head. [1935]
- One lesson to be taught ... was chosen by the Head at each pre- school session. They had to be prepared in columns under such headings as 'Subject Matter', 'Method of Presentation', 'Recapitulation', 'Conclusion' & 'Application'. [1936]
- I had to write lesson plans in a book and could compare with the lessons written by previous junior teachers e.g. Matter, Method, Aids. [1937]

- I planned and wrote my lesson notes which he examined...He pointed out 'good' & 'bad' matters & it was really very helpful. [1937]
- One lesson in detail - brief notes on several others. [1938]
- Notes for all lessons in prepared format supervised by HM. [1938]
- I prepared notes on selected lessons at the Head's request. They were in three columns (Matter, Method, and Aids). [1939]

Some responses suggested that lesson notes were little more than a formality:

- I wrote out lesson notes for approx two lessons per week under headings of Matter, Method, Aids. This was mainly for show - to show the Inspector. [1934]
- I was expected to prepare lesson notes and did. However, very little criticism or help was given. [1938]
- I seem to remember having to show the Head certain preparations but he didn't do much about it. [1939]

The memories of the other half were of far less formal lesson notes. Some recalled very simple notes or ones that were just for their own benefit:

- Minimal.
- Yes - but not in any great detail - nor for a majority of lessons.
- Brief notes on matter only.
- Fairly simple note form over the subject range - I don't remember any discussion on this.
- All my own work since I was the only Maths/Science 'teacher'!
- Yes - only for my own use - not for criticism or supervision. Lesson plans were my responsibility - no other teacher knew any German.

In other cases it was clear that the respondents were being directed in their preparation:

- Brief programmes for each week & daily prep notes.
- Yes [but] in less detail than required at Practising School.
- I was shown old programmes from previous years and with the help of the Head Master was able to plan my lesson notes, usually a week ahead.
- Written notes on two or three of the next day's lessons every night.

Others recalled what sounded more like programmes of work rather than lesson notes. It seems likely that some of them were using infant programme books that allowed for the breaking down of each week into what had to be taught daily:

- An official book for lesson planning in all subjects was given to me - a bit skimpy & lack of space, but adequate to enable me to cover the course.
- Yes - Friday night after school I made a plan of lessons for the next week in the weekly program book. It was up to me to fit in work for 3 classes.

Most of those teaching secondary classes either simply prepared a formal programme or were issued with one by the subject senior:

- Yes - only to prepare teaching programmes for each term.
- I did what I was told. Little initiative was expected of me. No formal lesson plans were required.

A small group of respondents remembered only the notes that they had to make on the official text book:

- Expected to take notes on teaching from Green & Birchenough before school - on my own - Head Master not present.
- I believe I noted the manual.
- Two or three times a week...the Head Master would give me about 30 minutes of tuition and a book which I had to study & make notes on.

Of the rest, just over 10% were doubtful about lesson notes and in most cases this was due to failing memory, the length of time involved or the lack of impression this aspect of teaching had made:

- Yes - but can't remember the details.
- It is so long ago that I do not remember very clearly. In any case they do not loom large in my memory. I think I had to prepare 'busywork' for my young students or 'aids' as they were called. I can't remember any formal lesson plans.
- Not as far as I recall - perhaps we did but they did not rate strongly with me for usefulness.
- Yes - the details escape me! I had to use some format of lessons to come but this may have been from the Head's programme

The question asked for details only if notes were required so practically all those who ticked 'No' did not feel the need to write anything. A couple modified their negative response slightly - 'No – don't think so - no memories', 'No - not formally' - but what is particularly interesting about those who were not required to prepare any lesson notes is that a third of them also indicated that they had received no assistance from the Head. None of them added anything to what they had already said about the level of assistance given.

Overall, the concrete facts support the assertion in Chapter 7 that the system in operation from 1931 can be regarded as 'new' in that it differed significantly in its major purpose from the one introduced by McCoy just ten years earlier. In 1921, McCoy had announced that the junior teacher, 'as a teaching force', had practically disappeared as a result of his reforms. In the previous chapter it was noted that although many of the small number of junior teachers were in fact required to teach, it was also clear that they were junior teachers because they were underqualified for entry to the College. From 1931, this was no longer necessarily the case. It would seem from the memoirs that

the majority of those employed from 1931 to 1939 would have seen themselves as part of the teaching force, as would their Head Teachers, the students and the communities that they served. Certainly some were underqualified for the College but the nature of their appointments and the roles that they had to accept suggest that the system no longer existed primarily for their benefit. It had become largely a matter of what the junior teachers could do to assist a Department beset by financial problems rather than what the Department could do to help the junior teachers prepare for the Teachers' College. The concrete facts show that this brought about considerable change in the way of life for the 'new' junior teachers of the 1930s - changes that were in due course to become regarded as exploitative and a return to pre-McCoy conditions.

THE CULTURAL FACTS 1931 - 1939

The responses in the cultural section allow for an even greater understanding of the nature of the changes to the system and how the lives of candidates for teaching were affected by them. As has been seen, problems that had plagued the system since its inception had by no means been completely eliminated by the McCoy reforms and under the pressure of the economic downturn, some of them intensified considerably. The cultural facts recalled by those who were junior teachers at this time provide an insight into the realities of a period about which very little detail is known. What is known is that by 1938, the S.A. Teachers' Union had become so concerned about the use of junior teachers that it commissioned a survey into their working conditions. Whatever the Union discovered then remains a mystery, as the results of that particular survey were not made public. These memoirs go some way towards unravelling that mystery. The concerns of these respondents, their hopes, their successes and failures, and their opinions about the system that they found themselves in, provide some understanding of a period in which the scene was being set for the much more determined assault on the junior teacher system that was to be mounted by the Union in the early 1940s. These details are from the responses to the first six questions in Part B of the Memoir Document.

QU.1 REASONS FOR BECOMING A JUNIOR TEACHER - READINESS FOR THE ROLE

Choice or circumstance?

The decision of the Education Department in August 1931, to accept future candidates for the Teachers College only from the ranks of the junior teachers had effectively eliminated any choice over the mode of entry to a teaching career, except for those who could afford to pay as private students or were clever enough to have won a scholarship. The real choice was whether they wanted teaching as a career and just over 70% of the respondents recalled making such a choice. However,

almost two-thirds of them also referred to some element of circumstance. For some that circumstance was the obligatory nature of junior teaching. For others the straitened circumstances of the Depression influenced their choice of teaching as a secure career. Most of the other 30%, including several who would rather have done something else, recalled only the circumstances that had determined their career direction.

Of those who recalled making a choice for themselves, a few simply stated that it was 'By choice'. For others it was the realisation of a long held wish:

- I became a junior teacher by choice. For as long as I can remember I had always wanted to be a teacher.
- My only ambition in life (from about 4 years old) was to be a teacher.
- To be a member of the teaching profession had been my ambition for some time & I always loved children.
- I became a junior teacher by choice, as I wanted to fulfill a desire to be with little children.
- By choice. My parents told me that I began trying to teach our neighbours' children & visiting cousins before I started school myself.
- I had always wanted to be a teacher & felt grateful that I had been given the opportunity to begin that course.

Some recalled carrying on a family tradition:

- Since a small child my one ambition was to be a teacher (that had been my mother's profession - my grandmother had been a governess).
- By choice. From about Grade 1V I had wanted to be a teacher. My mother had been a teacher, as had three of my father's sisters.
- By choice. Teaching is a family tradition. My great-grandfather first taught at Gilles St in about 1861...

One respondent went against a family tradition of another kind:

- From my first day at school my ambition was to be a teacher (in spite of family pressure towards nursing - my mother's family had a medical & nursing tradition).

Several had other examples to follow:

- By choice. During the depression years my mother took in teachers as boarders and from an early age I made up my mind that I would be a teacher. Parents encouraged this and I had a wonderful playhouse with blackboards along the length of one wall. According to my parents I had a class lined up each weekend.
- I was named after a maiden aunt who was a teacher. As long as I remembered I'd heard people say, 'B ... is going to be a teacher like her auntie'. I might add that I thought Auntie was really special.
- I had an ambition to be a teacher just like Miss Edith B ... a former teacher of mine.

A good number of those who recalled both choice and circumstance stressed the obligatory nature of the junior teacher service:

- Both I think. I wanted to be a teacher & the junior teacher's lot was a pre-requisite
- Yes by choice - as the standard avenue to the Teachers College in those depression years.
- By choice I suppose but it was a case of taking the opportunity when offered as the only way to get into Teachers College.
- Because I wanted to be a teacher and I was told that if I did a year's junior teaching I might be accepted for Teachers College in 1936, which I was.
- Choice - Because it was the system then & I wanted to become an Art teacher and was told I could after an interview by Dr Fenner (D of Ed).
- Had always wanted to be a teacher. Understood the only way was via the junior teacher system so accepted it without question. Was there an alternative in 1939?

It is clear from a number of others that there were in fact, alternatives throughout the whole period but they were available only for a very limited number of students. Several respondents mentioned that private students who could pay their way, or have it paid for them, could enter the College and some others recalled that there were scholarships that could be exchanged for a place there:

- I wanted to be a teacher & at that time being a junior teacher first seemed to be the only way to get into Adelaide Teachers College unless you could afford to be a private student.
- To become a junior teacher seemed the only avenue to the Teachers College at that time, and I was determined to be a teacher. As far as I know the only students who entered College that year (1935) without being junior teachers were those who had gained one of the twenty Leaving Honours Scholarships to the University and had surrendered it to go to College. One of my classmates was lucky enough, or clever enough, to have done this.

A respondent from 1937 actually did surrender her scholarship in order to enter the College in that year but in her case it was to no avail and she had to become a junior teacher:

- My scholarship came out too late for immediate Teachers College intake as I was one below on the Honours list, despite representations being made on my behalf as I was academically inclined. In a sense it was a wasted year but in retrospect there were educative & enjoyable experiences.

There were of course, other circumstances that prompted some respondents to seek a career in teaching and accept a junior teachership as a means of achieving it. During the Depression years some respondents saw in teaching a security that was not readily available elsewhere. A number of the respondents from 1931-32 stressed the advantages of teaching in very difficult economic times:

- It was during the depression years when I had to make a decision and my father, having difficulty with jobs, decided for me that teaching would be a permanent occupation. I was

quite happy with the decision.

- The need for security, after the Depression experience, helped to lead me into teaching. The delay in entering College was not of my making.
- It was the time of the Great Depression - any job that was likely to last was eagerly pursued. Teaching was one that was open to students who were looking for a safe job without knowing very much about the conditions of service.
- There were no career openings available so the emphasis was on getting employment.
- I enjoyed reading, study and sport at school. Unconsciously, I liked a leadership role and never really considered any future but teaching. My parents' financial circumstances prevented independent enrolment at the Uni. A junior teachership was the only 'way in'.

Respondents from 1933 through to 1936 recalled similar reasons for becoming teachers. Some simply described how they spent the waiting time for an offer of a junior teachership and several of these accounts well illustrate the dark shadow of the Depression that hung over this period:

- I left boarding school at the end of 1929. The Depression struck in 1930. I would have taken any job - (public servant, railway, banks or private). You could not 'buy' a job especially in the country. Did casual work - driving a baker's cart, wheat tallying, farm work - for 4 years.
- I had applied for entry to the Teachers College at the end of passing my Leaving and became a Probationary student doing Leaving Hons. However, there was no intake in 1934 so I spent the year at home unemployed.
- During the depression years I remained at High School and applied for several jobs during this time. Amongst them was an application to join the Education Department. This was renewed each year. Having reached my 21st birthday in 1933, I was grateful to receive an appointment as JT in March, 1934.
- While waiting for admission to TC (after Leav Hons), a classmate and I started our own private school (Pembroke) in the hall of the Colonel Light Gardens Union (Congregational) Church.

Others recalled both the attraction of teaching and the pressure of the circumstances of the Depression. One male from 1935 gave a graphic description of the dilemma facing those who were looking for opportunities for further education and a career:

- I always had a strong love of scholarship for its own sake and my happy experiences as a student at the Adelaide HS confirmed the good image I had formed of teachers as a class. Cyril Michael Ward had become a hero in my eyes. So teaching seemed the way. However, by the time I was ready to leave school the Depression was at its height, my father's business (saddlery) was failing, probationary studentships had dried up, College entry seemed closed & I was too old to apply for blue collar or even white collar jobs. In the end, although it

seemed like the last refuge for a drifter, a junior teachership was welcomed, and I never regretted entering a profession I enjoyed so much.

The junior teacher system was a means of salvation in both a practical and a professional sense for other respondents too:

- In 1933-34, the height of the Depression, a permanent job, or, better still, a career, was, for many, a dream. A JT was well on the way to the fulfilment of that dream. At the time it was the only way of joining the Department. I wanted to be a teacher.
- I had always wanted to be a teacher, but after I left school the Teachers College did not admit students in 1933-34 (due to the Depression). Under the circumstances I seized the opportunity to become a junior teacher.
- Choice - I had attended one teacher schools (rural) & from early on had aspired to have one of my own, perhaps with some 'hero worship' of the HT at the last one I attended. I spent 6 years at C... High School as no suitable work was available locally (depression years).
  Circumstance - As it was I spent a year out of work, or odd jobs, before I finally received an appointment.

Female respondents in particular saw considerable advantage in the opportunities presented by the junior teacher system even though for some teaching may not have been a first choice career-wise:

- Before World War 11 the main professions open to a woman were limited - mainly teaching and nursing. I chose teaching as I highly valued my own education and was attracted to working with children.
- By choice. I knew little else a girl could do. It was a choice between teaching, nursing, shopwork or housework. My father taught in a one teacher school with the help of monitors so I virtually grew up in the school yard.
- I became a JT because being a country girl there were not many options for employment. I enjoyed study, I wanted to go to University & the only way this was possible was to do it through the Education Department. At that time a poor farmer's daughter could not afford to go to University.
- Not by choice. My father was ill for years before he died. My mother had no money. There were few jobs for girls in the country. Teacher training was one way of furthering education, then earning a decent living.
- Personal preference for nursing but too young to enter training at RAH. Widowed mother (no pension then!) could not support a University student. Only teaching offered a chance of tertiary education.

Some respondents seemed to have had the decision about teaching made for them, generally at the instigation of a parent:

- Parental arrangement with the HM of the local High School whose young children I sometimes played with.
- By circumstance. My father and the High School Head must have had a discussion & when I turned 16 years, I was told I had a job & would be starting at the beginning of the next term.
- By circumstance. I had just returned from High School. My father heard of the job of JT. I applied and was accepted.
- My parents thought it expedient that I earn a living as soon as possible and thought too, that a job as a teacher was secure. Remember the depression. It had affected our family.
- There was little opportunity to become anything else. Also parental pressure for a 'safe job'. It was expected to lead onto Teachers College.
- My parents always wanted me to become a teacher. It was depression years and they were impoverished, with much unemployment. Worked as a law clerk for 10/- a week but could not afford to go to University to take Articles.
- My father saw it as the only way we could afford tertiary education.
- I was in boarding school in Adelaide in order to attend school, and I knew my parents could not afford to keep me there any longer. My mother was very keen for me to become a teacher, though I preferred nursing. (In the end I did that too)

One respondent recalled a very different reaction to her parents' wishes:

- Up to the end of my last year at school I had given no thought to what I wanted to do. Other girls in my class applied for teaching so I thought I might as well too. Parental opposition confirmed me in the decision. My parents were both teachers so it really was a dominating part of my background.

A few others appeared to have just drifted into the job:

- Preferable to working for nothing for my father.
- My elder sister had trained as an infant teacher and I just followed her lead. I had applied for a nursing position, but was too young at the time (after my 'Leaving' year).
- I probably applied for the position at C... as it was close to my home town. My mother always said I should be a teacher as I was good with children and I just went along.

One respondent who did want to be a teacher recalled the unusual - indeed, almost 'fluky' - circumstance that enabled him to do this instead of taking another job opportunity:

- I always wanted to be a teacher but heard nothing at the beginning of the school year about an appointment. I therefore took a job at the Taxation Department. I resigned from there with the idea of repeating the Leaving Honours year at Adelaide high School but changed my mind. While sitting in the corridor of the Education Department building waiting to see the Public Service Commissioner about getting another job, 'Boggy' Allen, Assistant Superintendent of Secondary Education, recognised me (he had visited P... High the previous

year). He told me to tell the PS Commissioner I didn't want a job after all and about an hour later I was teaching at Norwood High School (for one day). [then moved to a country school]

The responses in this section throw some light on aspects which were noted in earlier chapters but about which there was little or no documented evidence or further explanation. Mention was made in Chapter 7 of the air of mystery about the Departmental plan to register candidates for the College in place of the probationary system. No lists of such registered candidates were ever gazetted so it was not clear in any official way whether the scheme was ever implemented. One respondent from 1933-34 recalled that there was in fact such a scheme in place in that year:

- I had no earnest wish to be a teacher but jobs were difficult to obtain. My HM recommended me as suitable and the security of employment attracted my parents and me. I first became a Registered Candidate for one year - my last of six at High School.

Others may well have also been supported in this way. It will be recalled from the concrete section that a respondent from the same years was in the unusual position of being able to undertake University studies while still at school but he did not mention any kind of registration. Another used the space in this section to describe an equally mysterious provision of studies beyond High School in the year before he became a junior teacher but he too made no mention of being registered in any way:

- Circumstances - Had completed Leaving Honours - 4 subjects. Was sent to University in 1932 by Education Department. Passed Latin 1 & History - failed English 1 (had passed LH English).

As was also seen in Chapter 7, not all of the second year probationary students from 1930 could be accommodated at the Teachers College in 1931 so some had to become junior teachers instead. No explanation of how the division was made was available, publically at least at the time, but seven of the respondents were amongst the latter group and the concrete facts show that three of them had not matriculated and one other was unsure of his status. One of them knew why he could not get into the College in 1931:

- As a bonded student from 2nd Yr High - no choice. As I did not matriculate I was not eligible for B course. Two year wait for a place in the A course.

The others did not comment on why they had to be junior teachers rather than student teachers but it would seem likely that in most cases it had something to do with academic status. The response of the one who was not sure whether he had matriculated reflected something of the mystery about the process:

- When I decided to take up teaching as a career I became a Probationary Student at High School. This was normal procedure in those days. I do not know if such students had gone straight to College in previous years but by 1931, entry to ATC had been restricted, & one

method of managing this had been the JT scheme, often for 1 year only, but in my case, 2. One other who had been a first year probationary student in 1930 and who would not have gone to the College normally in 1931 in any case, commented on his situation. Interestingly enough, he corrected his first statement in a way that fits in with the recorded facts from the Gazette lists of candidates of that period:

- These were the years of the Great Depression. There were a number of ex-College students awaiting appointments and at times the Government was out of money. I would have preferred Teachers College but no students (except private students) were admitted in 1931. I should say that none of the 1930 [first year] probationary students (of whom I was one of about 30 only) was admitted. In other words there would have been some 1928 or 1929 probationary students [who would have been second year probationers] admitted. There were no admissions in 1932.

In Chapter 8 reference was made to a notice that appeared in the Education Gazette in October, 1935 exhorting Head Masters to seek out applicants who had applied previously for junior teacherships, sometimes several years before. This was on account of the shortage of recruits that had developed by then, due to earlier cutbacks. No details are available regarding the success rate of this scheme but some respondents recalled it happening to them:

- After continuing as a part-time student & selling craft work I was approached by Miss G R Good - Principal of the Girls Central Art School - and asked if I wanted to apply for a position as JT at the School of Art & Craft. She had with her the appropriate forms which were filled in immediately.
- I had always wanted to be a teacher but in 1933 - no entry - so I worked at Harris Scarfes' Invoice Office & later in an accountant's office. In 1934 (I think) I was offered a JT position in an outback school. At the time it didn't suit my lifestyle. In 1936 - a family friend - a teacher (Infant Mistress) asked why I had not taken up teaching. I was interested then and she arranged for an interview with the Director. I was immediately offered Y...

The Gazette notice, which was repeated in 1936 and 1937, also encouraged Heads to recruit junior teachers from amongst the current students and the involvement of Heads in negotiations with parents on such matters, has been noted already. Several respondents recalled their Head Masters taking the leading role in recruiting them:

- Knowing I would have to move from the family farm, my choice was between nursing and teaching, with a leaning towards the former. The Head of the country HS persuaded me to reconsider the choice and apply for a position as a J.T.
- I think I always wanted to be a teacher but difficult home conditions during the depression forced me into commercial studies. Mr West, Headmaster of AHS, encouraged me to accept

a junior teacher appointment as the only way to tertiary studies. - The Head Teacher at the High School made arrangements for those who wanted to enter ATC in another 12 months.

- Choice ... I had spent about three weeks beginning the Leaving Honours year in 1936, when the opportunity came (through Mr R.A. West of AHS) to become a junior teacher.

In similar cases the role of the Head was not so evident:

- I had enrolled to do Leaving Honours at the Adelaide High School. On my second day there I was informed of a vacancy for a JT to take German at the P... High School.
- I was in Leaving Honours at AHS and there was a call for a JT to the end of the year. I volunteered to go out.

Preference for an alternative to junior teaching

Respondents who had not specifically chosen a teaching career were given an opportunity to explain what they might have preferred to be doing. In view of the circumstances of the times and the wish of so many respondents to become teachers, it is not surprising that some 76% of them left this space blank.

Some who had chosen teaching took the opportunity to re-inforce their acceptance of such a role:

- I didn't give it a thought. I wanted to be a teacher and saw junior teaching as a stepping stone to what I wanted.
- I enjoyed my 2 years and did not think of another job at the time.
- I would not have preferred to be doing anything else. In my particular 'year' there were people who were preparing for this, [teaching] but the closure of the College put paid to this. Most of us found other jobs for a year (1934) until a call came early in 1935.
- We had already spent an extra year in the school studying by ourselves & were glad to be given the chance to start work. It was a time when we had felt the effect of the depression & were still feeling it. Jobs were scarce.

The rest explained what they would rather be doing. Some would have preferred to have remained at school, generally to complete Leaving Honours. A larger group would rather have been at the Teachers' College or at University but most of them added that they knew that this was not possible either because of the Departmental insistence on junior teaching or because of their parents' financial circumstances. Others would have done anything to secure a job:

- Teaching preference - but would have taken any work available. Tried departmental Stores, but no luck, also Public Service.

- In a small country town there were very few opportunities even at the best of times. I would have taken on any career that had a 'future'.

Only a few had set their sights on quite different jobs but circumstances were against them:

- I really wanted to become a doctor but family circumstances in the Depression prevented this. Teaching was a second choice which I have never regretted.
- I would have preferred to have a scientific training e.g. medicine, dentistry, and physiotherapy perhaps. [but family had been affected by the Depression]
- I considered trying to be a cadet with B.H.A.S (metallurgy) but none were available.
- My first choice would have been engineering & in my second year I would like to have become a geologist.

Several females would have preferred jobs that were unacceptable to their parents:

- Acting. Parents were horrified!
- Joining a repertory group. I was not allowed.

Several others would have preferred something other than teaching but seemed to have bowed to parental pressure:

- I had trained in commercial work at Muirden College and would have preferred office work but my family were against me taking on that job, thinking at the time that teaching was a more secure job.
- Most girls - I don't know about boys - were more obedient & respectful. I seldom had rows over what I could or could not do. Generally I did what I wanted but probably didn't do anything to which mum objected, so although I did not actively choose, I just went along. We were poor.

One other persisted with her desire to teach:

- Only teaching! My parents tried to persuade me to apply for jobs which would keep me at home.

Two others believed that they could well have taken another career direction if they had had the opportunity:

- Staying at home helping my father in sports goods shop - I really wanted to be an artist - but didn't even know there was such a thing as an Art teacher or an Art course. [1937]
- Having once begun as a JT I was very happy. I am a practical rather than an academic person and sometimes thought I could have enjoyed being a florist, hairdresser, or dress maker.

Readiness for the role

The majority of respondents - some 65% - felt ready, 18% were not sure about it and 14% recalled that they were not ready. The few others explained that the question did not really apply in their cases. Two had not gone into junior teaching immediately after leaving school and one did not

believe that he had left the school in a real sense:

- This did not happen immediately. I have a twin brother, and, in depression times, the Department did not take more than one from the one family. (This also applied to admission to the Teachers College) During the year of waiting I had only 3 weeks of work - wheat weighing at the railway yards.
- It was not immediately after school ... [she had had a year at University]
- I had not actually left. I was doing a second Leaving Honours year until March at Adelaide High School. Student this week - teacher the next.

Those who felt ready

Some 18% of those who felt ready simply wrote 'Yes'. The rest explained themselves - some very briefly, others in detail. For some it was the only way to get a job and they simply had to be ready whether they had considered such an aspect or not. One respondent who had earlier noted that the emphasis in 1931-32 was 'on getting employment' went on:

- Here again I was ready to go to work and junior teaching was available.

Others from the same period recalled giving little thought to readiness:

- I can't recall giving any thought to the matter. I was prepared to tackle the situation.
- I don't think I gave the matter much thought. It was a leg into a professional career and jobs were almost non existent anyway.

Even in the last year of the decade similar views persisted:

- In 1939 the whole social structure was very different. You must remember that this was the end of the Great Depression which was a very hard time for the majority of people - city & country. One simply got on and did what one was lucky enough to be able to do. So far as I was concerned (naive perhaps) there was no question of being ready.
- I don't think I thought about it (until a few days before school started). I wonder if my parents did? I think our attitude was 'If this is the way to being a teacher then so be it'.
- I doubt I had given any consideration to 'readiness'. As a teenager I think that my generation were more accustomed to obedient acceptance than self-determination.

Others had thought about it and had seen themselves as ready to begin a chosen career:

- Yes I did. It was the first step in actively pursuing my 'dream'.
- I knew it was the usual practice and I felt that I could cope.
- I worked hard to get my Leaving expecting to do junior teaching after that - just an automatic step.

A small group believed that they felt ready simply because they knew little about what was involved in being a junior teacher:

- With limited knowledge of what was involved, yes.
- Oh yes - I didn't know enough to think of myself as ill-prepared. I just tackled the job, and had no way of knowing whether I was successful or not.
- Yes but I never consciously analysed what the job entailed.
- I had no idea what was expected.

Over the whole period however, the most common cause for feeling ready to be a junior teacher was that of being confident. A few merely stated that they were confident:

- I was quite confident.
- Yes. I felt confident about going out.
- No trepidation. I accepted what came.

Others put it down to the confidence of youth and a couple of them added an explanation:

- With the confidence of youth I had few qualms.
- Yes. I must have had the confidence of youth. I had 3 young half brothers at home so I had kept in touch with younger school children.
- Yes I did but I think it was the confidence of youth and not being aware of how little I reall knew.

On looking back, several were surprised at the confidence they had at the time:

- Self confidence enough (at 17 years of age) for John L... and self to become Principal & Vice Principal of 'Pembroke', our little private school which had some 40 scholars. Now looks like bloody cheek rather than confidence!
- Don't think I considered it. Over confident.
- I'm sure I mistakenly felt I was ready to take on the role of junior teacher, because, at that time I had no idea of the responsibility of teachers. Ignorance was bliss!
- I had no problem. Looking back I am surprised at the ease with which I approached the matter. From memory I walked into the classroom calmly, called the roll to get to know the names, then looked at the timetable.

Most others were able to find firm reasons for their confident approach to the role. Some had already had some experience with teaching. One recalled that he had already been employed by the Department:

- I was a monitor first in 1932 - May to December.

Another had helped her teacher in a similar capacity:

- It did not occur to me that I might not be ready. I had often been used as a monitor to hear reading and tables for lower grades.

One who had said earlier that she had practically been brought up in the school yard recalled that again:

- Yes, because as I've just said that was what I was familiar with - my older sister was monitor to my father for 5 years & I felt I knew what would be expected of me.

The partner of the one who had begun a private school recalled that and other experiences:

- I had experience with a private school from kindergarten to Leaving Honours & also tutored & taught Sunday school.

Indeed, Sunday School and other Church activities gave a number of respondents an introduction to teaching and dealing with children. Most mentioned this aspect along with other matters but for several it was a major basis for readiness to deal with ordinary teaching:

- I had taught small classes of Grade 4/5 girls at Sunday School & I guess I had picked up my ideas from the Handbook of the times. I remember the first lesson I gave - my mouth went dry & my lips didn't seem to work but the girls were all 'good'. This didn't happen at school.
- Yes - I had experience in leadership with children and youth in Church activities.
- Yes I felt ready theoretically at least! I had always liked small children and had been teaching them in Sunday School since my early high school days.

Some recalled that knowing someone who had been through the experience helped their confidence and readiness, as did getting the kind of teaching that they wanted:

- Yes - an older friend had started as a junior teacher six months earlier and enjoyed it.
- Yes - I suppose having an older sister with the Department helped with this. I was happy to receive my appointment to S... near home & I was also pleased to be teaching Grades 1 - 3.
- I had no doubt at all about taking on the role, especially in my favourite subjects of Physics and Mathematics.

Others had modelled themselves on their own teachers:

- I was enthusiastic about the opportunities which the system afforded and I believe my confidence was based on a close observation of the techniques of my teachers in Leaving and Leaving Honours.
- Yes I really considered myself well equipped since I modelled myself on very special teachers at my old secondary school - St. A...

A few felt well prepared, both educationally and personally:

- Yes - I had had a good secondary education and had reached adulthood.
- I was fairly confident, or perhaps obedient. I had learnt music and elocution and can remember being told to perform at various concerts etc. I can't remember any crises or doubts personally.

The major contributor to confidence in this period was the fact that so many had had to experience another way of life between school and junior teaching during the Depression years. Some made a

brief reference that implied a sense of growing up or maturing and others gave quite graphic accounts of how they spent the years waiting for a chance to join the Education Department:

- I had a year at home (1933) after High School. As ready as most young people would be.
- I was home helping on the farm for 2 years between high school and junior teaching.
- This was four years after I had left school and I had been through the school of hard knocks and felt ready to take on the world. I had played a lot of sport and had been secretary of sports bodies & social clubs in a country town and a delegate to various sporting bodies in the district.
- Yes - having mixed with the 'beyond-school' world for 2 years and done quite a bit of organizing or running activities among peers - sporting, social & Sunday School.
- I spent a year working in my father's blacksmith shop, where the work was extremely hard (ever tried to wrestle with a draughthorse on a hot summer day?) & the return was even more extremely small. Some of my spare time had been devoted to young people. I was Assistant Scout Master to the local troop & felt quite confident. A stint as Head Prefect & captain of cricket & football helped too.
- Had a short commercial course and worked in an office. Had been a Sunday School Kindergarten teacher and was fond of children.

Others spelt out the way this type of experience helped them as persons:

- Our group was delayed in starting and as the year went by, I felt grateful for that time out in the community ... as it left us more mature. We were then ready to take on this role.
- I had gained the Leaving Certificate in 1934 & so had a year at home (had needed to board away for secondary education) before entering as a JT. This year of mixing with people of varying ages possibly helped in approaching the situation.
- As I had finished secondary school two years earlier I didn't feel at all callow or inadequate in taking up a teaching role. I think I had grown up a lot in my time at University.

Those who were unsure about their readiness

Several recalled not being fully ready but certainly having an incentive to get on with the job regardless:

- Not really but I was prepared to do this or anything required of me as I was so keen to be a teacher.
- Not really but after a year of idleness was ready to tackle any job to the best of my ability.
- Not really, although I felt I could do as well as anybody else.
- There is always a feeling of uncertainty in any new job. I knew I wasn't 'ready' if you mean sure of my ability, but I thought if I worked hard, used my common sense & gave it my best shot, I'd cope. Others had.

- I am not sure that I was capable but I was certainly excited about being given this opportunity to launch my chosen career.
- I had no real concept of what a 'Junior Teacher' might be expected to do, but I was confident that left to myself, I could do the job of teaching.

For most of the others it was a matter of feeling ready in some respects but apprehensive about others:

- I had occupied positions of leadership in school, Cubs, Scouts & at secondary school. I liked children but I had no idea of how to teach or what to teach.
- Yes - particularly as a school friend had commenced junior teaching earlier in the year ... I felt less confident about the teaching method and curriculum for the infant classes.
- Yes - with some apprehension about control - but the timetable was rigid & the Course of Instruction laid down what had to be taught supplemented with rigid text books where the work to be presented was set out in weekly portions (Text books were the same as had been used by myself as a student).

Some were ready but were still concerned at what was expected of them:

- I was a little nonplussed at being given a class on the first day and being told to get on with it, but I appreciated the challenge & it worked well.
- I felt confident but I simply did not know what I would be expected to do. At my high school, the JT had seemed to just help in the classrooms - marking books, fixing blackboards. [she was to teach Grades 1 - 3]
- I had one year at the Barr Smith Library after leaving school and had passed two University subjects. I had also played cricket for the University. This, and the excellent example set by my secondary teachers gave me confidence. However, I was not expecting the degree of responsibility that I had to accept e.g. class teacher of the 1st Year class, the largest class in the school.
- I must have had doubts but I would have expected to have spent the whole year at a city High School, where work [for a JT] was purely as assistant office boy. Second term at a country High with a full teaching load as class teacher, must have brought qualms.

The uncertainty of two others was added to as they were appointed to their own secondary schools:

- My JT year was really an extension of the school year and I was slightly apprehensive when taking on helping students who needed to complete certificates. I had been to school with them and 2 were older than I was.
- Not fully, as I lacked confidence and had to teach students who knew me as one of them.

One other recalled the particular circumstances of 1938 that enabled her to overcome most of her problems about readiness:

- I remember that I was apprehensive about being a JT but in 1938 school re-opened 2 weeks

later than normal due to the epidemic of Polio. During those weeks I attended the school at C... & the Headmaster helped me tremendously with advice about teaching Grades 1 - 3 & I was able to plan several weeks of work.

Those who did not feel ready

About a third of these respondents simply wrote 'No'. Others explained why. The replies from two from 1931-32 underline the nature of the change to the system at that time. One had not expected to be a junior teacher at all and the other had not expected the teaching role he was given:

- No - the idea of becoming a JT had never occurred to me. It was taken for granted by everyone that I would go from secondary school to Teachers College.
- From other JTs of my acquaintance I had no idea that I should be a full-time teacher in control of a class. None of my peers had had that responsibility, so I was reasonably confident of being a supervisor, messenger, or 'babysitter' as they appeared to have been. I am grateful that I did not realise what was ahead of me.

Others soon overcame their lack of readiness:

- No - but I rapidly gained confidence with experience.
- Not at first - when at that age!

Some recalled the problems they had as they began:

- No - no contact with children previously. I had no experience of Department schools at Primary level. The Inspector arrived on the first day.
- No - I had no experience with young children, and was very naive. I had a strict mother who would not allow us to mix freely.
- No. I did not feel mature enough to handle children

One of those taken out of school part-way through the year to fill an emergency vacancy recalled her lack of readiness at that stage:

- No not at all. It was the middle of the school year when I started.

Further insights into readiness were provided by the responses to the final part of Question 1 where respondents had to try to recall how they felt on leaving home and as they approached the school on the first day.

On leaving home to begin junior teaching

As the concrete data shows, all but one of the 1931-32 respondents lived at home but from 1933 onwards the situation changed dramatically with some 68% of respondents having to board away. Not surprisingly the 1931-32 respondents treated this section very much as those from the 1920s had

with some merely writing 'N/A' and others simply interpreting the question in terms of beginning a new job. The one who did board away for one of the years had mixed feelings:

- Somewhat apprehensive at living away from home - otherwise excited & expecting pleasure.

Of those from 1933 to 1939, some 40% were happy about setting out from home, 17% recalled having some concerns, 19% had mixed feelings and the rest had either not left home or had simply forgotten that episode. Some looked at the question from the point of view of actually leaving home but others saw it more in terms of the new way of life that they were about to begin.

A number of those who were not concerned about leaving home put it down to the excitement of beginning a new life. Some merely described their feelings in such terms as 'Happy', 'Excited', 'Very excited', 'Pleasurable excitement' or 'Quietly confident'. Others were excited because they were facing something new and different:

- I was keen to begin a new experience.
- As a city person I was eagerly looking forward to living and working in the country.
- Enthusiasm. Leaving home (I was the youngest of four) was a great adventure.
- Pleased and excited to begin a new phase in my life and quietly confident that I could handle my first experience of living away from home.

One gave a longer account of why he was happy to be leaving home:

- I must say that I was more excited about what lay ahead than any other previous experience. Living conditions at home were not the best & I was not sorry to be leaving to take my first train trip and first visit to a country centre. I had never spent time away from home before.

Others were quite used to being away from home:

- I was quite 'comfortable' at the time, as I had already spent a year away from home while studying at Leaving Honours level.
- As I had to leave home ... to attend High School ... where I had to board with strangers I was probably not as nervous as some other JTs. I'd been away from home since I was 13 years of age, at High School.
- I had been boarding away from home for four years so to me it was just a normal part of life.

Not surprisingly in view of the problems caused by the Depression, a number were just pleased to be setting out for a job:

- Glad to have a job.
- Pleased to have a job. My parents were affected by the Depression. Mother came with me to inspect the boarding house.
- Yes - delighted to have a job - any job would have been welcome. I had even worked as a charcoal burner.
- Very fortunate to be embarking on a career while contemporaries in a small town were

facing a long wait for employment of any kind.

- There was no emotional input. I was happy at long last, to set out on this adventure which would lead to a job & security.

Others were pleased to be beginning a career that they had been looking forward to:

- Confident and excited. I was doing what I wanted to do.
- I felt excited to be taking this first step in my career.

Some recalled a mix of pleasant feelings:

- A sense of adventure, excitement, & a great relief at having a job at last & a teaching job at that.
- Very excited and important. Leaving home did not worry me.

A number of those who had a concern about leaving home described their feelings very briefly in such terms as 'Trepidation', 'Inadequacy, terror', 'Much apprehension', 'Very homesick' and 'Very nervous'. Others had vivid recollections of the day:

- I can clearly remember the panic when my parents left me in that strange house.
- I cried all the way in the train.
- I was very apprehensive, as being an only child, I had lived a somewhat sheltered life with no responsibilities.
- It was a long way from home. [500 miles] I had one day's notice so there was no time for anything but preparation - to get home, collect gear & return to catch the ship.
- I was terribly homesick. I cried all the way in the railcar. I was deposited at the B... crossing at 9 PM at night, alone with my 2 suitcases. Soon I saw car lights coming towards me and my Head Teacher transported me to my boarding place.
- The service bus was doing the 'mail run' to several small villages - it took two and a half hours to reach C... - 25 miles. By that time I was reduced to tears.
- I was not as affected as my widowed mother. She wept copiously at, as she later said, my forlorn look as I sat in a corner of the train. I had not previously left home - ever.

One recalled the hopes she entertained as she set off:

- I hope the people I board with will be nice. I hope the teacher and his wife won't be too critical! Let there be another young girl there to be my friend.

A slightly larger group had mixed feelings. For some of them the excitement was dampened to some degree by certain concerns:

- Some excitement & the hope that I would 'measure up'.
- Quite excited if a little apprehensive.
- Feeling of excitement for something new and apprehension at going away from home for the first time.

- It was an adventure but if you mean going out to the country - not quite sure. It was a big step to live in the country even if it was so close and I had left a sheltered home... I was spoiled.
- Excitement at starting out on a career I'd always planned to take up, and a sadness that I was leaving home & family to be on my own.
- Yes - some excitement ... and a certain amount of importance [but] I had never been away from home before. For weeks I battled homesickness at night.
- I was excited & a little nervous as I had never travelled to M... before, and had no idea what would be expected of me.

For others, concerns were tempered by the benefits in store:

- Apprehension but delighted.
- Sad at leaving a very good home & close knit family but excited at the opportunity to branch out on my own.
- Living away from home was not the norm in my day. [1935] We expected to live in our parents' home at least until we were married. I felt resigned, although apprehensive, as a new world was opening up for me. This was my first time away from home, my forced independence, exciting but alarming.

Several who were quite used to leaving home recalled the concerns that they still had:

- I had already been away from home for 4 years in Adelaide at Adelaide HS - left home when I was 12, so I was used to it - but never liked it.
- I hated leaving home (always had) - I was quite shy about it [the appointment] but having spent three years at boarding school I suppose I accepted it without question.
- I had been at boarding school so was used to leaving home. However, transition from a town of 12,000 to one of such small numbers was quite a culture shock.

One simply stated her general concern:

- Very mixed. I was wondering what I had let myself in for.

On approaching the school on the first day

Some 15 % of all the respondents either stated that they could not remember their feelings as they approached the school or simply left the space blank. The rest were fairly evenly divided with 32% generally feeling good, 28% expressing some real concerns and 25% having mixed feelings. Overall then in this period of great change to the system, some 53% expressed either straight out concerns or had mixed feelings about the role that they were obliged to take on. The concerns suggest that many respondents had no idea what to expect and that no attempt had been made to prepare them for the role. Some expressed their concerns quite tersely – 'Apprehension', 'Nervous apprehension',

'Exremely nervous', 'With doubts', 'Pretty scared', 'What am I doing here?', 'Rather fearful. Lacking in confidence to do the job'. One who had expressed 'trepidation' at leaving home simply added 'Damned trepidation'.

Others wondered what it would be like:

- I was somewhat nervous & apprehensive. Would the staff accept me? How would the 'big' Grade V11 boys react if & when I had to supervise them? So many children milling about in such a small playground! Not an obvious teacher in sight!
- I suppose I would have had some thoughts on whether I would get a class and how I would cope.
- What would it be like? I had never set foot in a 'State' school before. I had been educated in the local Catholic PS & then been a boarder at Rostrevor College for 3 years. I had little idea of how the 'State' system operated.
- My feelings were uncertain. Would the Head be helpful? Could I relate to small children? What would the parents think of me? - And of loneliness.
- Wondered what those little country kids would be like - but I didn't expect to be teaching Grades 1 - 3.
- Having had little to do with hospitals I felt trepidation in wondering what to expect on the first morning. [at Escourt House - an annexe of the Children's Hospital]

Some did have a fair idea of what they were in for:

- Wondered how I would fare particularly as I knew the Head Teacher and I would be sharing the same long-stepped room, he with 33 Grades V1 &V11, me with 32 in Grades 1V & V.
- I felt apprehension because I had heard that the Headmistress at my appointment was a frightening woman. My apprehension turned to terror.
- The JT experience was exceptional in that I left school one day as a student to return the very next as teacher. I
- I'm sure I would have felt less intimidated entering for the first time a school in which I knew no-one.

Others had vivid recollections of the difficulties of the first day:

- As I walked through the grounds it became real. I was scared.
- Scared! I remember telling myself to square my shoulders, keep my head up and try to look confident. I did that & hoped that a pleasant smile & quiet confidence would get me through. I wonder if I convinced them.
- The Head teacher drove to the station to meet me at 11.00 a.m. approx, when the railcar arrived. The children were lined up on both sides from the gate to the school building. I felt like 'Exhibit A' so I put my head up, shoulders back and let them stare if they liked.

- I felt very nervous ... I sat on the platform with the other teachers. I was introduced as Miss N... and I felt a slight ripple in the hall. A foreign name was a novelty in those days.
- I felt rather small, especially as I was taken immediately to be given Gr 4 & 5 without preparation. [one taken out of a high school in 1935]
- Desolation. It was drizzling, there was no-one to meet me. When I reported to the Head Master's home he was still in bed & did not know of my coming. Nevertheless he quickly organized accommodation for me.
- I was really nervous. The bus dropped me off at my boarding place and my landlady told me how to get to the school. I had to walk approx 1 mile & had to pass the butter factory where the workers were all waiting to get a glimpse of the new JT- a very embarrassing experience.
- The Head was a very kind man. He phoned me at home the week before school started and offered to drive me on the first day and made reassuring noises. He sensed that I was nervous. He couldn't have known that I was petrified.
- I was afraid of the unknown and very hungry. My landlady had been up early cutting up ingredients for tomato sauce including garlic. Everything tasted of garlic. I couldn't eat anything - weetbix & milk (garlic from her handling it) etc. The sandwiches she cut for my lunch too! The Head's wife gave me some lunch. I've since acquired a taste for garlic!

Most of those who recalled mixed feelings had their nervousness or fear mitigated to some extent by more positive aspects. Some simply stated their conflicting feelings – 'Nervous but excited', 'Probably excitement and trepidation', 'Slightly apprehensive, but perhaps with added elation' – while others went into some detail:

- The prospect of actually teaching students caused a mixture of anticipation & apprehension. I wondered how I would be accepted by the staff after being a student at the same school.

Others were pleased to have a job, and especially a teaching one:

- Some trepidation. Gratification at having a job.
- Nervous no doubt but we were used to following orders and was happy to have a posting. (I had returned to High School ready to repeat the Leaving Honours year before being posted)
- I had always wanted to be a teacher and I was delighted to get going but nervous at being 'thrown in', no doubt.

Some were hoping to be able to overcome their concern:

- Rather nervous but hoping I could cope.
- I lacked confidence but hoped that my country upbringing would help in relationship with the children.

One respondent recalled that even after meeting a pleasant Head Teacher she still had concerns:

- The Head Master met me at the station ... He seemed very nice but I still felt nervous about meeting all the children.

Another remembered how her concerns were quickly overcome:

- Naturally nervous and a little lost but as I walked with the comforting hands of my landlady's two little ones in mine, I felt suddenly adult.

Most of those who felt happy about approaching the school were excited about the prospect and looking forward to a new experience:

- Excitement.
- I eagerly looked forward to it.
- I was keen to begin a new experience.
- I was 6 foot tall (not literally) and walked with joy.

One respondent was excited enough to remember the clothes she wore that day:

- Still excited! [she had been on leaving home] I wore my best dress! My wardrobe was not very extensive! I can see that rust coloured dress now - I wore a gold velvet scarf with it.

For others just having a job was enough to banish any concerns:

- Eager anticipation and a sense of having arrived somewhere and being somebody - instead of being a number on a dole queue which I had been at different periods since leaving school.
- Some excitement about having a job - poorly paid though it was, and some relief that schooldays and classroom discipline as known were over

Others had no worries because they were familiar with what they were going into. Some were going back to a school that they had attended:

- Yes - it was the school I had attended as a primary student & I was in familiar surroundings. Due to a friendly & favourable reception by the HM & staff I felt at ease and enthusiastic.
- I felt quite at ease. I was familiar with the school [Adelaide Woodwork Centre] from the age of 10. I had attended practical lessons there.
- I knew most of the staff. I was warmly welcomed.

Others were going to a school that they did not know but their introduction had clearly swept away any concerns:

- I had been to the school on the previous day & had liked the HT & his wife who made me feel welcome.
- The Head Teacher met me on arrival Saturday morning and spent most of the weekend introducing me to school committee men, parents, town dignitaries & his family. On the way to school some children greeted me by name as if I had been an old resident of their town. I felt at home.

Two others were relieved to find friends in the town:

- Happy knowing that I could lunch with a school friend whose parents owned the local store.
- The HM's daughter had been at high school with me & I was very pleased to meet her again

and this boosted my confidence.

Several felt confident for other reasons. One male felt he had several advantages:

- Because of my age [21.3] & experience in teaching [he was the one who had helped run a private school] & sport. I was a surf life-saver at Glenelg, an above average swimmer and had mixed with people in this field.

Others were familiar with teaching or dealing with children:

- I did not feel strange. My mother had been a teacher (in Training College 1906-7) and was called back during the shortage when I was in Grade 3.
- I had a younger sister I always seemed to be looking after and I thought I'd be able to manage that lot. No noble ideals!

As was seen in an earlier response, school began later than usual in 1938 and some of the junior teachers from that year recalled being able to have a settling in period before they had to face the pupils:

- Fine. School was closed for the first fortnight because of the 'Infantile Paralysis' scare. So no pupils.
- This was unusual as the schools were closed for some weeks because of the Poliomyelitis Epidemic. There were only the two of us, Head and myself present. We prepared lessons and a family member collected them and then returned them for marking.

One respondent recalled an event from 1931 that made him feel that any concerns he might have had as a new appointee were fairly insignificant compared with those of the new Headmaster:

- The Headmaster was newly appointed. This was the first year after the retiring age was brought back from 70 to 65. The retired HM, Mr B..., could not accept this and turned up every day and sat in the office. Mr H... had started with bigger problems than a JT.

QU. 2 LEVELS OF SATISFACTION - DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

This question required the respondents to move on from how they felt about accepting and taking up a junior teacher position to looking at longer term aspects. Firstly they had to reflect on the very satisfying, less satisfying or unsatisfactory things about the role. They were then asked for details of difficulties they had encountered in relating to the pupils, the other teachers or the community and were given space to explain how they had coped with such problems.

The very satisfying aspects

Two respondents left this space blank and neither of them listed any less or unsatisfactory aspects either. One other wrote 'None' and another 'No definitely not' in this space and both of them went on to explain why they felt that way in one or other of the next levels. All the rest were able to recall

something satisfactory about the experience. Only one of them was unable to accept that anything was 'very' satisfying:

- I found nothing very satisfactory. I was grateful to be able to continue my studies - even though it was only one subject.

A couple of respondents made very broad statements such as 'I enjoyed all aspects' and 'I enjoyed all the children' but most were prepared to give details of what was very satisfying about the role. Interestingly enough for such difficult times, only a few listed merely having a job in this category. One simply stated the fact and the others were not particularly enthusiastic:

- Don't recall being 'over the moon' about it. It was a job to be done.
- I can't remember analysing my teaching. I was doing what I expected to do after Leaving Honours and that was it. I must have been complacent.

What a number did find very satisfying was having the kind of job that they wanted. Some simply wrote 'Teaching' or 'Being a teacher' or 'I enjoyed the teaching' while others went into further detail:

- Teaching - it was an enjoyable challenge and worthwhile experience and preparation for later years.
- The fact that I was actually teaching & was responsible for my own group of students.

Others were pleased just to have begun on their chosen career:

- The feeling that I was embarking on my choice of career at last (from Gr 3 it had been my ambition).
- The fact that I was doing what I wanted to do.
- It would have been satisfying for me to be 'teaching' (if I can use that word at that stage of my career). So apart from the fact of personal self interest I cannot think of any other emotion. You see at last I was beginning on what I had always planned to be.

Closely allied with this was the satisfaction of those who realized, too, that they had made the right choice:

- The knowledge gained during that year that I seemed to be well suited for a teaching career and that I preferred primary teaching.
- I found I could teach. I had absolutely no trouble with discipline.
- I found (as I had always hoped and expected) that I liked what I was doing and that it was worthwhile.
- Discovering that I could manage a 'class' and hold their interest.
- That I could control the children and still have fun with them and that on the whole they were learning what I was trying to teach them.
- I grew up! The little children accepted me as their teacher - in a small community I was warmly accepted.

By far though, the aspects most respondents found very satisfying related to contact with children and a realization that they liked children and could get on well with them. Some 35% of the comments related to such sources of satisfaction:

- Contact with children in and out of school.
- I enjoyed teaching little children.
- Class teaching and working with children - all aspects.
- Being with children who were quite delightful. I knew from the beginning that I loved children and that I loved teaching them.
- Pupils were happy to work with and for me.
- I liked the respect and love shown me by most of the children. I felt important to them.
- My greatest satisfaction came from relationships with a particularly fine group of students... I thoroughly enjoyed my work in the classroom and gained confidence as a result. I was pleased to find I had gained the respect of the children I taught.

Implicit in some responses was the notion that children were nicer, or at least easier to teach, in the 1930s:

- I loved little children. In those days they were so friendly, delightful and obedient. They really enjoyed school.
- In those days children - especially country children - still retained a sense of innocence and wonder. They were a joy to teach and there were no discipline problems. Although most of the local children [in a Barossa Valley school] lived with limited horizons and ability and some had problems with English (their parents were fairly parochial and many still spoke German at home) they enjoyed school life and embraced it vigorously, especially activities out in the school yard.

One respondent found that her age gave her a distinct advantage in winning over the children:

- The girls at N... Central loved it that I could play basketball. All the other women teachers were old.

In contrast, one other found that the children's attitude went beyond respect into what he termed 'verging on hero worship' and as a result he had to change his approach:

- To me it meant becoming more conservative in my behaviour (paragonic) and I became old beyond my years.

As a result he missed out on many of the experiences enjoyed by other seventeen year olds, a fact he listed later as less than satisfactory. This is particularly interesting as it reflects the concern expressed by W.J. Kennedy in July 1890. It will be recalled from Chapter 2, that in criticising the Pupil Teacher System, he said that it made young people into the 'semblance of a man' and that 'while still a child he is called upon to abjure childhood forever', an aspect also noted in the previous chapter by respondents from the 1920s.

Closely allied with liking children and getting on well with them was the satisfaction that some respondents derived from seeing them progress:

- The children's response to my efforts.
- I guess the best part was just working with children and seeing them make progress. Reading, Spelling and Arithmetical skills were measured in marks.
- When the young ones really learnt something from me - job satisfaction. Somehow I did teach the Grade 1's to read and write.
- Finding I could teach them something they hadn't done before.

One respondent derived satisfaction from being able to equal or even better the efforts of the trained teachers:

- Being able as a junior to get my students to compete satisfactorily along with and even beat many of the other classes in weekly tests and marching skills in the yard.

Acceptance by colleagues, the head master or the parents was a major source of satisfaction for some respondents. One recalled that 'almost everything' was very satisfactory and went on to explain that this was largely due to 'the help and encouragement of other teacher'. Others recalled particular aspects of the staff:

- I had been recommended for the position by the school staff and was well received as a junior on the staff.
- Contact as an almost equal with such members of staff as R.A. West, Elsie Morris, Dan David and other wonderful people.
- Being accepted by the staff as one of them.
- I enjoyed the ambience of school life & the relationships I had with the other 3 teachers.

Heads of the schools played a big part in determining satisfaction just as they did in making things difficult for junior teachers as will be seen in the next two sections. The positive role of the head was expressed in a variety of ways:

- The fact that the HM seemed pleased with my efforts.
- The fact that the HM judged me capable of handling a class on my own.
- I enjoyed an excellent relationship with the HT, my mentor and friend.
- Having an energetic and progressive HT who had approval to experiment.

Others saw acceptance by the parents and the community as particularly important - 'I was accepted in the town', 'Parents were friendly and supportive'. One respondent recalled the kindness of the parents:

- I enjoyed working with the parents - a market garden area - nobody had much but they were willing to share & I often found a bag of vegetables on the post for me to take home.

A few respondents put forward reasons for satisfaction that had little or nothing to do with the school or with teaching. For some it was just a new experience:

- My first experience in a largely non-Anglo community [Barossa Valley] which I found interesting and a country community which I enjoyed.
- First time away from family home. I appreciated the leisure time independence (I was 19 yrs old).

One of those appointed to the Adelaide High School wrote that he enjoyed the first experience of University studies but added rather wistfully:

- I am certain I would have enjoyed practical teaching (in my own fields, of course) had I been called upon to do any ... Clerical work I always took pleasure in. Even marking papers I accepted cheerfully.

Several respondents recalled personal gains as very satisfactory:

- I also found an outlet for my music which was appreciated by the children.
- After being a student for so long I enjoyed being responsible for the students in my class.
- After spending a year in observation covering a wide range of teaching techniques in 1931 I was confident in facing the task of running my own class in 1932. Had I not turned in a good performance, I would have been removed most promptly.
- Always enjoying explaining things & teaching work. Also a sense of authority & power. Though some children were naughty I was gaining in self-confidence.
- An opportunity to learn something of the school-classroom context from a teacher's point of view and an opportunity to analyse my real knowledge of my subject areas as distinct from a knowledge for exam purposes.
- Learnt to be more disciplined and exact.

The less satisfying aspects

Despite the fact that practically all the respondents had found at least one aspect of junior teaching satisfying, almost 80% of them also recalled one or more aspects that were less than satisfactory. As will be seen, some of them may seem somewhat trivial but others show up very serious faults in a system that put young untrained people to teach without any preparation, often far from home and generally at the mercy, for supervision and assistance, of whoever happened to be the Head of the school.

Most of the 23% who found nothing less than satisfactory simply left the space blank but a few wrote such things as 'None really', 'Cannot think of anything that stands out' and 'No aspect was unsatisfactory - as far as I was concerned'. Another had chosen to forget this aspect:

- The odd grumbles long forgotten. I have always regarded this as a well spent year.

One respondent, who actually had a heavy teaching load in a one-teacher school, saw the role of a junior teacher rather differently to many others:

- As a JT, one did not have full responsibility, so there seemed no worries.

The concern of another was not for his own situation:

- I can recall nothing except the case where children treated badly a girl who was a slow learner.

The rest had concerns over a wide area. In view of the difference between the allowance for a junior teacher and the salary of even a beginning teacher, it is hardly surprising that for some the question of the pay and its effect loomed large as one of the less satisfactory aspects. It was by no means a major issue overall but the comments made about it were generally direct and terse. Several respondents just noted 'Low pay', but one male went as far as to say:

- I felt it was slave labour pay-wise - £45 per year.

Another looked to the longer term pay problem:

- The pay delay in earning a real wage.

One recalled that in 1932, the year in which he received his 'real baptism in teaching on 17/6 a week' relieving in a class of 73 Grade 4 girls, he was getting less than in 1931 when he had merely been used as an 'office-boy'. This was due to the cutting of allowances by 10% on account of the need for Government economies during the Depression. In a number of cases the low pay was linked in with the relatively high amount of board that had to be found out of it. For one it was a matter of being unable to respond to the kindnesses shown him:

- From memory I paid £1-16 per fortnight for board leaving me with 10/- per fortnight spending money. The HM and the parents were very generous with hospitality and I was embarrassed that I could not return it.

As has already been seen, some respondents could not afford to go home very often. For one male the situation was critical:

- The pay was 2/- less per week than my board so each Saturday I chopped the wood for the week. For this the landlady allowed me 2/6d off my board. During second term I coached Railway employees in Maths on two evenings a week (6 men at 1/- an evening for 2 hours i.e. 12/- per week) thus I could afford the trip home during term 2 vacation.

For others it was simply a matter of existing on what one referred to as 'The very tight budget'. One female, for example, who had approximately 4/6d a fortnight left after board recalled:

- I managed on this, buying my own clothes and not having to ask my parents for anything.

Another recalled the nature of his weekly budget:

- The balance ... Income per week 24/10d ... Board and Lodgings 25/- per week ... -2d left for entertainment etc. A Dickensian situation. My parents were able to help with essentials.

Of greater concern to most respondents was the lack of preparation for the role that they were thrust into:

- Knowing that I was very much a novice, straight from school with no real knowledge of how to plan lessons.
- Apprehension at the challenge of teaching.
- The somewhat daunting task of trying to prepare, present and follow up lessons.
- Not knowing enough about the mechanics of teaching.
- Lack of teaching skills sometimes led to frustration.
- Feeling that I knew almost nothing about young children - I had no younger ones in my family and had had nothing to do with that age group since leaving infant school myself.
- Handling the new Grade 1 intake.
- I found that teaching was not easy and that I did not know much about it.
- Trying to cope with every subject and organize the work was difficult.
- Teaching Gr V11 boys who were probably just 3 years younger than me.

Unpreparedness for the job led to a variety of problems both for the young teachers and for their pupils:

- I was unhappy because in my ignorance I thought children who entered Grade 1 already knew how to read. I always remember my distress at not being able to progress with a child I could never get to blend. I hadn't heard of the 'whole word' method.
- There was a complete lack of guidance on how to handle 'problems' or 'slow learners'.
- I was not able to quite reach the standards and results I would have liked, with the pupils.

One respondent recalled that her lack of teaching skills 'sometimes led to frustration' and another could remember her 'bewilderment and... blunders'. One in a high school wrote that the causes of his dissatisfaction were a lack of 'classroom and control techniques' and went on to say that while he was aware that his subject knowledge was more than adequate, his knowledge of methods of presentation, testing and classroom control were 'quite limiting in the early part of the year.'

Several who were appointed to Barossa Valley schools met with particular problems. One male described his in this way:

- P... was a small town. People were practically all of German descent. Some of the Grade 1 pupils could not speak a word of English and could not count in English. This meant individual attention to get them started, and at times this was very frustrating. In some homes German was the main language spoken. The children were brought up on the work ethic - feed the horses, milk the cows and separate the milk before walking to school.

The female mentioned earlier as finding herself in a non-Anglo environment for the first time as 'very satisfying', discovered other aspects of it were less so:

- Most (if not all) the children spoke German at home (and sometimes in the playground) - so that English grammar was something limited to the classroom. It was almost impossible in one year to reduce the use of 'yet already' and 'already yet' at the end of sentences, or to explain to 5, 6, and 7 year olds why both words were unnecessary. We memorized as many verses of English poetry as possible to cover ordinary situations (nature poems and nursery rhymes. I'm not sure if there was a German equivalent).

Another female had problems with the children from a German background for quite different reasons:

- Some areas in particular presented great difficulties. My upbringing and lack of social experience - on strict moral, social and religious lines - hampered some of my efforts. In the school I had to teach Moral and Temperance lessons. I found that my idea of Morals was not necessarily the norm at V... where families grew grapes and where many made their own wine.Trying to teach Temperance was well nigh impossible. I had never seen a glass of wine, and even the 6 year olds drank it regularly. They knew more about drinking habits than I could envisage. I relied on Aesop's Fables for Moral stories and ignored Temperance lessons.

For one male at least an appointment to such a school created no problems:

- I was fortunate in that I had known the district from early boyhood ... and I could converse with many of the old timers in German (Barossa Deutsch). I was therefore accepted by the whole town as 'one of them' so to speak, and had no difficulty relating to their way of life. In those days teachers were regarded with respect by the whole community. The profession had high standing, perhaps not quite equal to that of the church pastor, but certainly substantial.

The role of the Head is taken up in detail in Question 3 but it is worth noting here that for a number, the attitude of the head teacher was less than satisfactory. One respondent summed up one aspect of this problem as simply 'Insufficient help from the HM.' For others the lessons that Heads were expected to give were the cause of the problem:

- The HM's lack of interest in the after hours lessons a JT was supposed to have. These were a rare occurrence and of very little benefit.

Others cases seem to have been of an even more serious nature as these recollections indicate:

- Constant criticism (especially in front of the children) by the Headmaster.
- The bitchiness of the woman I actually worked for.
- To me the head was lazy and not a very good teacher.

One response has overtones of blackmail on the part of the head with the female junior teacher:

- I had to agree with the Head (over an issue of excessive yard duty) in case he put in a bad report on me and I didn't get into College - or worse - had to do another year as a `JT'.

A male respondent expressed a rather similar feeling:

- Although I felt I was performing the tasks of a teacher, I never lost the feeling that I was 'on

approval', a mere junior ... I remained aware that I had to follow instructions and stay 'in the background'.

Another respondent gave an example of having to follow somewhat unfair instructions when she recalled that the lack of reference books was unsatisfactory:

- When the Head suddenly sprang something like a lesson on Sir Richard Grenville to be given [by her] to Grades V1 & V11 next day.

Some were upset by the attitude of some Heads to the pupils:

- My Head's impatience and almost bullying of children who had poor academic ability. His progress depended on the children's marks obtained in the crucial Inspector's examination.
- Watching Melvin D's poor little hands being caned every morning because he was unable to spell.

Others recalled certain unpleasant duties allocated by the Head as sources of less satisfaction:

- My pet hate was after school sweeping which sometimes caused me to miss my bus home, giving me a four mile walk across hilly country.
- The school [a Central] had very little clerical assistance and I was made responsible for almost all the duplicating of notes and notices.
- Having to inspect the toilets – part of my extra duties.

For another the lack of such an amenity was less than satisfactory:

- One thing I disliked was having to share the girls' toilet. The H.T. lived right next door so there were no facilities for staff.

Yard duty was a cause of some dissatisfaction. Some felt that they were given excessive amounts of yard duty but in most cases this was coupled with a feeling of inadequacy in the presence of older students:

- Having no free time during the day. I had to eat my lunch in an open shed with the students because I was always on yard duty.
- Yard duty. Some of the Grade V11 boys were bigger than I was and almost as old. I had to discipline them instead of joining in. [female aged 16]
- Only a few respondents mentioned anyone other than the Head. One respondent recalled the less than satisfactory visit of the Inspector:
- Inspections were intimidating, & were carried out, I felt, with little understanding of the development & needs of 'Infant' children.

Some appointed to larger schools had trouble adjusting to their new status:

- A bit in awe of the staff members. It seemed almost like my recent staff/pupil relationship. It was only a year since I was a pupil myself.
- Being so young among the older, experienced teachers.

A number recalled not being at all happy about their own subject knowledge. For one there was a

feeling of 'apprehension' at having to teach Leaving Mathematics after having only just completed Leaving Honours Mathematics himself while another with little background in the subject disliked teaching Latin to eight Second Year girls. Those who could not sing were in difficult position too:

- Trying (vainly) to teach singing using the tonic-solfa - Hopeless!
- I was not a singer and felt embarrassed about taking such lessons in front of the head.

For a number of females teaching sewing was a major source of dissatisfaction:

- I did not like teaching sewing. I did not enjoy it myself and knew little about it.

One had problems with both sewing and music:

- Having to teach sewing which was a real chore for me & playing the piano at which I was extremely nervous.

However, at least one made the most of her lack of ability in both singing and sewing for after noting her problems she added 'but we had fun and achieved something'.

Two other aspects stand out as major causes of less satisfaction. One was having to teach in the same room as the head teacher, as was the case in most of the one-teacher schools, and the other related to discipline. As these comments show, being in the same room had its drawbacks both for the junior teacher and the head:

- Sharing the classroom with the HT all day. He was occasionally explosive over the children's errors - such (short) outbursts were unsettling.
- Our voices were constantly distracting.
- An awful difficulty was Grades 1-7 in the same room (all 60 of them) and the Head and I both teaching. I spent most of my time in the shelter shed, or, if it was not raining, in the yard.
- The actual teaching conditions as I shared the one large room with the Head and so often felt rather constrained in my approach to lessons such as singing, poetry etc. These were usually taken in the porch.

Those with shelter sheds or porches were able to escape from time to time but they usually pointed out that this was far from satisfactory in physical terms:

- I found it very difficult in the same room as the Head - managed 3Rs O.K. but moved into porch for all oral lessons. This was small, a woodwork bench in the middle and above the seats shelves with school bags on them so the children were most uncomfortable. There was no outside shelter shed so unless it was fine we had to manage in that porch.

These comments illustrate the range of disciplinary problems that faced junior teachers:

- Discipline in a difficult school (had a large number of students from a nearby Orphanage at Morialta).
- Problems of control with Grade V11 students ... smart enough to know I was only a junior.

- My failures in disciplining the overlarge classes of 45 First Years.
- The behaviour of older boys, almost as old as myself - not disrespectful but silly and disruptive in class, a boy aged 14 in Grade 1V for example. [a female]
- Trying to assert oneself when one was able only to make use of former teachers as models.

Some respondents looked beyond the school for sources of less satisfaction. For a few it was a physical aspect as they recalled their difficulties in getting to the school:

- Riding the push bike in wet weather & being very hot. Would slow down the pace so I would not arrive sweating and smelly.
- Walking to school in wet weather along sandy tracks. I had to acquire a pair of knee high rubber boots.
- Walking to school on rough tracks in the heat and rain.

Others recalled emotional aspects. For some as their appointment meant that they were lonely and this was expressed in a number of different ways:

- Living away from home for the first time.
- Being away from home and having little contact with girls of my own age.
- Lack of social contact out of school hours. The local library as fairly inadequate.
- Rather difficult to find a congenial peer pal in the small rural and somewhat primitive dairying village in the Mt. Lofty Ranges and travel was difficult.
- Seeing my home town in the distance [just six miles away from her boarding house] as I walked to school.

For others the source of less satisfaction lay in their boarding conditions. One noted that the standards of living were very different from what she was accustomed to, another described them as 'somewhat primitive' and others went into greater detail:

- The least satisfactory thing was living away from home for the first time ... I had my own room for which I was supplied with half a candle per week for light ... I was very innocent and unsophisticated. I decided that the woman of the house was crazy until I was informed after 3 months by the Head's wife that she was an alcoholic. She never looked drunk - only stupid and she was very mean - hence the candle cut in half.
- Although the landlady looked after me well, I was not used to being 'molly-coddled' and felt this a bit overwhelming.
- The boarding experience at the farm house. The amused patronage of two older girls more sophisticated than I.

A few, particularly those who had to spend two years in the job, regarded the loss of time before College as less satisfactory. At that time, too, there was the uncertainty of the future as one respondent from 1931-32 recalled:

- We had no guarantee of employment and knew that we would be lucky to get into the Teachers College.

The female noted earlier as being appointed to her local high school even though she wanted to be an infant teacher recalled a different kind of uncertainty:

- I wondered how much a J.T. position in a High School would be of benefit to a C student during training but was assured by the teachers & parents that I'd make the adjustment when the time came.

In looking back over the less satisfactory aspects of junior teaching, it is clear that while the total lack of preparation for teaching was a major factor, the situation was made worse for many by the conditions they had to work under and live in. No doubt, too, many were too young and immature to overcome difficulties that an older, trained person may have found less daunting. One respondent summed this up in this way:

- I was too young - 16 years of age and straight out of a convent boarding school and I think very naive at that - you see we lived in an environment at home and at school, of complete honesty and trust ... I can see now it did not really prepare us for encountering the world in general. So you see I trusted the whole system in general and it never occurred to me to question any aspect. Maybe if I were a little older I might have been better equipped to do so.

What is difficult to estimate at this stage is the longer term effect of some of these less satisfactory aspects on young and impressionable teacher recruits. Only one respondent gave an indication of this:

- At school L... [her first year of junior teaching where she earlier had indicated the Head Master had 'dismissed me as useless'] my sense of failure became so ingrained that it took me years to develop any confidence in my own ability. Even now it is easily shattered.

She wrote this under 'Less Satisfactory' but added that it probably should have gone under 'Unsatisfactory'.

The unsatisfactory aspects

In contrast to the previous sections, responses here were fairly evenly divided between those who found nothing unsatisfactory and those who recalled aspects that had been of great concern to them. Most of the 48% who recalled nothing unsatisfactory simply left the space blank but a few made such comments as 'Cannot remember any unsatisfactory aspect' or 'No aspect was unsatisfactory as far as I was concerned'. One made the significant remark that 'In those days we were glad to have a

job' and no doubt this too had a bearing on how some others responded to this particular section of the question. Interestingly, too, for this period, only two respondents found the delay in getting into College unsatisfactory:

- The loss of time before real training began.
- Waiting a second year to get into Teachers College.

Overall the aspects found unsatisfactory were generally much the same type as those that were less so but they were often expressed rather more vividly. Of the small group who found the pay unsatisfactory one simply wrote 'The pay', but another described its result as leaving him in 'Poverty'. Another reflected on what might have been and even recalled something of a benefit from her low pay:

- I think it would have been nice to have had a bit more pocket money. I certainly learnt to budget.

Others were more forthright:

- Our pay was meagre.
- Payment for the role I played in the school was inadequate - barely enough to pay my board.
- Low SALARY! I did virtually all the classroom work of a fully trained teacher.

One who had found nothing at all satisfactory, or even anything less so, expressed herself very forcefully here by describing 'Most' aspects as unsatisfactory and singled out mainly the pay to illustrate her point:

- Paid 12/6 a week to do a full assistant's job. Children were nice, ... but not a suitable introduction to a teaching career.

There were those who found their unpreparedness for the role and the lack of help they got in it as unsatisfactory:

- I virtually had to teach myself a lot of skills - like learning to write on the blackboard so the children could read it etc.
- Some of the children were very backward. I did not know how to help. Eventually they were passed on to a higher grade because of age, not ability.
- Lack of guidance on how to teach. This is in hindsight - I just waded in and probably floundered about.
- I was left too much to my own devices.
- Occasional discipline difficulties with the more active children, who could become bored.

One seems to have recognised that some kind of fraud was being perpetrated as she recalled 'Being expected to play the role of an experienced teacher' as unsatisfactory. An extreme example of this came from one male who was sent to a country high school to teach German but who also had to take other subjects:

- Being loaded with Chemistry at Leaving level when I had done no science previously but there was no other teacher available. So each day I would prepare for the following day's lesson with occasional help from the Ag. Science teacher. This gave me a full load.

Not surprisingly Heads of schools were often seen to be to blame for a number of these unsatisfactory situations. The respondent who had found nothing satisfactory in a central school listed the unsatisfactory aspects as:

- Relationships with the Head. Lack of real contact with the children.

One male described what he termed the 'ridiculous situation' he was put into, when sharing him with each of the Grade 1V teachers would have been a better use of his time:

- Lack of guidance and support from the Head master when made responsible for a class of 30 Gr 1V students to be taught in the same room as the Chief Assistant who had 50 to 60 Gr V11 boys. We were expected to keep quiet while the CA taught.

Clearly junior teachers were not consulted about such issues and one other male indicated as much in that he felt it as unsatisfactory that he was not allowed to share in decision making. While he did not expect to make vital decisions he went on to say:

- I would like to have been included in the planning processes for my own grade.

Others found particular things about their Head as unsatisfactory. For some it was a personality problem:

- The Head's attitude. After 21 years in the same school he lacked interest in modern ideas.
- I found the Head Mistress's attitude towards, and confidence in, the two junior teachers as unsatisfactory.
- If I had continued on at M... I would have found it all unsatisfactory. [she was transferred to another school and a very different and helpful head teacher]
- Working for a difficult boss.
- Being publicly bawled out by an ignorant loudmouth.

For others it was more a matter of professional neglect:

- When I entered Teachers College I found that many other JTs had received much more help in 'teaching method' from their Head Teachers.
- I learned nothing from the 'lessons' before school - direct reading from a Teaching Handbook.

Sharing the classroom with the Head brought about unsatisfactory situations for a number of respondents:

- Sharing the only classroom ... Having no desk, chair, personal space or blackboard.
- Rather crowded conditions. Working in same room as the HT with 55 children in desks close together.

- By modern standards the physical conditions were poor - a rather bare limestone room in which we both had to teach, I on one side with Gr 1, 2 & 3, he holding sway over the rest of the room ... Our voices & movements were certainly distracting. In fine weather I took my classes out as often as I could.

A few recalled their lack of expertise in certain areas as unsatisfactory. Again sewing and singing were the main problems:

- I hated teaching sewing, as I had never been good at this.
- My disinterest in needlework and ignorance of stitches etc. was disgraceful in a district [Barossa] where people were skilled in the art. I was too ashamed to admit my ignorance.
- Teaching singing.
- I'm afraid my lessons must have been boring at times as there was no room for activity, drawing, art etc. as we know it today. Also my ideas were limited & I was not very creative at that stage.

There were only a couple of unsatisfactory yard duty situations. One respondent vividly recalled his experience in the yard in 1931-32:

- You probably will not believe this, or if you do, you will consider it trivial, but each morning and afternoon recess in sunshine, rain and in gale, I had to be on my 'spot' around the corner from the main yard by the boys' toilets, away from contact with the other teachers. It may have been childish but I resented this. In my second year I still had yard duty, naturally, but not always in the same 'spot' & I had some contact with other teachers.

A female recalled the responsibility and worry of yard duty in 1939:

- The Head Teacher used to often go over to his house and leave me to supervise the whole school, and some of the older students were only about 3 years younger than myself.

A couple recalled other unsatisfactory duties that they were required to perform:

- Had to do all the school duplicating on a cantankerous duplicating machine, which never seemed to work properly.
- The fact that I was expected to sweep the classroom at least twice a week.

Loneliness was the unsatisfactory aspect for several others. Some simply stated the fact while others linked it in with the difficulty and/or cost of travel home:

- I suppose JTs who were inclined to be homesick were unable to get home often enough.
- Being cut off from my family, pay meagre, transport difficult.

One respondent gave details of the difficulty she faced if she wanted to travel the 60 miles home in 1938:

- Catch a night train, stop over night at junction. Catch next train about 9 a.m. - home. Alternative was the goods train in the guard's van. Many hours longer.

Two respondents suggested ways that their loneliness might have been overcome:

- No adult company at school - better to have been in a larger school with more staff.
- I think I felt I needed more examples & perhaps more support from my peers in similar situations, that is, to be in closer visiting contact so we could feel re-assured and compare notes.

For one male an aspect of boarding accommodation proved to be unsatisfactory

- The rural lavatory was a bit of a shock but could come to terms with that. The absence of a bathroom ('use the tub in the backroom and get hot water from the kitchen') was a continuing inconvenience.

Difficulties in relationships

Eighty-four respondents - some 74% of the group - believed that they had encountered no difficulties, or at least no major ones worth remembering, in relating to the children, other teachers or with the local people. A number of those who had found little or nothing unsatisfactory in the previous section left this space blank or simply wrote 'N/A', 'None' or indicated that they could not remember any such difficulties. Others used the space to emphasise the fact that they did not have any difficulties. Some justified their responses in various ways. Several referred to the fact that they were in their home towns or in nearby towns where they and their parents were well known. Others were in such small places that they had little opportunity for relationships:

- There were few local residents.
- None really, but there was no town - just a school in a corner of a paddock.

For others, involvement in sport and social activities assisted their relationships with children and townspeople. This comment from a 21year old male summed up this aspect well:

- No doubt there were many difficulties and I had a lot to learn. I was shy and not very talkative but I had a good relationship with the Head, only other teacher. I attended local dances, took a leading role in a 3 act play in the local hall, had outstanding success as a bowler for the local cricket team and I won the Anzac Day foot race that year.

Others seemed to have won support through their relationships with the children; their sensible, practical approach to what they found; their personality; or simply their good luck:

- The children were lovely - we all related well.
- I really enjoyed working and living in a small town environment in contrast to the anonymity of city life.
- I accepted the town (small village) and I think they accepted the JT as time passed. If there were problems, we probably just dealt with them and then forgot about them.
- I seemed to be able to get along with all those with whom I came in contact.
- The townspeople regarded me as a teacher (never a word about junior).
- As I had German ancestors, I related to the culture of the district & the children, so really

had no problem in understanding them and their background.

Others counted themselves lucky to have found 'nice townspeople', 'children who were well behaved', 'a happy landlady' or 'a small community with respect for the JT' or to be treated with 'tolerance', 'praise and encouragement' or 'acceptance' by colleagues.

Of those who did remember difficulties, most related to the children, considerably fewer to the townspeople, and, as would be expected in this period when so many were in one teacher schools, very few indeed to other teachers. Some did mention difficulties with their Head Teacher but most of them either referred back to this in the next section or explained it there in greater detail. One used this space to reiterate her views on her supervisor whose 'bitchiness' she had noted earlier and to explain how she was helped in coping with her:

- Only problem was my woman supervising teacher. Got wonderful back-up (privately - she did not know) from all the rest of the staff.

As might be expected with inexperienced young people, some hardly much older than those they had to teach or supervise, disciplinary problems were the main ones remembered. Some recalled only the problems while others remembered how they coped with them:

- Some mistakes in learning to establish control with students who felt junior teachers should be 'tried out' to see what they could get away with.
- Discipline for the large First Year classes was a problem but I had no difficulties with the smaller, all girls, commercial classes.
- Some initial difficulties with control in classes of 30, especially in laboratory situations.
- Some disciplinary problems with individual pupils early on and although the Head could hear all that was said on the other side of the curtain, he never interposed but only advised later.
- One problem - an 18 year old boy - older than me [a male] and taller, who appeared to resent me and oppose me until the Headmaster instructed me to cane him. Thereafter I had no greater ally, in or out of school.
- A naughty girl (for <u>those</u> days) but one of the other teachers helped to keep her toeing the line.
- Only one difficulty stays in my mind - that of a boy who was most obstinate, with a temper to match his red hair. If it suited him he would get under the desk and refuse to do anything. The HT handled the situation.

Some respondents had particular difficulties in relating to the young children. One female who wanted to be a secondary teacher recalled:

- I found it hard to relate to 5 and 6 year olds. I couldn't understand their difficulties. I had

always found school easy and this made it more difficult for me. I tried hard to talk to them and help them all I could.

A male found a similar problem:

- Initially I had difficulty in adjusting myself to the schooling level of my charges. [Grades 1-3] Sometimes I moved too quickly for them, other times I found I had wasted time on irrelevancies.

Others related well to the younger children but had difficulties with the older ones:

- ... but I did not appreciate 3 older boys in Year 7 who were bigger than I was and who tried to be familiar. The 7 grades were in one room which made me feel very self conscious at times.
- Some of the older children were very little younger than I, & I found them difficult to approach & didn't relate to them.
- I remember finding discipline of the older children very difficult when I was left in charge of the playground.

Others had to deal with over familiarity and even sheer rudeness. The one noted earlier as feeling that he had to assume a grown-up attitude too early recalled his over enthusiastic pupils:

- My Grade V11 girls always seemed to surround me the moment I entered the gate. I found this embarrassing although they only wanted to chat. I had to devise ways to avoid it without hurting their feelings.

Some female respondents recalled unpleasant incidents:

- I vividly remember walking along the street with a Grade V11 boy calling names at me from the other side of the footpath. He had been in Reform School and was the nearest thing to a criminal to enter my somewhat overprotected life. I ignored him and probably told the Head next day.
- There was a girl in Grade 6 or 7, already adolescent, who was inclined to show off and act rather cheekily. I was not sure how to handle her. The Head later reprimanded me for letting her be too free.

Only a few respondents had problems relating to their landladies. Most of those who did managed to cope:

- My very straight-laced landlady but - by writing home - my dad took full responsibility for me to accompany the Head and his family to dances.
- My landlady was very strict with her two daughters, aged 14 & 18. As my parents were keen for me to stay on 'the straight & narrow path', I tended to do mainly what the family did.

Another simply had to endure the difficulties:

- Unhappy with landlady who was an embittered townie. I had no way of coping with her.

The one who reported earlier that she had to leave her first boarding house because of the husband's

unwanted advances, mentioned it here, too.

Others had general troubles of a personal nature. Like the male noted earlier, a couple of females found the transition to a position of authority rather difficult:

- I was expected to be an outsider - an older person than I was. [16.10] The teenagers were suspicious of newcomers and invitations were few. The friends I made were also 'newcomers' and older than I was.
- There was a slight difficulty with friendships with Leaving students but one became a friend...

Others felt inadequate or lonely. For one the feelings passed but another explained how she coped:

- The only difficulty was with a feeling of inadequacy during the first few weeks.
- I liked the children but it was a small ingrown town. I hit a golf ball around the yard and read a lot.

Several others commented on factors that tended to isolate them in Barossa Valley schools but some also recalled pleasant aspects:

- German was still spoken in the homes and I did not speak or understand German.
- I was the odd one out in the small town. I was the only Catholic ... The people were generally friendly.
- In the 1930s, as it is now, B... was a little enclave ... [of the large nearby town] - people were very respectful and I was not encouraged to join their church.
- Most of the townspeople were of German origin and spoke German in their homes - even while I was there in the case of the older people. Because English words were interspersed through their speech I could often work out what they were talking about.

Interestingly enough, one in a small Barossa Valley school recalled getting a higher regard from the townspeople than she wanted:

- They treated me as if I was a 'person of the world'. They also gave me credit for knowing 'a lot'. It was very flattering but difficult to live up to. I kept quiet on both matters.

Only one respondent commented here on the difficult physical conditions she and the children had to endure:

- I had grades 1 - 2. We had our lessons in the porch. The children sat on the form which ran along one wall & used blackboards on their laps or knelt on the cement floor and wrote on the seat. (freezing in winter & boiling in summer).

QU. 3 TREATMENT BY THE HEAD - HELP, SUPPORT AND DUTY - ASSESSMENT

Respondents were asked firstly to recall how the Head had treated them and to describe the type of help and support given. They then had to decide whether or not the Head had done his/her duty by

them and the classes that they taught. They also had to consider whether other staff had been helpful. They were asked whether or not they recalled any official assessment of their work. The question concluded with an opportunity for them to assess the level of their success.

As has been seen in earlier chapters, the regulations specified certain requirements of Heads in relation to the instruction to be given to junior teachers in the theory and practice of teaching. There was no specific detail however, of how they were to be treated in other ways, personally or professionally, or indeed how they were to be looked after in the school or outside of it. Part of this question was canvassed in the concrete data where it was found that some 68% of respondents had recalled receiving some kind of help from the Head, 13% were unsure about it and 19% believed that they had received no help. Some of them had already described the nature of that help, or the lack of it. Now they had to consider such factors as interpersonal conduct and social relationships on the part of those giving or withholding help and support in order to estimate how well they had been treated and whether or not the Head's duty had been done.

The responses regarding treatment by the Head fell into the same three main areas as in the concrete section but the findings were different in that a much higher proportion of respondents were unsure about the way help, or even lack of it, was delivered. Some 62% recalled feeling well treated and only 14% remembered poor treatment by the Head or the person delegated to supervise them. That left close to a quarter of these respondents feeling unsure about their treatment.

Those treated well

Of those who believed they were well treated, some were content with answering 'Well' or 'Very well' but others commented in ways that helped to identify the particular attributes of Heads who behaved in this way. By far the most appreciated attribute was helpfulness. This was expressed by some in such brief ways as 'Helpful', 'Very helpful', 'Helped me a lot', and 'Helped me in any way he could' while others went into details:

- The Head helped me explore interesting ways of presenting lessons, listened to them and later discussed them. He pointed out the good and the bad points and was really very helpful. He enthused my initiative and gave me confidence.
- He was very helpful. I was worried about teaching 'Handwriting'. He was an excellent writer & a few suggestions gave me confidence.
- Very helpful and I felt free to ask for any help I wanted.
- Very helpful and very supportive and he and his family helped make my initiation into teaching very happy and fulfilling.
- He was helpful and kind though I think not absolutely happy to have a mere unsophisticated

school girl as assistant teacher.

- The Head was my father and he was most helpful. He was probably flattered that I was following in his footsteps.

One respondent recalled a particular aspect of help outside of the school:

- He helped me in any way he could. He used to take me to Church at R.... Most of the people at S... were German and out there (approx 5 miles) they were of Scots origin.

The next most valued attribute was friendliness:

- A great friend & gave great assistance.
- Being in my home town the Head treated me as a friend and helped me a lot.
- The Head was a 'perfect dear'. So was his wife. They both did all they could to make me feel like a friend.
- The Head's wife brought in a cup of tea every morning at 11 o'clock.

One recalled the practical nature of the Head's friendliness:

- The Head was a fine man and a friend. I always took it that my appointment (as a JT) was his means of using a new system to help older (and I hope worthy) students, I having returned to Adelaide High School for a third year in Leaving Honours to await employment.

Another who admired the skill and tact of this same friendly Head whom she referred to as 'a wonderful man' was the one who had earlier referred to the 'bitchiness' of her supervisor:

- When I complained (about my supervisor) he said 'She's old, she's sick - I know I can depend on you to cope'. When she complained about me (he told me years later) he said 'She's young, she's flighty - I know I can depend on you to cope'.

The kindness and pleasantness of Heads, the appropriateness of their behaviour and the encouragement given to their young charges was expressed in a wide variety of ways. One recalled 'kindness and consideration', another 'courteous treatment', and another remembered her Head being 'beyond reproach' in his treatment of her. Some mentioned their appreciation of being treated as 'a colleague' or 'as an adult' while others expressed this same idea in slightly different ways:

- He was an exceptional man - he didn't talk down to me.
- He was an example to me of my ideal of a HT. We taught in the same room and I was under his constant benevolent supervision.
- I was immediately treated as a teacher and was never referred to as a 'junior' teacher. This gave me confidence and great encouragement.
- He treated me as a helper & seemed to have confidence in me.
- We had a happy relationship. I think he treated me as an assistant teacher and the respect was returned.
- He treated me like he might have treated a younger sister - was a great help and support.
- He always came to my rescue without any fuss or 'I told you so'.

- I worked with a Head Mistress who treated me as a young associate and gave me every help and encouragement.
- He must have given me lots of encouragement as I began by being very shy and finished the year being reasonably self confident.

One respondent recalled the boost to his confidence on his arrival:

- On my arrival, and learning of my credit in the double Maths subject in Leaving Honours, he remarked that it was why I had been sent to that particular High School, which he said was 'weak in Mathematics'... and he accepted the fact that I knew what I was doing.

Conscientious and meticulous Heads were valued too, especially for the training they gave:

- He expected 100% effort and respected those who gave it.
- He was conscientious in everything he did - he marked my lateness one morning in red in the time book. I made sure it did not happen again as it stood out for the Inspector. Every Thursday morning I had to give a lesson (having written full notes) to one of the 1 - V11 classes. He would observe the whole lesson and later write full notes on my preparation, presentation & recapitulation, aids and he added a percentage mark at the end.
- He was a firm task master - I had to give a detailed programmed lesson once a week - he sat in on lessons and wrote a critique of my 10 - 20 major weaknesses and we discussed these. He cared for the serious job he had to do.
- He was a professional - his criticism of lessons fairly 'tough'. His stated attitude was 'I've been through the mill - you've got to go through it too'. I expect this was good for me - kept me on my toes - I knew I couldn't get away with unprepared work.
- He taught me the form for teaching notes and vetted mine daily - I've always been grateful for my training with him.

Those who gave plenty of freedom in addition to careful supervision or availability were valued too:

- I could not have wished for better. He, for the most part, allowed me to 'row my own boat', only interrupting to give valuable advice and support.
- I had 2 different Head Teachers in the 2 years. Both helped me in every way they could although in the 2nd year the HT was close to retirement, which meant he was happy to see me 'paddle my own canoe' more. This I really appreciated because it was what I liked, and I knew that help was readily available.
- He treated me fairly and helped build up my confidence. He gave me free rein with the bottom 3 grades & I found this very encouraging.
- He gave me no instruction but was always available when I needed help.

Those unsure abut their treatment

Some of those who had some doubts about their treatment by the Head managed to preface it with some saving grace that helped distinguish them from those who clearly felt mistreated:

- We had a good personal relationship [but] I cannot remember that he gave me any particular help or advice.
- He was a kindly man but seemed to have the belief that I should be able to perform as well as a trained teacher.
- Always friendly and helpful. Probably gave me more responsibility than he should have because I lived nearby.
- Looking back I expect the Head found me very ignorant as regards methods and did his best to give me advice. I would have preferred it out of the school room though.
- The HT was quite friendly but left me to my own devices. I remember he liked the class to be quiet - it was about the only thing I can remember him complaining about.
- He was very pleasant but I don't remember asking for or receiving any advice. Perhaps it was my fault as I was confident and independent.

Others recalled that their Head simply did not have the required expertise or perhaps the personality to help or support them but here, too, excuses were generally found:

- He could not help me with infant classes except by encouragement. He had never taught 'infant grades' but he allowed the school to subscribe to periodicals such as 'Child Education'.
- The H.T. was kind but ineffectual. I replaced a qualified Infant teacher so a JT was a new problem for him.
- The Head was a man of his era - earnest, hardworking and excessively concerned with rules & regulations - & his own education was certainly inadequate ... He was often irascible, & his discipline was unnecessarily rigid. [but] He treated me well, chiefly by letting me go my own way after the first few weeks & I was grateful for that.
- The Head was very competent but very distant. I [a female] was quite in awe of him. He was a very reserved bachelor ... with whom I had absolutely no contact out of school hours. No doubt he kept his distance very sensibly and deliberately.

A male aged 21 recalled a rather different scenario:

- The Head was only 29 - a country bloke who felt our ages were too close. He probably would have preferred a female junior teacher and I couldn't blame him. He would have known my academics exceeded his which I believe were minimal. He was a keen and dedicated teacher, but operated within the narrow framework of his qualifications.

Others tended to put any neglect down to the nature of the Head's role in a one-teacher school:

- I think he was quite kind - I wasn't afraid of him at all but I guess he was fairly busy so that as long as I could hold the fort was all that mattered.
- He did all he could to help, but ... he was too busy, and he mostly washed his hands of me, and let me get on with it. He was friendly.
- The Head Teacher treated me very well - would have been willing to give me advice & more help had I asked for it I'm sure, but as he was very busy with 4 grades, woodwork (no secretary or non contact then) I did not ask for help - taught as I remembered being taught.

One in a small country high school also felt there were some excuses for his Head Master:

- Not a man I related well to. In those days a 'proper distance' was maintained ... I remember 'finishing' the Intermediate Maths by the end of Term 2. He told me to 'go through it again'. This argues a lack of proper supervision. But he had his problems since the 3rd member of staff was 1st year out of College & not a firm & convincing teacher. It was his first appointment as HM so he was a beginner too.

Those treated poorly

The 14% or so who felt they had been treated less than well generally expressed their complaints about the Head very clearly and without mentioning any good points. The majority of these respondents were young women and a number of them recalled being treated harshly by a Head Mistress, usually in a central school:

- The Head Mistress was very critical and treated me like a child.
- The Head Mistress treated me with ignore - I was merely an appendage on the staff.
- Confidence destroying e.g. during instruction in lesson preparation in her office I was formally addressed as Miss C -. When I was 'relief teaching' a secondary class (perhaps 3-4 years my juniors) she always made a point of calling me by my first name 'Margaret' in their presence.
- Treated as mid way between a pupil and a teacher.
- According to Regulations she was expected to have 2 half hour sessions with us per week to give us guidance on our teaching. In fact all we did (there was another JT on the primary staff) was read a prescribed text book - which we could have done ourselves. The HM did the reading. It was boring.

Two female respondents in city high schools recalled little attention from their Head Master:

- I scarcely met the Head Master - I received my instructions from the Senior Mistress e.g. how to be responsible for making tea for the female staff.
- Mr West was a 'father figure' but apart from that gave me no direct support.

Another female (aged 17) had difficulties with male Heads in two different schools. The first was a country high school:

- Used as a relief teacher when not occupied with my class of rejects. Told me I was hopeless and would never make a teacher. A very irritable man - not just with me.

The second was a one-teacher school where she faced even more difficult problems:

- Left me to my own devices. I was terrified to be alone with him as he tried to maul me, and I was scared to do anything about it. He drank a lot.

Apparently it was a difficult for her to recall such things as she added 'I am not inventing this but I don't like dredging it up'.

Another female of the same age dealt with a similar problem quite differently:

- He 'propositioned' me but I was quite a mature lass and I told him to get lost or whatever a teenager said in those days - I was not scared of him - his wife was a little spitfire.

Other females found different problems in one-teacher schools.

One who was in two schools found her first Head difficult to understand:

- My parents were very disturbed at our first meeting with the HT. He spoke to us through the wire-screen door of the school house. The conversation was brief - only to direct us to my boarding place. At school I was puzzled as to just how I stood with the HT. He appeared very distant & had very little discussion with me. [At her second school she found 'a marked contrast' with a friendly, approachable Head.]

Another recalled the insensitive nature of her Head:

- Very aloof - not really helpful e.g. I used to get very bad Chilblains - I had trouble getting my shoes on over bandages - his comment was that I had to come to school even if on a stretcher. It almost came to that as I developed blood poisoning and did miss a good bit of school.

One Head had neglected training:

- The Head never attended the lessons on the text book.

The female who had listed 'a difficult boss' as one of the less satisfactory aspects of the experience took the opportunity to describe his difficult ways:

- His manner was brusque and bad tempered. He usually arrived at about 9.15 - by which time I was expected, and instructed, to have the students (1 - V11) inside. He complained if there was any noise from my class (they whispered, so did I) Somehow they learnt to read etc!

Another's treatment caused her to reflect on the whole system:

- The HT imposed on me -which I realised later - after the first week I was on my own. I really think JTs were in most cases slave labour (15/3d per person per week).

Only a few male respondents recalled such problems. Two from 1931-32 had three Heads in two

years. One recalled poor treatment by two of them:

- No.2 was lazy & never moved from his office for Term 1 as he was filling in time and was moving to Adelaide in May. No.3 was aloof & insensitive. He wanted to make sure that the Ed Dept got its money's worth from me as a JT. I was given a class for Terms 2 & 3 & had to sink or swim.

The other found all three had neglected him:

- None of them was 'Hail fellow, well met' and I stood in awe of them ... I feel that they all delegated supervision to the Chief Assistant or the grade teachers whose programme I had to follow.

The one who had earlier described his Head as 'an ignorant loudmouth' seemed rather pleased in other ways:

- He mostly ignored me and my work, thankfully.

Did Heads do their duty by the junior teachers and their classes?

The responses generally fell into the same three categories as the previous section with the biggest group feeling that duty had been done, fewer having doubts about it and a smaller number being quite sure that the Head had not done his/her duty by them and their classes. There was a significant difference here though in that the number who felt that duty had been done was some 10% smaller than that of those treated well. A number who believed that the Head had been helpful, kind, pleasant and easy to get along with now baulked at agreeing that he/she had fully done their duty. Most of them expressed doubts rather than outright lack of duty so the percentage of those unsure about this aspect was far higher than that of those unsure about their treatment.

A number of those who had been treated well but who had doubts about whether duty had been done seem to have only realized this in retrospect;

- I think that at the time I felt the Head helped me as much as I expected but, looking back, I guess he could have given me more instructions on how to present lessons.
- Yes - but on looking back I realize that there was little emphasis on introducing teaching aids but as I had attended a small country school myself I wasn't aware of this lack.
- I guess it could be said that any classes I took were disadvantaged but with no relieving staff to fall back on, I was better than nothing was. In hindsight I realize that no-one ever advised me about making allowances for slow learners etc. And having been in the upper stream at High School, I guess I had little understanding of those students.
- I accepted things as they were - no-one to compare with until I got to Kintore Ave in the following year.

Others were prepared to make allowances for any failing on the part of otherwise kind and helpful Heads:

- The Head had not had a JT before I arrived and there were 50 children in the school. Perhaps a HT more experienced in JT training would have done a better job, but at the time I was satisfied with the support and advice he gave me.
- He tried but he was fully occupied with Grades 1V - V11.
- It is such a long time ago - I do remember getting on well with the Head but I doubt if I had much advice as I'm sure I did not learn anything of value. At that stage of my life though, I would have covered up any lack of knowledge & not asked, I think.
- The Head did not give much advice unless asked for it but he did give encouragement. Perhaps he thought it wise to let me learn by my own mistakes.
- Yes - [but] I was too young to know what to ask for.

Some simply recalled aspects of neglect:

- The Head was a quiet, friendly man. I would have appreciated help with the new intake & later in the year teaching division to Grade 1. He did give me books on method to read etc.
- ... lack of assistance with teaching methods as such.
- Yes - Could have done with help in advance in preparing lessons sometimes.
- Perhaps the Head could have given more assistance in teaching techniques, lesson preparation etc. I believe he was supposed to give regular weekly tuition based on the book by Green & Birchenough. This never occurred although I was required to take an exam set by the Head on the book near the end of the year. I can never remember receiving criticism of my work - nor any praise either.
- To a certain degree but he could have seen that I had more contact with other people outside of the school.

The one who had described her Head as 'a perfect dear' was at rather a loss when it came to the matter of duty:

- Can't remember him giving me specific help at school. It seemed to me that he handed Gr 1 - 3 over to me & left me to it & went about his business of teaching Gr 4 - 7. Nor can I remember asking for help (what a know-all!) or feeling any lack of support. He surely must have given me some guidance - if he did it was so well done that I didn't recognize I was being helped.

The rest of those who had been well treated went on to say that they believed that their Head had done his/her duty. Most simply wrote, 'Yes' or that the duty had been done 'Well' or even 'Exceptionally well'. Some referred back to what they had written about their treatment while others wanted to explain what they saw as duty having been done:

- Yes he did - and I remember being very happy at the school.
- Yes - an amicable partnership.
- He was a very conscientious teacher & he expected me to be the same.
- I feel the Head did his duty to me and my class. When he was satisfied I could handle Gr 1 - 3; he left me 'in charge' of them. I always felt I could talk through any teaching problem with him.
- I'm sure he did his duty as a teacher, & as an instructor, & as an example. He never allowed any disciplinary problems and the school ran smoothly.
- He did a thorough job - neglected neither me nor the class. My aims were criticized, then matter, aids & preparation & presentation. Recapitulation was stressed. I think he was determined to shape the rough diamond.
- He set a good example. He was firm and helpful and willing to talk over ways of approaching any possible difficulties.
- His oversight of my work was unobtrusive but detailed - criticisms were direct, valid and given firmly but in a kindly manner. I had everything to learn and I took note of them.
- He did not off load or overload.
- I feel I was fortunate in having a dedicated HT, who treated me as a fellow staff member, was most co-operative and who guided me through the year with help and constructive criticism as we worked side by side in one large classroom.
- He was a better Principal & more supportive than many I encountered later. He ensured that I developed self-reliance ... When, on rare occasions, that he had time to sit in on my classes, his only comments were constructive and approving.

One replied to this question by firstly giving a description of what life was like for the Head of a one-teacher school:

- Considering the couped-up working environment and the rather primitive facilities (or lack of - not even a piano or gramophone) e.g. no electricity, one corner fire-place, the wetness of the winter days and his full time involvement with Grades 1V - V11 and cleaning the school and emptying toilet pans, teaching woodwork (through a window often!) the Head DID do his duty - maybe more than duty - by me.

Another doubted whether duty could be an issue in such schools:

- There is little to report in this regard. Being in a one-teacher school (excluding me) all students were in the one room ... I was teaching quietly alongside him all day, with no real need for support.

Most of those who were unsure about how they were treated also had reservations about the standard of duty. Here, too, the comments tended to be similar to what had already been said about the way that they had been treated and were usually tempered by reference to some good qualities or some

helpful action:

- Apart from pre-school meetings once a week when the HM led the JT in studying from an uninteresting book on education by Green & Birchenough, I had little direct contact with him. I am sure he disliked those early morning meetings as much as I did. He looked at my students' bookwork regularly, at least until up to the Inspector's Annual visit after which he was not so persistent. He rarely saw me teach. No doubt he depended on consultation with his Chief Assistant & other teachers on my progress.
- I think he did his best but it was largely a case of the blind leading the blind. However he was kind to the children ... and he got good results in the Inspector's exam.
- I think he tried to do his duty by me and the children as best as he could. He didn't inspire any of us and he didn't ever experiment or try new things. Nor did he read. This disappointed me. But he did what he thought was required of him. I doubt I learnt much from him that carried over into my later life, but I don't think he did me any harm either. Perhaps in a few cases I resolved not to do some of the things he did - rough physical handling of children by ears, arms and shoulders; shouting; severe penalties for failing to learn things by rote, etc.
- He gave me lesson notes which helped to give me better presentation, but he expected too much of Gr 1 & 2, and I always felt I wasn't as effective as I should be.
- Yes, I feel that he helped me as well as he could have, considering the size of his own classes, and the fact that most of the children had learning difficulties. I would have appreciated more suggestions on HOW to do things. (My approach was based on how I was taught)

One respondent was not sure whether she should accept some of the blame for the apparent lack of duty by the Head:

- I know I should have asked for help. Perhaps I would have, if it had been mentioned. I was pretty young - although 16 isn't young now. I think I was a very naive 16 & if told to teach them, that's what I had to do. I don't remember him checking me out to see if the children were learning. Perhaps he did and I didn't realise it.

Several only realised later that perhaps duty had not been fully done. One was at Adelaide High School where he had no teaching duties:

- No complaints. [but] I realised later when in College what I had missed in terms of experience and technical expertise by not going to the country, but the ground lost was far from irrecoverable.

One in a small school had not been led through the text book:

- When I entered College, I found that some other JTs had been given teaching manuals to study as a build up for further training - however, it didn't make a problem & I was happy to have had a study break.

Another took a more general view:

- In my ignorance I thought I was doing all right. It wasn't until I saw Dem teachers that I realised what good teaching was about.

Not surprisingly, practically all of those who recalled a distinct dereliction of duty on the part of the Head had already made a negative response to the question on how they had been treated. The females in central schools were as terse about duty as they were about treatment and their comments in this section provide a further commentary on the darker side of junior teaching in the 1930s:

- My Head Mistress did not do her duty by assisting me or my class. She could have been more help had she loosened up and become more approachable.
- Perhaps my naivety and immaturity brought out a sadistic streak in her. Perhaps she was really trying to keep me from an unsuitable choice of career, as she saw it.
- No. I had to work in a room 10 foot square with no aids except a chalkboard hanging on a nail on the wall.
- The other 3 teachers [also] seemed disenchanted with the HM. It was her first year at the school.
- I don't think I saw the Head much.

The respondent who had been badly treated in two schools reflected on her introduction to teaching at one school and her status at the other:

- Within 10 minutes of arriving (in March) I was put in front of a Higher Primary class with a poetry book and no time to think. Of course I made a mess of it. [school 1] I was treated as if I was trained. The sewing lessons caused a few hassles as before I came the Head's wife had been paid to teach sewing. [school 2]

The one whose Head had unsuccessfully 'propositioned' her seems to have been able to keep out of his way but she had another problem with his treatment of the children:

- Actually he taught his class & I taught mine, 23 Gr 1, 2, & 3. The only time he came into my room was at 9.30 every morning to cane children who had spelling errors.

Some simply commented the failings of the Head:

- He did not establish rapport and if anything, eroded some of my confidence as an embryonic teacher. He was typical of many of the 'Heads' of the 1930s who treated their junior teachers in much the same way as he treated me.
- He was not a good teacher. I was better off without him.
- He didn't consider it worth his while to get to know me.
- I feel the Head did not fulfill his duty to either me or to my class. He was civil to me but did not provide any time for discussion.
- The Head was too busy in his own house to even care about his own classes.

- I thought at the time that the Head should have helped me to study 'Green & Birchenough', not just leave me to study it on my own.

Others recalled how they could have been helped if the Head had been aware of his duty:

- No - I needed more sympathetic support and so did the children
- No - I had too many children to cope with.

The one who had described the Head Master of Adelaide High School as a 'father figure' went on to excuse him for not really doing his duty by her:

- No. As the largest high school in the State he did not have much time to spare for JTs

Help from other staff

Few of these respondents after 1932 were in schools with any other staff than their Head Teacher so there were only a small number of replies in this section. The responses from the early years generally pointed to other staff being helpful and supportive:

- Willing and gracious - even the teacher with whom I shared Grades 111 & 1V who was regarded by pupils (and some parents) as a Gorgon was always gracious and anxious to help.
- A feeling that they were always ready to support me.

Only a few took the opportunity to say how they would like to have been helped and one such response described what classrooms of the early 1930s were like:

- It was a time of teaching for results by cramming of spelling, tables and arithmetic for weekly test results. Few teachers tried to inspire students. It would have helped in my second year to have some 'good teacher' come in and assess the value of what I was trying to do and then suggest measures I could adopt to assist my pupils.

One from a small school in 1938 felt that it would have been helpful to have been able to discuss curricular aspects with someone with the same year levels. This opportunity was given to one respondent from a small Barossa Valley school about this time but she found her visit to the nearest large school valueless:

- I visited T... for one day on observation but do not recall learning anything. The teachers ignored my presence - they had enough to do with their large classes.

Another gave a closer insight into why this might have been so as she replied to this question:

- It must be remembered that all staff were flat out at the time - no ancillary staff, no free periods. There would have been little time to think of the needs of others.

One in a central school was assisted with her teaching of commercial subjects but felt that her lack of knowledge of even such basic principles of teaching as going from the known to the unknown prevented her from teaching her other subject, Geography, adequately. The respondent mentioned earlier as being told she would never make a teacher and who was in such a difficult position at her

first school recalls getting help from one of the women staff members who 'really pushed' to have her used in a better situation. Another female reported some unwanted advice from one of the women teachers:

- A very senior English and Classics teacher was ever ready to give advice on behaviour and decorum, not always appreciated, but I am sure given with the best intentions.

One respondent in a school with no other staff recalled that she got great help from the Head Teacher's wife:

- A happy little woman - she had been an infant teacher - she was a tower of strength, always willing to help with teaching aids, advice and just a 'cuppa' and a warm welcome.

Assessment of time in the school

This proved to be a difficult aspect for most of these respondents to recall with any great clarity. Even some who had very vivid recollections of other details were quite uncertain when it came to how their progress was assessed or how they were reported on. Several referred to the time lapse as a major difficulty here:

- I wish you had asked me this 50 years ago.
- On looking back over the intervening 60 years, I think my assessment would be moderately successful.

It would seem however, from many of the responses that other factors were responsible for the less than positive recall on aspects of this particular subject. It appears that for many, assessment of their work was not made a major issue either by their Head or the Inspector. In any case, the majority considered that the year had been either very, or moderately, successful so there were few recollections of traumatic assessments. There seems little doubt that Heads had to make some kind of report but the fact that it was not customary to show it to the junior teachers would have reduced its importance in their eyes. All in all, it seems that official assessment was not made enough of to cause it to be remembered particularly vividly by most respondents. The few cases where some trauma was associated with the way Heads or other supervisors carried out this duty serve to highlight the fact that for most respondents it was of little real significance.

However, only some 5% of them left this section unanswered. The rest were fairly evenly matched between those who recalled no assessment and those who could remember something of the sort. The first group consisted of a few who were sure that there had been no assessment of any kind and a majority who recalled being unaware of, or having completely forgotten, any such procedure. Interestingly enough, despite not remembering an assessment, over two-thirds of them qualified their response in a way that indicated a feeling that there might been, or perhaps should have been, some kind of evaluation of their work. Typical of these were the ones who seemed to recall that it

would have been part of the Head's role:

- I think the Head was required to report - under what headings I do not know.
- I never knew but I suppose the Head made some kind of report as part of the system.

Others linked the possibility of an assessment with the visit of an Inspector, usually the District Inspector [generally referred to as the 'DI'] or a specialist secondary Inspector:

- I imagine any judgement on my ability or otherwise would have been made by the Inspector - probably in discussion with the HT.
- Can't recall but doubtless there was as the District Inspector visited all schools in those days and submitted reports.

Some thought that their acceptance at the Teachers College must have been the result of some kind of reporting on them:

- No assessment that I know of but I do know that Inspector M ... decided I should go to Teachers College.
- Don't know but I think the HT would have sent a report to head office as to my suitability re continuing training as a teacher.

Indeed one recalled this aspect from a different point of view:

- No - not as far as I know. Indeed I was disappointed that there was apparently no attempt made for some assessment for us to carry through to the Teachers College.

Another who believed that the Head and the District Inspector would have been involved in his acceptance at the College, went on to proffer information that helps explain the resignations that occurred at various times in the year and the repeat years some junior teachers were given, even though they were qualified for entry to the College:

- Sometimes another year was recommended or if unsatisfactory, a recommendation to seek a different career, I think.

Those in the other group did recall some kind of assessment, report or examination either by the Head, the District Inspector or both of them. The details vary from the faintest of recollections to a few very vivid ones. There were brief ones such as 'A report from the HT' and 'An inspector came' and a longer one that illustrates what Heads and Inspectors were looking for in the 1930s:

- The weekly test results percentage was the be all and end all of a teacher's work in the HM's eyes, especially when annual tests were set by the Inspector. HM's also seemed to assess performance on whether a teacher had good 'control' with scant regard for how it was obtained - the cane and the ruler were frequently used, not always in the best interests of the children's attitude to learning.

It is not surprising in view of the role of Inspectors that almost three times as many of these respondents remembered their part in assessments rather than that of the Head of the school.

Another factor may well have been the break in school routine during the visit of such an authority figure. Some had only fleeting memories of the Inspector:

- I had a few words with the Inspector.
- Very little assessment - one visit by the Inspector but no real assessment.
- The DI spent a few minutes in my room but I was never asked to teach in front of him.

Some Inspectors were more exacting:

- Two visits from the DI. He tested the Junior Grades in Spelling, Mental Arithmetic and Reading. He spoke with encouragement and (I hoped) approval.
- DI P... watched me take a lesson and wrote a report (I think).

Some respondents had pleasant memories of the Inspector:

- A oneday visit from the Inspector - a lovely chap who, a few years before had been my Leaving Physics teacher. He was warm, helpful and not too exacting with a JT performance.
- Inspector F... came a couple of times - he seemed to like me.
- The Inspector gave me many helpful verbal comments during the day.

Others were not sure where they stood with the Inspector:

- The Inspector of Schools visited me and he told me I was doing well but hastened to add that there were some other excellent young people in his district. I rather felt I had passed without distinction. [this was in 1932 when there was strong competition for the College]
- I think the Inspector found my efforts adequate. I was never told to change my ways.

However, some found the Inspector distinctly unhelpful or even unpleasant:

- The only remark I remember from Inspector P... was 'You have a most supercilious look, Mr. F...'
- I think the most vivid memory of my JT year was the annual inspection by one Inspector G... No warm greeting, no putting me at ease. Sat down on a desk with pen and paper and proceeded to watch me teach until morning recess. The only remark he made to me during the time - I remember it word perfectly I'm sure - was 'Miss T... life is a sad business isn't it? Do you know that you haven't smiled once this morning!' I didn't smile as I was terrified and only conscious of that man watching my every move. Mr. G... didn't speak to me again but the Head told me when he left that he was quite pleased with me. I don't think there was a written report.

The female who has been noted as having a very difficult time with her Head at L... recalled the role of the Inspector:

- At the end of school, I was advised by the Head and Inspector to give up the idea of being a teacher. (If it had not been for my parents' financial situation, I would have done so).

A number remembered a written report but only five of them actually saw it, probably because, as one respondent claimed, it was not the general practice at the time to reveal what was in such

reports:

- The HT wrote a report for the DI but it was not customary to show it to the junior teacher.

The following recollection may help explain one reason why few Heads were prepared to show reports:

- Oh yes. There was a report at the end of the year. I was not particularly pleased with it as he assessed me 'SATISFACTORY' when I had been used all my life to 'Excellent' or 'Very good'. This was quite a blow to my pride. When I challenged him [the Head] he explained that it meant he was satisfied otherwise it would have been 'unsatisfactory'. He was not the type to go into raptures.

Others accepted criticism more readily:

- The HT showed me what he had put in his report to the DI - fair and instructive.
- Yes both the HT and the DI wrote reports (I think) - certainly the HT. I remember reading that I could have been 'less brusque' in dealing with young children. Probably well deserved at the time.

One remembered seeing a report but although she can't remember what was in it she believed:

- It must have been satisfactory as I was admitted to the College.

Nine respondents recalled having to take an examination of some kind. For some it was merely an oral one:

- At the end of my term, the Head Teacher and I had an oral discussion on the 'Course of Instruction' and 'Regulations' - fairly wide-ranging talk as a kind of exam.
- I was given a short oral examination by the HT asking for my comments on various aspects of teaching.

Others had to take a written examination:

- I recall there was a test set by the Head on the Principles of Teaching we had discussed in a couple of sessions.
- A written examination at the end of the year on the book studied. I think this was submitted and assessed by the DI.

At least one expected such an exam but found that it did not happen:

- I believe JTs were expected to do a test on Green and Birchenough. I cannot recall having to do such a test.

Self assessments

The following table shows how these former junior teacher rated the success of their time in that role.

TABLE 11. 5 Respondents' Assessment of Levels of Success

	1931 &32*	1933 &34*	1934	1935	1935 &36*	1936	1937	1938	1939	Totals	%
Very Successful	4	2	1	4	-	3	1	5	2	22	19.3%
Successful (Qualified)	-	-	-	1	1	3	2	-	-	7	6.1%
Moderately Successful	6	4	3	6	4	10	10	12	13	68	59.6%
A Failure	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	1.8%
Other	2	-	-	3	-	4	1	1	4	15	13.2%
Totals	12	6	4	14	5	21	14	19	19	114	100.0%

* Respondents employed for the whole or part of both years

A large number of the respondents took advantage of the space provided to explain why they had or had not ticked a particular box. These comments make it possible to identify factors that made for high, moderate and low estimates of success, and in a small number of cases, what caused them to refrain from rating themselves. As in the previous section, the categories in the questionnaire did not suit everyone. As can be seen, a small number qualified their response - usually by crossing out the 'Very' or the 'Moderately' - to indicate that they saw themselves as simply successful. A few preferred to make a statement to that effect instead of ticking a category. One respondent combined both categories and another indicated that if his PEB results were taken into account he would assess himself as 'Very Successful', but otherwise as moderately so. Taking into account the three categories of successful, some 85 % of all respondents recalled having achieved something worthwhile during their time as a junior teacher. With the addition of those under 'Other Response' who gave an indication of at least some success, the rate reaches just over 91%, which compares favourably with that of the 1920s.

The very successful

Not surprisingly a number made their decision on the strength of feedback from their superiors:

- This 'conclusion' seemed egotistical, but it is based on an assessment of my teaching by the Head and the Inspector. I looked for responsibility, the Head gave it, and I was very satisfied.
- Because I received encouraging reports from the HM.
- With the support of the HT, I was able to gain confidence and enjoy my work.

Others gauged their success from their ability to gain good results and to control their classes:

- My results compared favourably with other classes. The term examinations were rigorous and closely reviewed by the HM.
- My students did well in the PEB exams.
- (With some modesty) I cannot recall having any disciplinary problems ... On inspection

visits when all classes were examined, my classes always compared with the others.

- I had coped well with large classes of up to 45 at levels to Intermediate and had never produced a situation requiring intervention by others, or even a 'talking to' by senior teachers because of incompetence or lacking effort. I had also, by part-time effort, passed a second year University subject.
- I felt I had control of my class - they were obedient and worked well.

A feeling of having generally done very well both in the school and in the community came out in a number of other responses:

- I am not sure that I felt in a position to judge my success or otherwise but at a very immature 17 years of age, I really enjoyed my year in a different community where I was accepted and where I made many friends.
- It was a very happy year for me all round. I felt I was in the right spot. It seemed the right thing to be doing.
- I found I was able to establish successful rapport with the children, staff, and parents generally.
- Most people were sorry I was leaving to train because they felt their children 'did well' in my class.
- With lack of understanding of what teaching or education involved at 20 years of age, I probably felt I was [very] successful from the reaction of other teachers in the existing environment.

The moderately successful

As can be seen from the table, the majority of respondents believed that their year had been moderately successful. Most judged this on the same criteria used by those who believed that they had been very successful but the language tended to be more temperate and words like 'reasonable' and 'moderate' were sometimes used to qualify successes. There were those who were made aware of their success:

- The Head seemed reasonably satisfied and the DI said I was coping with the job.
- At the end of the year I believed I had performed reasonably well judging by the attitude of the HT and the parents. My landlady who had an ear for local gossip seemed to support this.
- Most weeks I received 75% to 90% for my criticism lessons and the Head was very encouraging.

Others gauged their success by what they had achieved with their students:

- According to the methods of assessment in use then, I had reasonable 'runs on the score board'.
- On the whole the children reached the level expected of them and most seemed to respond to

my efforts.

- They all passed, they seemed happy, they were not afraid of me although I maintained good discipline without violence and shouting. They were dear little people.
- I felt I had been successful because I taught some small children to read, write, and spell ... and having passed that stage I was ready to go on to study at the Teachers College. (dream of dreams!)
- All my students who sat for the public examinations were successful. I had few disciplinary problems and I was, I believe, liked by my pupils in and out of school.
- I had a group of children who had previously found school difficult but at the end of the year all had passed without any obvious trauma to the next grade.

There were those who simply felt pleased with themselves and confident of having done reasonably well:

- Felt I could handle a normal class teaching situation with moderate success - as teaching curricula methods were then, I suppose I was an average performer.
- I had no regrets at the end of the year. I had enjoyed the experience. I'm certain I viewed teaching as a lively occupation and a worthwhile one at that.
- I enjoyed teaching and felt successful.
- I felt I had done a reasonable job - nobody told me I had and nobody told me I hadn't.

One recalled all his reasons:

- Modestly (!), quite successful as measured by
  1) My own feeling of having done fairly well
  2) The Head Teacher's comments
  3) The children's apparent ease of manner and performance
  4) The parents' (& town's) hearty farewell & invitation to 'come back & see us'. (Maybe they were pleased to see me go!)

For others the signs of moderate success lay in their own self growth:

- In my opinion I matured and gained confidence.
- The year of junior teaching was my year of growing up. It was the longest time I'd been away from home - the first time I'd earned money.
- I'm sure I developed educationally, mentally and socially, lost some of my reserve and slowly become more tolerant. [this was the one noted earlier as having had trouble with Moral and Temperance lessons]
- Learnt a lot of things about myself vis-a-vis other adults.

Some gave reasons why they had not rated themselves more highly:

- I obtained good results but I did not develop full confidence.
- I felt that I was always being compared with my predecessor, who was not only competent but very confident, with brilliant ideas, a good sport, a pianist, with great rapport with young children.
- Against odds all but the least able children passed, and some did well. I was not satisfied of course.
- I did not feel my sewing had been as successful as I would have liked, nor did I feel my lack of confidence in playing the piano was as useful as it should have been.
- I was always conscious of the fact that I had a lot to learn. I knew my weaknesses and was confident I could overcome them. I still wanted to become a teacher.

Others were not sure about themselves, even when children and parents seemed satisfied:

- I had fairly good relationships with most students and I always wanted to help all students - dull or bright - but how well I did it I do not know.
- I knew I had a lot to learn but the children were happy and had made progress - the parents were sad to see me go, so they said.

Indeed it is surprising that one respondent ticked the moderately successful box in the light of the comment that followed:

- I felt I was going nowhere. I had two little deaf girls in the room. They were older but were kept back because of their defect. I don't think I helped them at all. I felt inadequate as I tried to see their problems but could find no way to help them.

Clearly the rest of her work was successful, as she did not mark herself as a failure.

The failures

As the table shows only two respondents regarded themselves as failures and this is something of a surprise in a period in which, as has been seen, many of them had encountered difficult situations. Clearly the majority had come to terms with their potential as teachers and there was one response that may hold a clue to why so many recalled the successes rather than the failures. That respondent linked both of the moderately successful and failure categories and explained the combination thus:

- I think I knew that it was in me to be a good teacher but I was still immature and needed direction.

It is not surprising, however, that of the two who considered their year a failure, one was the female noted previously as having been told by one Head that she was useless and would never make a teacher and terrified by another who, as she put it, tried to 'maul' her when they were alone. She simply ticked the category and wrote 'See previous comments'. The other failure was brought about largely by one event quite late in the year although this respondent too had little support from her

Head whom she had noted earlier as 'Too busy in his own home to even care about his own classes' let alone hers. It was this lack of care that caused her to feel that she had failed in her role. She recalled the episode in this way:

- The Minister of Education was driving through the town one morning and saw all the school children in the main street. So he came rushing to the school and demanded the Head. I didn't even know who he was! And the Head was having his a.m. tea at home! Well there was a terrible to do! Visits by the School Inspector and enquires. I was never told much about it. I was sure I had lost my job for letting the kids wander out of the yard and was most depressed for the last few weeks of the year. (The Head was transferred to a city school next year). [she did go on to Teachers College]

Other responses

Only 2 respondents failed to tick a category or make a comment. Most of the others who did not tick any box made a statement that indicated that they considered themselves either very or moderately successful. There were a variety of reasons why they were unable to rate their success:

- I have never bothered to rate myself as good, bad, or indifferent ... At the end of the JT year I knew that whatever my failings, I had worked as well as I could & I was grateful for the help I had received.
- I don't remember having any doubts about my success. How would I have known? The Head was just enormously pleased to have help for a third of his school.
- I didn't really think of it. The children liked me, the parents were friendly but for cow-cockies, school was merely an interlude between morning and afternoon milking.

Not surprisingly those who had little or no teaching responsibilities responded quite emphatically in this area. Two were from metropolitan high schools:

- I felt none of these because I was expected to do so little of importance. I felt rather that it had been a waste of time.
- I entered the Department not knowing what the exact duties of a JT were, and at the end of 1935 could not have attempted such an assessment. I am certain that I carried out all the set tasks [clerical and marking] promptly and efficiently.

Another was from a central school:

- None [of the categories] - I did not see the year as a learning experience.

One who was teaching alongside the Head recalled the limitations of the one-teacher school:

- I don't think there was much scope to prove myself very successful. In a one-teacher school - operating in one room - there were limitations for experimentation or originality and as a young, active male, there was little with Grades 1 - 3 to turn one on or create tremendous

enthusiasm.

Others apparently hesitated at the idea of rating themselves as either very successful or a failure:

- I did not feel that I had been a failure but have no idea how successful I was because there was no assessment.
- I would never say I was very successful at anything but I do not think I had been a failure.
- I felt I was successful because my confidence had been built up by my Head, and I've never been afraid of hard work. However, I guess I fell on my face a few times.
- No one ever criticized what I had done - all my students passed - must have done something right!

QU. 4 AT THE TEACHERS COLLEGE - ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES

This question sought to estimate the effect of having been a junior teacher on the respondents' time at the Teachers College. It explored whether or not they had been able to enter the course of their choice and what the general advantages and disadvantages had been. They were then asked to compare ex-junior teachers with direct school entrants in terms of practical and academic advantage or disadvantage.

Choice of College course

An important measure of advantage or disadvantage in the junior teacher experience was whether or not it helped or hindered respondents in getting into the kind of teaching that they wanted or into a course that gave them the best chance of future success. In the concrete section respondents said what course they had entered and, as has been seen, some of them also commented at that stage on the process involved in being accepted. The general impression from the concrete data was that most either got into the course of their choice immediately or, in the case of those wanting to be secondary teachers, within one or two years. Those who did not get their choice were now able to comment on how they felt about whatever had happened in this regard. The ones most concerned were aspirants for the D course who had to first wait for a year or two in the B course, those who were obliged to take a one year rather than a two year course and those who had to accept training for a type of teaching that they had not wanted. Overall, some 75% of respondents - generally those who wanted infant, primary or craft course or who accepted the rules regarding secondary entry - wrote only 'Yes' to this question.

As has already been seen, there was actually little choice for most of those wanting to be generalist secondary teachers. Several respondents described the situation that faced them in this regard:

- No-one chose. You were directed according to academic standard. A few B (Primary) students were able to transfer to the D (Secondary) course at the end of their first (or second) year - on the strength of their University results.
- ...You earned your transition to D2, 3 or 4 courses.

Eighteen other respondents who wanted to be secondary teachers got their choice eventually in that way. Some, like those above, accepted this:

- Yes (B) - that for me was the only way to a D course.

Others pointed out that primary was not their choice at all and seemed somewhat frustrated about the procedure:

- No - I never wanted to teach at any level but Secondary but in 1932 no D course students (save a few Private Students) were enrolled.
- No - I wanted to go straight to the D course but the only people granted that privilege were the ones who had won a Leaving Honours bursary.

Another group that showed some frustration with the course they were directed into were those who had been accepted into junior teacherships during the Depression around the age of twenty or more. Several who had to take a one year instead of a two year course described how they felt about it:

- No - I wanted to transfer from A to B course. I had matriculated and felt that the standard of my education warranted two years at the College. But my request was not allowed. [he was aged 21.8 as a junior teacher]
- No - I had matriculated in 1929, and had had three years of secondary schooling. I would have preferred the B course (to A) so I could commence University study. There was no IQ or aptitude test then. Students were allocated courses on PEB results. [The Leaving - five years earlier - in his case. He was twenty when he became a junior teacher in 1934.]
- No - Wanted 2 year B (rather than one year Bx) but because I was older [21 as a junior teacher] the 'Powers' at the College decided that we, as a group, ('we' being more mature, or older), would benefit from an extra year's salary. [instead of another year as a student teacher]

On the other hand, as was seen in the concrete section, some older respondents had seen the one year course as an advantage but only one of them, who was over 21 when he became a junior teacher, indicated here that the Bx course was indeed his own choice, and he was happy to get onto an adult wage more quickly.

There were other cases that further illustrated peculiarities of Departmental decision making that led young people into a kind of teaching that they had not chosen. One was the respondent who had noted in the concrete section that she was unable to become an infant teacher because she could not play the piano. Another was in the same situation:

- No - because I had no musical qualifications.

Several felt that they had been forced into unsuitable courses. Two of them recalled the role of the Department in this:

- No. I was drafted into Home Science because I had suitable subjects and was too shy to demand a change.
- No - I had hoped to do Infant Teacher Training. However, that group was filled and as I was very young I was rejected - but later offered a position in the B group which I accepted in order to remain with my peers.

Others knew little about the courses or had received inadequate advice:

- I wasn't aware of the different courses. I think I was asked where I had been teaching - anyhow I drifted into it. [B]
- No tradition of teaching in our family. I knew nothing about College courses. I was advised by the Head to accept an offer to enter the A course because at the time (1936) entry to the College was difficult to obtain.
- Yes - (though in hindsight I should have chosen a primary course instead of C).

On the other hand, the junior teacher experience was instrumental in helping some respondents make up their mind about what kind of teacher they wanted to be and for others to change it:

- Yes - M... [school] turned me towards primary. [he had originally been prepared to accept whatever was available]
- Yes - In teaching the middle grades I became accustomed to them so changed from wanting to be an infant teacher.
- Both the HM & the Inspector observed the way I taught and recommended the C course. [she had wanted secondary]

One respondent recalled having his mind changed in a very different way in 1933:

- I entered "E" Course (Secondary commercial) but immediately changed to "B" on the personal advice of the Director of Education, Mr W.J. Adey. (Incredibly he called me to his Flinders Street office for the interview).

While this might now seem a very unusual occurrence, it must be remembered that in 1933 the Department was a much smaller and intimate organization than it became in later times.

The advantages

Some 90% of the respondents recalled that their time as a junior teacher had indeed advantaged them in some way and a number of the responses were introduced with such emphatic endorsements as 'Definitely yes', 'Most definitely yes' and 'Yes indeed'. However, this should not be taken as overwhelming support for the system because, as will be seen in the next section, 45% also found

certain aspects of it that had disadvantaged them. Of the small number who responded negatively in this section, several qualified their answer:

- No - except to be a year older and a proven 'survivor'.
- No - some intrinsic values but irrelevant to the progress of my career. [she taught years 1-3 but entered the D course]
- Professionally, no. Looking back I should class it as mere familiarisation. [he wanted to be a secondary teacher but was drafted into the B course and did not get to D]

One other was somewhat tentative:

- No - perhaps it helped when sent to schools in Adelaide for practical experience.

The rest either merely wrote 'No', 'Not very much', 'Not a great deal' or 'Not really'.

Almost all of those who believed that the experience had helped them in some way were able to say why. Some recalled that having been in a school situation had helped them in a number of general ways:

- Those two years in which I had charge of a class must have been advantageous, surely. Practical experience plus some theory must have had a good influence on my attitude towards the profession I hoped to follow.
- I was familiar with the syllabus 111-V11... had had singing training ... was familiar with timetabling and programming.
- Knew the school situation, was quite clear as to what was to be our future role and what the conditions would be. Had been there, done that.
- I had a better idea of what five and six year olds were capable of than I would have had I not had this experience.
- Time as a JT gave me experience in the need for preparing for a day's teaching, some idea of working with groups of children & the realisation that teaching needed concentration, persistence & repetitive effort.

By far the largest response came from those who believed that the experience had helped them in their personal development. Over a quarter of them mentioned confidence or maturity while others alluded to it in some way:

- Became fully confident of my ability and rectitude.
- Yes - had given me more confidence in myself and in speaking with and dealing with others.
- Became physically and mentally independent If I had gone to College straight from school I would have been still a child used to obeying orders unquestionably and expecting direction.
- Being a JT and living away from home for two years probably gave me added maturity.
- I was a very callow youth when I left High School. Junior teaching gave me an opportunity to mix with many different people and broadened my experience considerably.
- Yes - even one year spent in the working world provides the opportunity to learn the value

and management of money, how to meet and get on with people, grow up a bit, and see the teaching world in perspective.

More often than not, that confidence was linked to the practical teaching component of the College courses. Another large group specifically mentioned confidence in relation to Demonstration Schools and/or 'criticism' lessons:

- An invaluable experience of what was to follow at Dem School.
- Confidence when I went out to the Demonstration schools and had to give lessons there.
- Certainly a little confidence at Practising School, I didn't feel so strange standing in front of a class.
- Especially confident in giving the dreaded 'crit' lesson.

One respondent believed that his success at practical teaching ensured that he got a job on leaving College at the end of 1932:

- Yes I was confident in the school situation. I received high marks in my reports at Practising School. I was one of a group of about 15 students who received an appointment at the end of 2nd year. Others had to wait months.

Another advantage of having had some practical experience was that it helped in appreciating and understanding lectures at the College:

- Yes - when lecturers were discussing methods of teaching I could appreciate the advantages, and sometimes the disadvantages, of what they were suggesting - weighed them up against the back drop of experience - even though it was somewhat limited.
- Yes. Could apply lecturer's 'waffle' to my own situation, as I remembered it.

For others, the experience confirmed their decision to enter the teaching profession:

- It made me feel all the more that teaching was my vocation.
- I had never taught before. I wasn't marvellous at it but I wasn't a failure either and I knew I wasn't a complete misfit (as some you know are).

For a few, the year was a welcome break from studies;

- It gave me a salutary break from study.
- ... Provided a break between secondary and tertiary study.
- It gave me a year of quiet recovery from years of study, both mentally and physically.
- There was also the maturity factor in a year's break from schooling.
- Yes - It gave me a pause from the world of books and study and a chance to meet people and see how they lived.

Of course not all those who admitted to some advantage were as enthusiastic about it as others. Not surprisingly, the ones who had been poorly treated or given no teaching responsibilities were rather

grudging in their praise of any aspect:

- I suppose having stood in front of a class and learning to handle chalk must have been a help. [this was the one who had had personal problems with the Heads at two schools]
- Gave confidence to stand in front of a class. Not much else. [his Head had 'bawled' him out in front of the classes]
- I passed Latin 1 but did little to help me become a better teacher. [she had practically no teaching duties at a metropolitan high school]

One who was located at the School of Art did not get any experience in teaching primary children there. When she got to the Demonstration School she found her 'years of teaching Sunday school kindergarten were of much more help' than her junior teaching experience when it came to practical teaching and 'crit' lessons. One who entered the B course prior to a further year training as a Manual Craft Instructor recalled quite the opposite experience:

- Yes. In College my teaching practice was only in Primary Schools. I did not do, or even see, a 'Craft Lesson' whilst in College. My JT year gave me my only opportunity to teach in my final area.

A few longer recollections help to sum up the advantages of the junior teacher year. One was from a respondent who recalled her first experience at a Demonstration School:

- On my first practical teaching week, the teacher with whom I was to work collapsed at Monday morning assembly. I was at Sturt St. to go into a one-teacher 1-7 class. I was able to have the class working by the time the Head came to rescue me. I took charge of the class for the week. I was excused from doing a Dem lesson and received a glowing report.

A male recalled longer-term benefits:

- More helpful than any subsequent experience at the Teachers College. It was my first experience in handling relationships with young people and with a group of intelligent, dedicated teachers. My experience as a junior teacher provided me with a sound basis for my future teaching career - and had much to do with my later achievements in the Education Department.

Another took a wide look at the whole experience:

- It helped me to mature quickly, made me self-reliant. It proved I loved teaching. It was 'hands on' teaching & a hard apprenticeship but a constant challenge. I learnt how to discipline without undue harshness.

The disadvantages

As has been seen, some 45% of the respondents recalled some disadvantages, often alongside what they had considered as advantages. Most of those who did not feel any disadvantage simply wrote

'No' or left the space blank. A few used this section to elaborate further on the advantages of the system:

- No - how could it - I was in the job I had always sought.
- No - I can't see that my year as a junior teacher could have disadvantaged me in any way. It gave me time to mature, to mix with a completely new set of people, as well as prepare me for the career I had chosen - an insight into what lay ahead.

Most of those who felt disadvantaged explained why they had felt that way. Over a third of them considered that they had suffered an academic setback. For some, this was because they did not have the opportunity to get on with their university studies:

- Delayed my studying for the necessary academic qualifications.
- While I was a JT in a small country town my city peers were passing University subjects, some had four B.A. subjects when we entered College.
- Yes - I lost a year in my Arts degree build up. Subsequently I had to complete it (with lecture exemptions) after I'd begun a country appointment.
- Resentful of the loss of a year at the University - fearful I might be handicapped in some sort of academic race.

For others the problem lay in the break from studies:

- A year (2 in my case) of country social life tended to wean one away from good study habits!
- For a while [after] it was hard to adjust to being a student again.
- A year's break from full-time study was a disadvantage - e.g. Maths formula needed revising after a twelve-month break.
- It had taken me away from the 'study habit' and did nothing to prepare me for the difference between secondary and tertiary education.
- Academically I felt it was a waste of time.

Some of them realised that they might have been better off doing another year at school:

- On thinking back I think a year spent doing Leaving Honours would have prepared me better for University subjects. I found Leaving to University a very big step and I feel Leaving Honours would have made University easier and I'd have been more successful.

Two made mistakes in the subjects they did during the junior teacher year:

- The University subject (Accountancy 1) I had done was not acknowledged at College and I was forced to change direction which led to a mixed up way through my B.A..
- I was isolated from future study. Instead of doing Leaving Arithmetic I should have been doing a University subject. I knew nothing about Departmental 'franking' of University subjects.

The disadvantage for most of the others was a financial one:

- Only disadvantage was the delay of a year along the path to receiving a reasonable income.
- We were all losers by one or two years seniority and consequently increases in salary were delayed.
- It added another year to training which meant I was nearly 21 before I earned a normal income.
- It put off by one year the ultimate receipt of a teacher's salary (i.e. one more year on 15/- a week.)
- The greatest disadvantage was the lack of money until I gained a part-time job.

Others referred to the possibility of poor professional influences during the junior teacher year:

- To a certain extent our attitudes to Education had been conditioned and our values affected for worse rather than better, because we were influenced by the actions and statements of others as to what was a successful teacher.
- It possibly made me over-confident and perhaps shown me models and practices that were undesirable. Hit and miss 'on-the-job' training of that kind always carried such dangers. Instead of proper professional preparation we merely learnt the 'tricks of the trade'.

The respondent who had been placed in her local high school faced difficulties when she began training for what she really wanted - infant teaching:

- In some ways I was still a school girl. I found it very difficult to deal with 5-8 year olds and their educational needs.

Others recalled disadvantages of a personal nature. One who had to move to the country found changes in her social group when she came back to the city:

- Only the social life - my school friends had all found new lives by the time I got back to town (I was only 17 by then)

Another found her age a problem when she finally got to Teachers' College:

- Yes - my time (14 months) as a junior teacher made for a two year gap before entering Teachers College. I was older than most other students - all the time I felt very concerned about my age but later I concluded that it wasn't really the disadvantage I thought it was.

Not surprisingly the female who has been noted several times as having significant problems with Headmasters in two schools had a special comment on the personal disadvantages she had suffered:

- Mainly the inability to believe in myself. My attitudes to men were not very conducive to good relations. For years I used to go rigid if touched.

Practical/academic comparisons

Respondents were asked to indicate how they regarded themselves and others who had been junior

teachers in comparison with those who had come straight to College from school. It is not surprising in view of the College entry conditions over most of the decade, that almost 30% of them felt that they could not make a valid comparison on either issue because there had been few, if any, other than ex-junior teachers in the College. Some were quite unaware of there being any other than ex-junior teachers while others recalled that there were a few private students:

- I don't think there were any others.
- I thought we all followed the same course at that time & served as JTs. Perhaps I was naive.
- I should say that say that almost 100% of the "B" students had been JTs.
- I don't think anyone came direct to College. May have been a few private students from Lutheran areas.
- In the years I was at ATC I cannot remember meeting anyone (except a few private students) who had not been a JT.

The rest seemed to have known enough direct entrants to be able to make a comparison on practical and academic advantages and disadvantages.

Practical aspects

As was seen in the section on general advantage, a number of respondents had already pointed out the benefits of having been a junior teacher when they came to undertake practical teaching. Overall, some 74% of those respondents who felt that they could make a comparison on this aspect with direct entrants recalled that being a junior teacher had advantaged them in aspects of the practical work of teacher training. Some who believed that there was an advantage wrote such things as 'Helpful experience', 'Better prepared', 'In front', 'Experience valuable', 'Slightly advantaged', 'Marginally ahead', 'Sure JTs had an advantage', 'Highly advantaged' and 'Generally superior'. The majority, however, were prepared to explain the advantages in more specific terms:

- We were efficient and confident and knew our way around the classroom. We also knew what worked in our interpersonal relationships with students.
- We had a considerable advantage. We knew how it felt to confront a large class ... (and) how to maintain control.
- We had a definite edge. We were older and more experienced in the world as well as in teaching.
- Experience in lesson presentation and practice in assessing how a class would react.
- We were probably more at ease with the children - more adept and relaxed, as it was not strange to us.

Others referred more directly to their advantages in the Demonstration School situation:

- Felt quite confident (in practical teaching) where others quaked.
- In Prac Teaching those who had been JT's found it easier to manage a class.

- Non JTs were in a far less advantageous position particularly in Dem school - two I know resigned after their first crit lesson.
- I was glad I had done some practical work before I attended the demonstration schools and criticism lessons!
- I'm sure we junior teachers were able to handle the practical side better than those without our experience - we certainly got better reports from our supervising teachers.

A few believed that any such advantage was transitory:

- [We felt] Superior beings. I lost much of this when confronted by my first class of 45 Grade 2 children under the watchful eye of the Dem teacher. [He had been in high schools for two years]
- Ex junior teachers had more confidence to start with but the others (there were very few of them) soon caught up.

Two longer recollections - one from 1931-32 and the other from 1939 - sum up the practical advantages of having been a junior teacher:

- When it came to practical teaching or 'criticism' lessons in the Demonstration Schools any observer could tell easily which students had been 'on the floor' in a school as a JT. The easy way he or she quietly obtained the children's interest, the driving home of important facts, the summarising and clinching of material taught - all declared he/she had had previous experience.
- At College I think some of our colleagues who had not been junior teachers envied us. Perhaps we flaunted our 'experience' and 'class room knowledge'. The ordeal of the 'Crit' lesson held few terrors for us. We may even have enjoyed them in a masochistic kind of way, whereas some of the other students seemed to be paralysed with fear at the thought of this.

The recollections of the few who had little teaching experience served to heighten such advantages. One respondent who had been at a central school recalled the measure of her envy of more experienced student teachers:

- I greatly envied those who had had a year's experience of real teaching and personal maturing in the country.

Two from city high schools reflected on what they had missed:

- Other Junior Teachers had much more practical experience - but I had little.
- Through observation of my contemporaries in the "B" course I formed the opinion that those who had served in small schools and had been required to teach full programmes under terms of full responsibility had benefited enormously by their experience ... the practical teaching skills of B students with prior teaching experience would be generally speaking far superior

to those of [first year] D students.

The case of the one who wanted to be an infant teacher but who had been drafted into secondary teaching to fill a casual vacancy in her home town high school was noted earlier. Here she recalled her particular disadvantage in comparison with those who had experience with the lower grades:

- I was somewhere between the junior teachers who had been dealing with infants for a year and those who came straight to College from school - very nervous and lacking in the sort of confidence I needed.

There were only two other groups of any size. Some 11% of the respondents had found little or no difference regarding practical teaching between those who had been junior teachers and those who had not. They simply wrote such things as 'Can't say I noticed any difference', 'No difference' and 'Very little difference' without explaining why they felt that way. A slightly smaller group left the space blank.

Academic aspects.

As might be expected from the responses in the areas of general advantage/disadvantage, reaction to the question of academic advantage was very different indeed to that regarding the practical side of Teachers' College. Of those able to make any such comparison, only some 12% felt advantaged in some way whereas 38% were sure that they had been disadvantaged. Another 31% believed that there had been little or no difference between the ex-junior teachers and the few direct entrants in the College, 13% were not sure about it and the rest did not give an answer.

Most of the small group who recalled some advantage linked it with the personal growth and maturity which the period of junior teaching had given them:

- As far as I was concerned the extra maturity helped me in my academic career.
- Confidence gained in growing up spilt over into College life generally.
- We tended to be older - more intellectual as well as physical maturity.
- The brilliant young scholarship winners who qualified for direct College entry met unexpectedly stiff competition in their University courses from older, hardworking colleagues in the primary intakes.

Several respondents gave details of their academic successes to indicate that they had not been disadvantaged in this respect:

- O.K. 2 credits at University in 1936. [after being a JT in 1935 two years after having left school]
- Foundations had been laid for development of a feeling of superiority over those who could not pass exams as well as I could. [he had passed Maths 1 & 11 as a junior teacher]

Another felt that the experience of having taught certain subjects had helped considerably in higher academic studies:

- I believe that teaching Leaving Maths & Physics in that year between school exit and entry to full time College-University work (during which time I completed Maths 1 - evening lectures) gave me an opportunity to better understand the bases of those subjects - did me no harm as I undertook advanced studies in them.

Some of those who believed there were no differences between the two groups were quite categorical about it. A number simply wrote 'No difference' while others stated their view in such terms as 'No loss or gain apparent', 'Was not affected at all', 'Equal at least', and 'Private students coped as well as we did'. A few explained why they felt this way, usually by describing their own success or that of others:

- I don't think my year as a JT affected my academic progress in any way. I had been a University student before, and I slipped straight back into academic life, taking two 3rd year subjects in my first year as well as the usual College programme.
- The year away from constant study did not seem to make much difference to the way I approached the College and University subjects. I was determined to do well.

The responses of those who felt disadvantaged academically were similar to those already noted in the earlier section on the general disadvantage. Most were able to detail the exact disadvantage they had suffered and the indignation, or even envy, that they had felt. Some respondents from the early part of the decade felt particularly disadvantaged in relation to those who were able to stay in Adelaide and advance their University studies.

- At the end of my first year, eight of my group graduated. They had parents who could afford to support them at University. They were, I think, all city folk. [this respondent did not 'graduate' in terms of receiving the first certificate, until three years after leaving College]
- Those who did no junior teaching probably had done University work between school and College and left with a degree and more status.

However, one respondent who had himself passed two Units while still at school in 1930, had a reservation about any long term advantage in this regard:

- Some students who were unable to attend Teachers College in 1933-34 (because of a 'freeze' on student admissions) studied at the Uni and entered College with up to 5 Units. However, I don't believe that there was a very significant difference between the two categories of students after entering College.

Several comments from this early period threw further light on the 'Registered Candidate' category, about which, as noted earlier, there is something of a mystery as to how widely it operated. It would

seem that there were in fact, enough such candidates to disturb some of those who were appointed as junior teachers instead:

- The great majority of students had been JTs, but of those who had missed out on becoming Probationary Students, some entered as 'Registered Candidates', unpaid but who did University work instead of junior teaching.
- Many Junior Teachers came to ATC to find that some "B" students had 3 degree units obtained as Registered Students for Teaching. Living in Adelaide they were allowed to do up to 3 units for the Arts degree each year by attending lectures instead of junior teaching. Two such students had 6 units obtained in 1931-32. A number of these students became "D" students on completion of the B2 year.

Others recalled that the academic disadvantage for them lay in the break in studies:

- The break from studies as a JT, proved very difficult to overcome in my case.
- Junior teachers didn't have the benefit of continued study which the School [ones] had, so the School [student] teachers were more academic.
- Those who came straight from school took up where they had left off, but for myself with a taste of freedom for a year, it was hard to study.
- The others had a head start on academic progress because there was no break from study.

Others felt disadvantaged because they had missed out on Leaving Honours [often abbreviated as 'LH']:

- Behind. The city people had [Leaving] Honours, which was an advantage in University study.
- The Uni subjects would probably have been enhanced by a 'Leaving Honours' year - those subjects seemed 'apart' from teacher training.
- Those who did LHs were much better equipped to tackle University subjects in my experience but at that time [1939] most of us went out as JTs after obtaining Leaving. I think economy may have been a factor - another year at school was another year before you could earn a living.

One respondent recalled that she managed to overcome this disadvantage over time:

- I was aware that I didn't cope (at first anyway) with the academic work as well as the girls who had done full Leaving Honours...however, I recovered enough to get 2nd credit in Education in 2nd Year. (Forgive the boast!)

Another was clearly far from ready for higher academic studies:

- Actually I got quite a shock to learn I had to do two Uni subjects in each of the two years at Teachers College.

One respondent who had been away from school for two years felt especially disadvantaged:

- I'd been at work in a factory for two years before the year of junior teaching & consequently

found the attendance at University lectures somewhat difficult.

Some, especially in the last few years of the decade, gave the impression that junior teachers were less likely to be as academically inclined as those direct from school:

- They were more able, & had higher educational qualifications to start with, than most of us.
- Those who came straight to College had had in High School higher academic results than former JTs, their patterns of study had not been interrupted & in College subjects & at Uni, for the most part, they performed better academically.
- I think the direct entrant had an advantage here. They had not had a break from study & were probably a more naturally talented group anyway.

Others pointed to aspects of the system itself that increased academic disadvantage. One who was over 21 years of age when he became a junior teacher recalled that by the time he got to College, he was 'browned off' with academic work and simply wanted to 'get my own school and support my widowed mother.' Another remembered the problem caused her by the entry standard for certain courses:

- Most of the students wishing to be Infant or Primary teachers did not need to go higher than the Leaving Certificate, so academically were considered qualified. I wished to continue studies at the University of Adelaide and I found the task very demanding.

One from a Central School background had a particular disadvantage:

- My education had not been in academic subjects - then so important. I found College life a real challenge but coped. Those straight from school were familiar with what was required.

Some from country high school backgrounds also felt disadvantaged:

- I realised that those people who had been to a city High School were better able to cope with the work. Because of my lack of city life I often felt a 'country bumpkin'.
- Those students from metropolitan high schools already knew many of their fellow students & were therefore more confident. Their academic backgrounds were also wider & deeper.

One found that his teaching duties disadvantaged him in this respect:

- I was definitely at a disadvantage here. As a JT in full-time charge of a class I was too busy to do further study. Some JTs who did not have this responsibility in [1931-32] could keep up their academic subjects, even in school hours.

QU. 5 OTHER IMPORTANT ISSUES

- WAS THE SYSTEM EXPLOITATIVE?

- DID CHILDREN SUFFER UNDER IT?

- SHOULD IT HAVE BEEN ABOLISHED?

As was seen in Chapter 9, the resurgence of an older style of junior teacher system to meet the contingencies brought about by the Depression, served to re-open questions that had plagued the

system until the reforms of 1921. Once the worst effects of the Depression abated, serious discussions began - largely within the S.A. Teachers Union - about the probity of continuing to use lowly paid, untrained juniors in teaching positions. The situation was seen as exploitation of these young people, as unfair to the students they taught and, in consequence, due for abolition. The questions above not only gave former junior teachers the opportunity to present their viewpoints on such issues but also allowed for some insights into an aspect of the Union's case about which very little is known. Reference has already been made to a survey which the Union carried out in 1938 and presented to the Education Inquiry Committee in 1943 in order to show the long standing nature of the concern about the employment of junior teachers. Details of that survey were not published and no record of it is extant. This makes the views of the 19 former junior teachers from 1938, who represent some 18% of all the junior teachers employed in that year, of particular interest. In conjunction with those from 1937 and 1939, their comments provide some idea as to how the junior teachers of that era might have replied to a request from the Union for information on their working conditions.

Exploitation?

Only one respondent neglected to make a comment here and many of the others wrote at some length, often in contrast to briefer replies to other sections. It would seem that this question struck something of a cord with the bulk of the respondents, 71% of whom recalled that they had been exploited in some way by the junior teacher system or felt that the Education Department had indeed got them on the cheap. This feeling was generally stronger in the period 1931 to 1936 with 77% responding in this way as compared with 64% from the period 1937 to 1939. Overall too, just over a third of those who felt exploited went on to qualify it in some way by referring as well to various beneficial aspects of the experience. Respondents in the latter years of the decade were more likely to have found something good about the experience than those from the years when the Depression was at its height.

The major factor for practically all those who felt exploited was the remuneration, or more to the point, the inadequacy of it in relation to what they were expected to do. Some two-thirds of all those who felt exploited related this to the pay and the word most frequently used to describe it was 'pittance'. Even a number of those who did not feel exploited recalled what they had been paid. A few respondents made general statements about the exploitative nature of the system:

- The Junior Teacher scheme was an exploitative relic of the medieval guild system.
- The system was a form of exploitation, replacing the earlier (& even worse) monitorial system.
- Yes many JTs were exploited doing the work that a fully qualified teacher was expected to

do. That the Ed. Depart regarded them as teachers rather than juniors is confirmed by the fact that the pay of JTs was cut by 10% the same as other teachers. Also it was clearly stated that they were to be responsible for teaching up to 30 pupils. The number was not always observed as JTs often acted as relieving teachers (there was no relieving staff then) ... Classes varied for all teachers - 40 was considered a 'soft' job - numbers often climbed up to 60 or 70 for a class.

Most, however, were able to give details of how they felt about the inadequacy of the pay, especially in relation to what they had left after paying board or other expenses:

- Yes - I believe JTs were paid less than a £1 per week & more if they had to board (as I did) ... We were exploited. We were underpaid.
- Our remuneration was £50 reduced to £45 in the depression in 1932. I feel the Department got value for money from my contemporaries.
- Yes - definitely exploited. I got £1 a week, 15/- of which went on board.
- £2-2-11 per fortnight and 2d for stamp duty on the cheque. £2 for board - 2/9d for personal use. Were we exploited?
- My small pay paid my board and that was about it. My parents had to clothe me and pay my fares to and from S...
- I received 23/- a week, leaving 3/- after paying board. The community had no idea of our low pay & one could not take part in social life (had to save for a haircut).
- I received 18/- a week & paid £1 per week board. I was dependent on my family to keep me & make up the 2/- difference.

A larger number went on to describe the exploitative nature of what they had to do in primary and one-teacher schools to earn such small rewards:

- I did as much as any other member of the staff and after paying board had 2/6 to do what I liked with. Sweated labour, I reckon.
- Yes - certainly got me on the cheap. I was a full-time teacher of 30 grade 3s getting a pittance while the other Grade 3 teacher, Miss Ede, got full money.
- When a male assistant was transferred after 4 weeks I was told to take the class of 30+ year 3 boys - exploitation?
- I followed a fully qualified, fully paid teacher & did equivalent work ... The pay was disgraceful!
- Yes - we were exploited. I did a full teacher's work with three grades. I was expected to teach multiplication and division to Grade 1 in that year, and organize sewing (cutting out garments to fit as well) all for £1-2-6 a week which included my boarding allowance.
- Yes - certainly exploited - The school had always had a fully qualified assistant until my

year. I was expected to take her place - the salary was a pittance.

- £1-2-6 per week, -2d for a duty stamp - £1 for board - rest for personal needs. Were we exploited? I taught 23 children + 5 for history twice a week, 3 or 4 girls for Dom. Arts, while still supervising the 1, 11, 111, group while the Head took woodwork.
- I'm quite sure it was a cheap way of getting teachers. I was in a school of 40 odd students and helped the HT by taking 18 of them off his hands.

Those in secondary schools had similar recollections of exploitation:

- With a full teaching load of 5-6 periods a day out of 7 plus book sales and the princely sum of £45 plus £20 boarding allowance (less 2d stamp duty each fortnight) one could say we were exploited and could be considered as cheap labour.
- I do not believe any 16 year old should be expected to teach a large class of first year high school students even if only for two lessons a day for £1-2-6 of which 17/6 went on board.
- In my case I had no real function in the [Central] school. I was exploited by the expectation that I would maintain some sort of discipline for absentee teachers.

Some went on to describe the conditions under which they taught and lived after drawing attention to the pay and teaching load:

- I worked with 20 children in a bleak room with just wooden desks and a blackboard. No library, no extra books.
- Boarding conditions were primitive and one was governed by the family ethos (Barossa Valley). Imagine the outcry this would provoke today!

Then there were those who while feeling exploited, sought to qualify it by reference to the benefits they got out of the system:

- Probably economically exploited BUT a sound apprenticeship.
- Exploited economically YES - not exploited professionally.
- Yes I do think the Department got cheap labour but I enjoyed my time.
- From a monetary point of view it may have seemed a way of getting cheap labour but it was a testing time - no-one had to stay if he/she didn't like it.
- We probably were exploited but it was a great learning experience for most of us - certainly taught us how to save.

Others recalled that they had accepted the conditions, usually for their own benefit:

- Surely I was a young teacher on the cheap but I was a willing party to the scheme.
- Yes - but I didn't feel personally hard done by as any money at all was welcome. The life was rigorous [but] it was the only way many gifted students without money could reach University.

- On the cheap certainly but I would not really complain about the conditions as I was on the way to where I wanted to go and I enjoyed what I was doing.

Some believed that being exploited was a way of life for any kind of trainee at that time:

- Yes (but) it was a matter of comparative wage justice. Apprentices were paid a pittance, if anything.
- No doubt all juniors who are paid a pittance to do the work done normally by qualified people are exploited. But we were, I believe, in the position of apprentices learning our job, and theoretically being taught well or badly by our masters, but learning mainly through our own mistakes. Our monetary rewards? After years of depression and never having earned a penny I was glad to be earning anything, however small.
- We must remember that we were probably considered as a kind of apprentice, where the apprentice, as in a trade, was the underdog. The money was only a token - nobody could live on it.
- ... We were paid enough to cover our board but on the other hand trainee nurses were not paid any more either.

Why the scheme was more readily accepted by some is illustrated even more clearly by those who realized only in retrospect that they probably had been exploited. Most of these kinds of recollections come from the main period of the depression:

- At the time I was pleased to be earning and therefore probably did not think of exploitation. I was only 18 years old and I taught full time, acted as sports master, took my turn with the male assistants in holding assemblies and received £50 for the first year (1931) and £45 for the second. Now I would say 'yes' but those times were hard depression years when anyone who had a job was fortunate.
- I did not think about it at the time (1931/32) - I considered it normal practice. In retirement, however, I feel that the Department got a lot of work from junior teachers for very little money. I would hesitate to use the word 'exploited' but I think we should have been paid more. On the other hand, I was grateful that I had that time of 'apprenticeship' for it was an experience that stood me in good stead as a qualified teacher fresh from the TC.
- Looking back, I suppose young junior teachers were exploited, but let's face it, most teachers at the time, (1935) including say, inspectorial staff, were paid a pittance. We young teachers were completely untrained. A significant attitude was that of the Head of the College who declared we were receiving by that training a kind of 'scholarship' course for which we should be grateful.
- In retrospect I suppose exploitation is justified but at the time (1934) I didn't feel hard done by. Better than living on the dole!

As has been seen, several respondents referred to the deduction for a 2d duty stamp from their cheque. At least one other noted what he seemed to regard as yet another act of meanness on the part of the Government:

- I paid £1 per week board and got a cheque of £2- 6/- and the year of junior teaching was NOT counted in my years of E.D service. [for long service & superannuation purposes]

Of the 30% of respondents who did not feel exploited, most were able to justify their belief in some way. Some illustrated their response by referring to the economic situation and the advantage of having a job:

- The word 'exploitation' had not been invented in 1931! At the time the basic wage was £4 per week so I guess it was fair enough that a 17 year old kid be paid £50 a year.
- The £40 per year was a pittance but in the Depression there was plenty of labour so we knew the terms and accepted them.
- No - considering the situation regarding the employment of teachers at the time, I don't think we were exploited.
- I just felt lucky to have got a job.
- The word 'exploited' was never considered. I don't think we were so critical of conditions in 1939. We knew our pay would be £x and that's all we expected and were grateful for it.
- I didn't feel exploited. In those days anyone who wanted to learn a profession, or a trade, did not expect to be paid a lot whilst they learnt. We took responsibility for our lives and did not expect a lot.

Others were simply grateful for the opportunity to get into teaching at such a time and to have some practical experience in the career of their choice:

- No - I did not look on my experience as a junior teacher as exploitation by the Education Department ... Money had been scarce all through my High School days (because of the Depression) and when my appointment as a JT came, I felt privileged to have the profession of my choice and the security it would bring.
- No - it was a wonderful introduction to practical teaching. I was so happy and being paid for it was almost a bonus. The allowance covered my board and the few personal items.
- I feel the system and conditions were accepted as being the first step in preparation for training and not grounds for complaint or haggling.
- No – I'm glad I had this classroom experience before College.
- No - I was certainly not exploited. I was pampered [at the Adelaide High School] and learned to face a class. I was deeply grateful for the experience.

Two cases where the respondents had been employed prior to the offer of a junior teachership throw

further light on the benefits of the job:

- No - not in my case. As a shorthand typiste I earned 15/- per week for a five and a half day week with work also on the mornings of public holidays. As a JT I earned 15/- for a five day week. There was more night work but I was a 'cadet' as it were, learning my trade. My conditions were good and I worked with people not machines - always rewarding.
- Not really. The rate of pay was the same I had been getting as a duco sprayer. There the pay was £1 for a 48 hour week. In the school I didn't get covered in paint nor did I inhale duco spray.

A number of those who did not feel exploited were able to live at home, get home at weekends or readily get family financial support. One of them noted that while she had no complaints about the payment she received, she believed that 'some junior teachers who boarded away from home were disadvantaged'. Several stated that they were 'fortunate' to have lived at home and one respondent described the difference that living at home could make:

- Walked to school so no board or fares - I received 13/4d a week. Conditions at school were good. We didn't feel we were being exploited.

This contrasts sharply with the cases reported earlier where most, if not all, of the allowance often went on board and it is hardly surprising that junior teachers living at home seldom seemed to feel exploited. However, one junior teacher boarding away was able to show that they were not exploited moneywise if board happened to be cheap:

- No - my cheque was 25/- per week and after paying board I had 7/- to spend. This was a virtual fortune in 1939 after the pocket money from family previously. Penguin books cost only 9d in those days.

Other respondents did not feel exploited for reasons already mentioned by those who did in retrospect or who qualified their statements of exploitation. There were comparisons with other apprentice-type situations regarding both the level of pay and the fact that the untrained and inexperienced probably received a fair remuneration.

Two longer recollections from 1939 show both sides of the exploitation issue rather more clearly:

- The junior teaching system was undoubtable a source of cheap labour for the government of the day. In the context of the period this is understandable. The State and national economy was in crisis throughout most of the 1930s. Teachers' salaries had been cut three times in the early thirties. Many other branches of the public service were cut. Nevertheless it is true that we were paid a mere pittance for what we did - working a full week - and more - with whole classes. The J.T. system enabled the Government to avoid appointing many full-time teachers and thereby to avoid paying many full-time salaries. On the other hand the system opened the door to permanent employment in the Education Department. To anyone

emerging from the Great Depression that was an ineffable boon.

- From a strictly economic viewpoint I suppose one could argue a case for exploitation - after all, many junior teachers had full responsibility for a class and carried virtually a full teacher load with a very small financial reimbursement. However, this would overlook the very positive effect of the Junior Teaching experience on many Junior teachers – I'm sure that many (especially those who came directly from the Leaving level) matured considerably during the JT year and gained a very positive background for subsequent Teacher Training experiences. And, for a JT living at home, the remuneration was quite adequate - it may have been more difficult for a JT boarding away from home without additional parental financial support.

As has been seen, 1938 was the year in which the S.A. Teachers Union carried out the unpublished survey of junior teacher working conditions. The recollections of the 19 respondents from that year are probably the only clues now available on what junior teachers of that time may have thought about exploitation. Eight of them believed that they had been exploited in terms of the pay they received in return for the duties performed. Four others justified any exploitation on similar grounds to those noted above. Six felt able to justify a direct 'No' and one other, while not personally exploited, agreed that other junior teachers may well have been. In effect, only some 42% could say outright that they had been exploited, a result that might well have not pleased the Union had such a question been asked and responded to in that way in 1938.

Did children suffer under the system?

More than half the respondents (53%) believed that school children had not been disadvantaged under the junior teacher scheme. Of the rest, 33% felt that children had suffered to some degree while the remaining 14% were unsure about it. There was practically no difference in the overall percentages of those who believed children had suffered between respondents from the first part of the period (32%) and those from the second (33%). However, those from the first part were rather more likely to believe children had not suffered than did those from the second. This variation was caused by the larger number in the second period who were unsure about this aspect than were those in the first.

Just on 30% of those who believed children did not suffer under the scheme simply wrote 'No' or gave a very generalised answer such as 'Not in my experience', 'Not in my class', 'Very little, if at all' while a few added the very obvious rider that it depended greatly on the quality of the junior teacher and his/her supervisor. The rest went into greater detail. A number of them believed that children would not have suffered under their particular supervision and produced a variety of

reasons to support this view:

- I did as much as I could for the children.
- Parents did not indicate this to me and I was in close contact with them. My weekly test results were in line with the other teachers.
- My Head was an outstanding teacher and I was enthusiastic therefore I doubt my charges suffered. [they were in the one room]
- My numbers were small, my work was adequately supervised and I was very interested in my work and dedicated - I spent considerable time in preparation.

Others expressed their feelings about the likely good effect of junior teachers in more general terms:

- No - I think the school children found us more approachable because we were younger than the established teachers and we were not permitted to punish children.
- Socially children could have gained much from contact with young enthusiastic junior teachers.
- In some ways I think JTs made up with enthusiasm what they lacked in experience.
- In those days I believe, everyone did his or her best and took pride in doing so. As JTs had not long left primary school, the work was fresh in their memories so imparting it to others was not so hard.

Several saw the main benefit to children coming from the fact that the junior teacher relieved the overworked Heads of small schools:

- No - because prior to having junior teachers, the Head had to cope with 7 grades and children received much less attention. So even though the junior teacher was untrained, she relieved the Head of 3 grades and the little ones got some mothering and personal help.
- Most of us helped in one teacher schools where the HT had to teach up to 40 in 7 grades so we must have been a help to the children.

Others believed that it would be difficult for even an untrained junior teacher to go too far wrong under the system of teaching in vogue in the 1930s:

- No - not when you consider teaching methods in general use in those days.
- No - not unduly because the type of teaching was narrower, in set guidelines with pragmatic rather than the inspirational goals that came later than the 1930s.
- Under the 'lock-step' type of teaching which prevailed then, damage was not as noticeable as it would be now.
- No - the children must have learned well in small classes. It would be impossible for a child to be unable to read without a teacher's knowledge then.

For some, the supervision of junior teachers was a major factor in the children doing well, especially

where the junior teacher was in the same room as the Head Teacher. Some drew from their own experience in this area while others argued more generally:

- Had I been in a separate room from the HT mine would have suffered in my first year.
- Not in my school - the supervision was too thorough!
- I was too well supervised. I don't remember ever teaching alone in the room.
- No - not in my case as there was only one room and the Head Teacher could see what was going on and could have remedied any short-comings.
- No - the final responsibility for the pupils' progress was that of the Head Teacher not the junior teacher.
- No - not if there was a 'good' HT who supervised the junior teacher properly.

The whole question was neatly summed up by one respondent who after stating that generally there should have been little setback due to a junior teacher's inexperience went on:

- In most cases the junior teacher's enthusiasm, the Head Teacher's supervision and the Inspector's assessment and advice would have countered any disadvantage to the students.

However, as has been seen, a third of all the respondents believed that there was sufficient disadvantage in the system to make it likely that some children did suffer and a smaller, but still sizeable group, put a question mark over the matter.

Some of those who believed children suffered expressed their view in such general terms as 'They probably did', 'There must have been children who suffered', 'It was inevitable under the circumstances', and this enigmatic question from that female who had suffered herself under two Heads 'How could it have helped?' Others were prepared to be more precise and their comments related to the inexperience and lack of training of junior teachers, the difference a trained teacher could have made to the children and the importance of the role of the Head. A number referred to the unpreparedness of junior teachers for their work with children:

- Children did suffer because of the inexperience, the lack of knowledge, difficulties with control and the public relations of the junior teacher.
- Yes - not through ill intention, but only through the inexperience of junior teachers.
- Must have been children who suffered from the lack of knowledge of child development.
- The JT's lack of knowledge of teaching methods and a background of educational psychology undoubtable disadvantaged them.

Some drew on their own lack of experience:

- Yes - from inexperience. I was alone in the classroom for 90% of the time.
- Yes - they certainly did when I taught Geography. When a topic didn't interest me I just read from the book.
- Mine certainly did. I had done two years of high school history. What a background to

inspire children in this subject!

- Yes - after all I had no knowledge of easy and pleasant ways of imparting knowledge. I imagine the new intakes were helped at home (e.g. with reading) as I found this area very difficult.

The great majority however, referred to the inevitable result to children of not having a trained teacher:

- When one considers that most children were taught by trained teachers it would seem that those taught by junior teachers must have been at a disadvantage, despite the JT's enthusiasm.
- I feel sure that the children were not adequately taught under the junior teacher system as we were unqualified and did not understand the needs of children's education.
- Yes - they were entitled to have trained, qualified teachers.
- At M... school the children would have fared better under two trained teachers.
- Some form of training should be completed before one attempts to teach. My Head should have given me more instruction.
- They surely didn't get the start they'd have got from a trained teacher.

For those teaching infant grades this was a particular concern:

- I taught as I remembered being taught - which could/might have been inferior to the methods of a trained teacher, especially at the infant level.
- A fully trained infant teacher would have had more aids to add to their interest in learning. I had to rely on my own ingenuity.
- I'm sure the lower grades needed trained teachers who knew how to tackle problems.

One drew attention to the fact that a number of junior teachers resigned because they were unsuited to teaching and added 'Some children must surely have suffered under them'.

Should the system have been abolished?

The answers here were not as clear cut as in the two previous sections. A small majority (38%) believed that the abolition of the system was a bad thing but another 32% held the opposite view. Some 25% either could not decide or were prepared to advance support for both sides of the argument and a few did not answer at all. An interesting aspect was that most support for the system came from respondents from the second part of the period. Of those who were junior teachers up to 1935, 32% felt that abolition was a bad thing compared with 43% of those from 1936 on. Of the 19 respondents from the year 1938, for example, 9 (47.3%) were not in favour of abolition, 5 (26.3%) were, 4 (21%) had doubts about it and one did not reply.

Those who believed that abolition was a mistake

The majority of those who believed that abolition was a bad thing supported their contention by referring to the benefits they remembered from it. A few simply wrote 'Junior teacher system had value', 'The insight, if not the training, was valuable', or 'A bad thing for teacher training (a year well spent)'. Others repeated details of the actual benefits they had enjoyed:

- It developed confidence and the techniques were of inestimable value not only for understanding theory but also at Dem School.
- Experience as a JT took away any awesomeness felt by greenies (at Demonstration School).
- Junior teaching gave me an insight into what was ahead when I finished training.
- Abolition was a bad thing because it (junior teaching) did show us that we had a lot to learn.
- Abolition was a bad thing - at least when we entered College the lectures meant something to us.

Some saw a decided benefit in having a delay between leaving school and beginning at the Teachers' College:

- I feel it was a good thing to delay entry to the Teachers College until students were more mature.
- I feel most strongly that some experience of life should occur between school days and beginning teacher training.
- Being away from home helped you become independent, widened your horizons and taught you about country life.
- With the abolition of the junior teacher system, students entered Teachers College at a younger age and lacked maturity when they were subsequently appointed to a school.

The fact that the system gave aspiring teachers a chance to see if they were suited to the job was its major strength according to a number of respondents:

- I knew one or two JTs who, after their year's experience decided they would prefer to do something else. So it was better too for this to be realized before entering the ATC.
- Actually I think I benefited from my year with my own class (testing the water before taking the plunge).
- It was a good system. Anyone quite unsuited to the profession could find this out early and do something more suitable.
- I'd say that the JT system was good in that it gave you a taste of what life as a teacher would be like - you could opt out if you didn't like it.
- I regarded the JT year as part of my training. It gave an insight into the profession before the actual signing of our bond.

A few took the advantage given by this question to compare the good points of their junior teacher year with the inadequacies of Demonstration Schools

- The system was a good one for me. Periods of one week at Demonstration Schools did not have the same value... It is not the same as being involved with the same children for a year.
- It gave confidence and practical teaching on a much better scale than did the occasional visit to demonstration schools where the children knew we were 'on trial'. It gave us a better chance to get to know and communicate with children.

For some, the value of the junior teacher year was heightened by bad experiences at Demonstration Schools:

- Abolition removed the most effective form of teacher training. I remember my experience at Dem School with horror.

Of course not all of those who felt that the abolition of the junior teacher system was a bad thing were opposed to Demonstration Schools. Some of them wrote glowing accounts of the valuable experiences they had in them while others emphasised the benefits of such schools in consolidating what they had learnt as junior teachers.

Those who believed abolition was a good thing

A few of those who believed abolition was a 'good thing' simply wrote just that, but most went on to justify their position. Some were very direct about what they saw as the bad aspects of the system for the junior teachers themselves:

- Generally the exploitation aspect was deplorable. It could have been useful if the Head had acted as a Demonstration teacher - mine didn't.
- A good thing as junior teaching days provided scant (directed) training for one's life work.
- There is no substitute for adequate training. The College training was very good.
- Such young and raw (and innocent) young people were thrust into the world before they were mature enough.
- The JT system deserved to be abolished as too much responsibility and too great a work load were thrust on the young junior teachers.
- The danger in the junior teacher system was in sending so many young girls into doubtful conditions where too much was really expected of them.

Others were in favour of abolition even though they personally had found the system useful to some degree:

- Yes - good that it was abolished but my own experiences were very valuable.
- I'm sure I benefited. The year made my subsequent experience in Dem Schools more meaningful but for the sake of the children I would say it was probably a 'good thing' that it was abolished.
- The JT year gave me a better perspective than did the Dem Schools but this, however, is not a good enough reason for throwing 18 year olds in at the deep end with no training.
- Although I profited from the JT experience, I believe that on balance it was a bad thing for teacher training. Two years (in the Depression) was too long a period.
- For me the junior teacher experience was much happier and much more positive than those hated weeks in the demonstration schools but I think abolition was inevitable for it certainly was not good for the professional standing of teachers.
- The JT system served its purpose and was 'right' at the time [when it gave this respondent a job] but it had to go because it affected the professional image and status of the teaching profession and the supply of cheap labour affected teacher salaries.

Those who were unsure about abolition

Some of those who were ambivalent about the system put forward ideas for changes that could have made it a more useful and more acceptable part of teacher training:

- I am in two minds here. For those junior teachers with a natural bent for teaching, no harm results from pushing them in at the deep end with no theorising about principles. For others, there was probably need for instruction in teaching principles before setting them loose on a class.
- In another form and properly paid and in having less contact time and more for assessment by oneself and others, I think a junior teacher system would enable candidates and the authorities to know if they were suited to be teachers.
- I believe there was an element in the junior teachers system that was valuable. It may well be that the element should have been adjusted and modified rather than abolished. Would a reduced load, more assistance from the Head, and more careful selection of schools have made the experience more positive for some?
- If the system had been given more thought and consideration as an apprenticeship it could have been quite valuable.

Others drew on their own experiences to partly justify the system, often after pointing to one or more of its major faults or to faults in the only alternative way of training:

- Yes - it (abolition) probably was a good thing but nothing is black or white, there are shades of grey. Dem schools left much to be desired and I'm sure my experiences as a junior teacher

helped me.

- I was mature but I can appreciate that other younger junior teachers could have been overawed by their position and may have had different ideas on the system.
- Yes it had to go because young teachers, particularly in remote schools were exploited and in many cases children disadvantaged. However, in my case I consider my JT year was invaluable and gave me a better basis to build a teaching career than did the periodic visits to Demonstration schools where one never got to know students, staff or the school.
- My father (a teacher) used to say that the junior teacher system put the cart before the horse and he was right. But I still think some time as a junior teacher would be useful (at least it helped weed out the undesirables).
- The weakness of the scheme was the unevenness and inequality from school to school. Mine was a very positive experience but other junior teachers were seen as a nuisance, an extra messenger, a relief teacher and little training was given and few skills developed. All stages between these extremes could be found. However, I think the idea of a year of practical teaching had merit.

Two longer responses illustrate the difficulty so many had in deciding whether abolition was a good or bad thing.

One of them looked closely at the junior teacher system itself from both points of view:

- The system was rightly abolished. A whole year was too long to spend on a hit-and-miss recipe for teacher training. And it depended too heavily on the luck of the draw. If the junior teacher was fortunate enough to have a perceptive and helpful Head and a vigorous school, a lot of good might well have come from it, but if they were mediocre, the result could have been boring at the best and calamitous at worst. Supervised teaching practice in selected locations, as part of a lively tertiary course would have provided a much better alternative.

The other drew up a list of 'pros and cons' of the Demonstration Schools in a way that also highlighted the good and bad features of the junior teacher system:

- Pros - In Dem Schools there was continuous supervision and we could be given on the spot hints as the teacher was not working with other grades; Dem teachers had more time to show us how to prepare lesson notes and could check as we went; there was a variety of Dem teachers with different skills, abilities and approaches and they actually demonstrated how to go about a task. We got criticism from College staff and fellow students; we could compare lessons, pupils, grades etc. with other students and we had easy access to information and libraries.

  Cons - The Dem school was in a way a very synthetic situation. The students called us

'stewed ants' (when I was a JT everyone treated me as if I were fully qualified). There was no continuity of teaching we knew nothing of the background of the pupils and never met a parent. Apart from the classroom we had no contact with the Dem teachers - they seemed a remote group. I felt I had no responsibility apart from taking lesson notes. I never saw a roll book or a teacher's programme, or wrote a book list. I never saw an absentee note or queried a late arrival - all the things I did as a junior teacher.

That respondent went on to say that she really appreciated both approaches and that she was sure that they both 'helped tremendously'.

QU. 6 HOW THEY REMEMBERED THE EXPERIENCE

As a final appraisal of the experience, respondents were asked to recall how they remembered it now. They could express this by ticking an appropriate category from the four listed in the table below or they could choose some other appropriate way of labelling the experience. They were not confined to one response and many of them ticked two categories. This is best illustrated by the two sets of figures in the following table. The first figure indicates the number who marked more than one response and the figure in brackets indicates the number - if any - who marked only that particular category.

TABLE 11.6 How Respondents Remembered the Junior Teacher Experience

	1931 &32*	1933 &34*	1934	1935	1935 &36*	1936	1937	1938	1939	Totals	%
Happy	10(4)	6(4)	4(-)	11(2)	5(3)	18(9)	11(3)	14(5)	17(6)	96(36)	56% (75%)
Generally Frustrating	-	-	-	-	-	2(-)	-	3(2)	-	5(2)	3% (4%)
Useful	7(1)	2(-)	-	9(-)	3(1)	7(1)	11(2)	11(1)	9(-)	59(6)	34% (13%)
Just Bearable	-	-	-	1(1)	-	1(1)	1(1)	1(-)	1(-)	5(3)	3% (6%)
Other	1(-)	-	-	1(1)	1(1)	1(1)	-	1(-)	2(-)	6(1)	4% (2%)

* Respondents employed for the whole or part of both years

As can be seen, most respondents remembered the experience as being both generally happy and, quite often, useful as well. A few did not feel the need to write anything and some of them pointed out that their previous comments well justified whatever they had ticked in this section. However, most did make a comment and it is very clear from them what made the junior teachers of the 1930s feel happy and useful and what frustrated others or made the time just bearable.

The 'Happy generally' recollections

Not surprisingly the majority of happy recollections were concerned with having begun teaching,

enjoying teaching, being successful at it and realising that the right career choice had been made:

- Junior teaching was the beginning of a career that I had wanted for many years - to teach young children.
- Happy because I wanted to teach and was doing so and enjoying the experience.
- Felt it was a privilege to try myself out in my chosen career.
- I had achieved my goal. I enjoyed entering into permanent employment. I had a future ahead.
- I loved the teaching atmosphere - I knew I was on the way to being something like all those teachers I had admired.
- Enjoyed my relationships with the children and their parents. The work provided a challenge.
- After a week of miserable homesickness I found that the work I was doing was interesting and enjoyable.
- I was fortunate to have a pleasant HM and well behaved children.
- I was seen by myself and others as competent in what I had always wanted to do.
- Because I was accepted by the staff. Because I got results and many times eclipsed those of other classes - of course weekly tests and percentages were all 'the go' then.
- I considered I fitted in well, liked the children and felt I was appreciated by them.
- Because I was happy I was reassured that this was the work for me.
- 1935 gave me many enjoyable and enlightening experiences ... and proved that teaching was my forte.

Others were happy for reasons largely unconnected with actual teaching. Some were happy just to have left school themselves, to be earning money and to have entered into adult life while others appreciated living in the country, enjoying good boarding conditions and taking an active role in social and sporting activities:

- A welcome break from study, homework etc. Enjoyed being treated as an adult. I was able to learn knitting and crochet - things I had not had time for at High School.
- I was tired of High School ... I found it a refreshing year.
- Happy to be earning some money - good to be useful.
- I enjoyed my first experience of adult life. I was treated well and got on well at my boarding house and with people in the community ... I felt as if my efforts were appreciated.
- Helped me feel an adult even though I was not.
- I felt 'respected' and 'grown up' as few 17 year olds would feel today.
- I was sent to a delightful town and wonderful country. I lived in a happy, pleasant household and I made plenty of wonderful friends.
- Provided me with the opportunity at an early age (first time away from home) to appreciate the pleasure of living in a comparatively small country town, enjoying social and sporting contacts in the community.

- Because living in a remote town was a new experience for me - there were many discoveries to be made about people, (including girls), the countryside and about the life of country people.
- I was having a great social life which at that age was pretty important.

The few who were able to live at home or near enough to get home regularly generally saw this as a factor in making for happiness of some kind:

- Unlike most junior teachers I had little disruption to my life style since I lived at home and could continue with some study.
- I was fortunate to be able to go home at weekends so it wasn't too traumatic.

In something of a contrast, one female who badly missed living at home also felt able to tick this category:

- Despite the fact that I was terribly homesick for most of the twelve months - outwardly I made friends and have happy memories.

Some memories of the happy aspects were still very sharp while others were clouded by time:

- I remember everyone of those children and most of their names, how they looked, how they were dressed, their little habits - I loved those little people.
- Perhaps time obliterates the rough edges - of course there were frustrations but I have only happy memories.

The 'Useful' recollections

It is clear that few respondents remembered their time as merely useful. In most cases 'useful' was linked with 'generally happy' and predictably enough the experience was valued mostly for the benefit it gave respondents at the College in understanding the theory expounded there and with the associated practical work at the Demonstration Schools. These issues have been canvassed in detail in earlier sections and this one recollection generally sums up how those who found the experience useful for teaching expressed themselves:

- Having the opportunity to teach classes no doubt helped me during Teachers College days and when I had to do practical work and to give 'criticism' lessons.

A few others mentioned aspects that were useful to them in a wider sense:

- In addition to the teaching experience and confidence I acquired, the JT years greatly widened my view of the world, gave me a taste of living away from home and getting to know the life style of country people.
- It was useful personally - I had to stand on my own two feet without any (family) back-up.
- This was my first time away from home ... I'd lived a very sheltered life. It was good to meet

new people. It was an adventure to travel to another part of the State. A great experience!

There were two particularly interesting responses in this section. One felt that the experience had been more useful to the Head Teacher as she wrote 'He would have had a more difficult time without me'. The other had had such a useful time that she wondered whether she really needed any more teacher training:

- Actually I wasn't sure as I completed junior teaching that Teachers College was necessary! I felt ready to go on with the job.

The 'Frustrating' aspects

The one who has been mentioned before as having no teaching responsibilities at a metropolitan high school recalled that she felt frustrated 'because it was a waste of time' but went on:

- Just bearable because the staff were friendly and accepted me and did give me an introduction to school life from a teacher's angle.

Another female, also mentioned before as being unhappy at a Girls' Central School where she felt mistreated by the Head Mistress and given no teaching responsibilities, recalled being so frustrated that her time as a junior teacher was 'The most miserable of my 69 years'. One other female in a one teacher school sharing the room with an unpleasant Head Teacher recalled:

- I appreciated the challenge of the job and found the work and children interesting, but was constantly criticized, undermined and unappreciated.

One who had indicated that he had had a happy time as well as a frustrating one, explained both feelings:

- I can remember no ill-will towards me in the school or the town ... Looking back it seems strange for the child that I was. But I was often looking through a glass darkly.

The 'Just bearable' aspects

All six of the respondents who found the year just bearable (and in three cases also frustrating) were females. Four of them were hoping to enter a secondary course but had been placed in one teacher schools with Grades 1-3 where the type of teaching, the isolation and the lack of access to studies were the main problems:

- Always hoped a real appointment would be better so endured that 12 months on sufferance.
- I guess I was not unhappy but I was lonely - no sport and no young people to talk to. School preparation and study kept me busy. I had no money to spare, not even for clothes. I read a lot.
- I can't remember really. I was not unhappy but I couldn't wait for the year to end. I wanted to

study. I wanted companions of my own age. I felt my life was in limbo.

- I felt I was marking time until I got home to do more constructive study.

Of the other two, the one who was noted earlier as being in difficulties due to the unexpected arrival of the Minister of Education while the Head was home for morning tea, recalled that things were just bearable after that:

- At the end - worrying about the future.

Another who also believed that she was generally happy, wrote 'just bearable at times'. She was noted earlier as being happy about teaching commercial subjects where she got some advice and assistance but unhappy about teaching Geography because of her lack of understanding of basic teaching principles.

'Other' aspects

Only a few chose to write something rather than tick any of the listed points. One used this space to move beyond the 'Useful' category:

- It was more than useful. It was a valuable period in that it gave me time to mature.

Several others had particularly strong personal memories of the time:

- To me my JT year was very special. It was my first experience of being independent – financially and socially. It was very satisfying to be accepted by the parents of the children I taught & to be asked what books they should read and to be taken to dances, parties in the area.
- I had a great time that year and learnt a great deal about the country & always had a love of the country after that.
- More specifically as regards boarding with a very happy family – parents and four grown-up children & I made 7. Wow! There were 3 boys and I didn't ever have a brother. My landlasdy was a great cook … I put on more than a stone's weight.
- For me it was a time of development & finding myself. At the end of it I knew above all else, that I wanted to teach.

The one who has already been mentioned several times as having had bad experiences with two different Heads simply wrote ' Something I prefer to forget'.

The cultural facts reveal a great deal about the conditions under which junior teachers were required to live and work during the Depression and its aftermath. As was seen earlier, little is known from comtemporary sources about this period in which, it would seem, the seeds of the strong opposition to the use of the untrained in schools were well and truly sown. The information recalled by these respondents serves several main purposes. It supports the contention in Chapter 7 that that the junior teacher system that existed from 1931 was so different from the new one introduced in 1921 by

McCoy, that it, too, should be regarded as 'new'. More importantly, the facts about such issues as teaching duties, pay, absence from home and living conditions in this period help greatly in an understanding of why the S.A. Teachers' Union became so concerned at what was happening that it commissioned a survey in 1938 into the working conditions of junior teachers. Certain of the recollections of these former junior teachers give a good indication of what would have been found and it is not difficult to see why the details of the responsibility given to young, untrained junior teachers would have prompted the Union to conduct another such survey in 1942 and then push determinedly for the abolition of junior teachers when the setting up of the Education Inquiry Committee provided such an opportunity.

However, the cultural facts also allow for the beneficial aspects of the junior teacher system to be revealed and, in view of the one-sided campaign that was about to be mounted against it, it is useful to see that, despite the problems they may have faced, a majority of respondents found the experience to be a generally happy and useful one. A very high percentage of them also found some level of success in the experience and their comments on exploitation, harm to children and the need for abolition allow for a balanced discussion of issues that were about to attract a great deal of very negative attention. A selection of vignettes from Question 7 which throw further light on the reality of life as a junior teacher during the Depression and its aftermath, are included in Appendix 2.

CHAPTER 12

MEMOIRS OF JUNIOR TEACHERS FROM 1940 to 1945

As was seen in Chapter 8, the junior teacher system came under close public scrutiny in this period as a result of the setting up of the Education Inquiry Committee late in 1942. Led by the S.A. Teachers' Union, opponents of the way junior teachers were being used to staff schools took the opportunity to present evidence to the Inquiry about what they perceived as the exploitative nature of the system and the problems it was causing for both trainees and those whom they taught. The centre piece of the Teachers' Union's case was a detailed summary of the work of 56 junior teachers in Primary Schools and 18 in High Schools in 1942. This information was presented to the Inquiry in 1943 and its existence is of particular value in relation to these memoirs.

The 1942 survey was the first, and indeed the only time in the history of the junior teacher system that material was gathered in any organized way for presentation as the voice of junior teachers describing their particular duties in the schools. In addition to the tabulated material, the Union's presentation contained brief comments from a few junior teachers on how they felt about the work they had to do and how it affected them. No such first hand material exists from junior teachers from the 1920s and 1930s[1] and, as has been seen in the previous chapters, it can be claimed that the memoirs of former junior teachers from those years are probably the only insights now available into the work and lives of such young people inside and outside of the classrooms. The fact that there is documented material from 1942 is of considerable importance in this regard, as it can serve to confirm the authenticity of the memoirs of former junior teachers from that period, as historical and sociological data.

Such a test of authenticity is possible by comparing the findings in the 1942 survey with those recalled in the memoirs. Although there are insufficient memoirs available from 1942 to replicate exactly the Union's survey, one covering a number of the aspects surveyed can be constructed from the concrete data provided by 56 former junior teachers in primary schools and 21 in high schools or other schools with secondary sections from the years 1940 to 1943. In this way it is possible to compare the grades or subjects taught and the numbers involved, the mixed nature of primary classes, the lessons a day and the extra duties required of junior teachers. A high correlation between these two sets of findings would suggest that a good deal of reliance could also be placed on other concrete and cultural data recalled by these respondents at a distance of some 50 or more years.

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1 Although a similar survey was conducted by the Union in 1937 and presented to the Inquiry in 1943, it was not published in either the Teachers' Journal or in the transcript of the Inquiry.

While the memoir survey form did not collect direct information on such aspects of the 1942 survey as the amount of board paid or whether those in secondary schools had to teach mixed classes, it did provide other material pertaining to the case against the employment of junior teachers in schools. Such material relates to the age and gender of these junior teachers, their own level of education and whether they felt that they had sole or shared responsibility for the classes that they had to teach. Some of these matters were mentioned in others aspects of the Teachers' Union's campaign such as the cartoon that challenged the Education Department's defence of the system in July, 1943. Others were raised in the supporting detail in the Union's presentation to the Inquiry, or by other witnesses, or indeed, in the attempts of the Department to counter criticisms of the system.

The memoirs, however, allow for more than mere comparison with what was established in the evidence put before the Inquiry. It will be recalled that the whole case against the junior teacher system was a very negative one. Opponents of the system were interested only in presenting material supporting their particular views about its shortcomings and apart from the attempts of the Department to justify it as a useful pre-training exercise, little in favour of the system was heard at the Inquiry. If there were any comments from serving junior teachers in support of the system, they were certainly not promoted in any way and, all in all, the case against it was very one-sided. The memoirs, on the other hand, allowed for a detailed exploration of both sides of the basic criticisms levelled at the system in 1942. In the cultural section, respondents were able to present what they perceived as the realities of claims of lack of training, of exploitation, of detriment to both themselves and the children they taught, and of the need for the abolition of the system. The memoirs would seem to allow for a rather fairer assessment of the junior teacher system than was possible at the time when the evidence put before the Inquiry set in train the process of its scaling down and eventual abolition.

So the concrete and cultural facts as recalled by these respondents who were junior teachers between 1940 and 1945 add considerably to the store of knowledge of what it was like to serve as a junior teacher at a time when the system was under intense scrutiny. Details of both personal aspects and teaching duties augment the material available from the records of the times and also help to fill in areas about which the opponents and defenders of the system were silent, yet which are crucial for a full understanding of life as a junior teacher during the stresses imposed by a world war, following close on a great depression. In the process, it is possible to test the authenticity of these particular memoirs as pointers to a past reality. The memoirs of the 87 former junior teachers from this period - four of whom repeated a year - represent almost 15% of all the junior teachers in schools between 1940 and 1945. As the following table shows there are variations in the percentage representation from year to year but it is important to note that the highest representations occur in the years of most significance to both the survey presented to the Inquiry and that constructed from the memoirs.

TABLE 12.1 **Respondents from each of the years 1940 to 1945**

	1940		1941		1942		1943		1944		1945		Totals	
Gender	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	6	14	5	14	7	13	6	10	1	6	5	4	30	61
% of all JTs	18.2 %		19.0 %		18.0 %		17.8 %		7.0 %		8.4 %			

In this period female junior teachers outnumbered males by almost 5 to 1. Overall, the memoirs do not reflect this gender imbalance, largely due to the general difficulty noted earlier of identifying and locating female junior teachers. However, when those in primary and those in secondary schools are differentiated, the memoirs show a somewhat more realistic gender balance. Throughout the period females far outnumbered males as teachers in primary schools and this is reflected in the 50 female and 17 male respondents in such schools. More males were needed in secondary schools and the 14 male and 12 female respondents who taught secondary classes during all or part of their time as junior teachers, tend to reflect that situation too.

PART A THE CONCRETE DATA

In view of the opportunity to compare some of the concrete facts from the memoirs with those presented to the Education Inquiry Committee in 1942, it is necessary to present these facts in a different way to that used in the previous two chapters. The following construction of a survey of the work in schools of former junior teachers contains much of what was in the 1942 survey in the way of the grades and subjects taught, the numbers involved, the time spent in the classroom and the additional duties required. This allows for a comparison to be made between what was found in 1942 and what respondents who experienced such situations recalled. It allows, too, for the illustration of situations that were used at the Inquiry to criticise significant aspects of the system. In 1942, for example, 48 junior teachers reported teaching infant grades and practically all of them appeared to be in one teacher schools assisting the Head Teacher in that capacity. The memoir construct shows that a similar number of respondents recalled being in much the same situation. As has been seen, the use of untrained people in this capacity was condemned by the Class V1 Head Teachers' Association who told the Inquiry that these were the very grades that required teaching by 'trained infant teachers'.

Other material provided in the memoirs allows for the establishment of an even broader picture of what it was like to be a junior teacher than that presented in tabular form in 1942. It seems appropriate therefore, to supplement the concrete facts that match those from 1942 with others that are available i.e. the age and gender of the respondents, their level of schooling and their recollections of whether they had sole or shared responsibility for the classes or subjects that they were required to teach. Some respondents served in two schools during a year, and where this occurred, the details of each are given on separate lines.

Junior Teachers in Primary Schools

TABLE 12.2 **Former junior Teachers in Primary Schools - 1940 to 1943**

	M/F	Age	School* level reached	Main grades taught	Nos	Sole/ Shared	Lessons a day	Other duties	No. of grades taught
1940									
1	F	17.11	LH	1 & 11	20	Sole	All day	Domestic Arts/Sewing to V1 & V11	2+
2	F	16.9	L	1 - 111	20	Sole	All day	Exercises & Sewing/Craft	3+
3	M	16.11	LH	1 - 1V	18	Sole	All day	Drum/Fife Band	4
4	M	17.2	LH	1 & 11	-	Sole	All day	+ some Gr 111	2+
5	M	17.3	LH	1 - 111	12	Sole	All day	Nil	3
(Term 1 only – transferred to a High School)									
6	M	18.0	L+LH	1 - 111	26	Sole	All day	Nil	3
7	F	16.6	LH	1 - 111	12	Sole	All day	Nil	3
8	F	16.6	LH	1) 111	22	Sole	All day	Helped Singing	1
				2) 111 -V	25	Sole	All day	Sewing/Phys Ed	3+
9	F	18.2	L	1&11	18	Sole	All day	+ Gr 111 group work	2+
10	F	16.11	L	1 - V11	-	Small Shared	numbers	Hospital School	7
11	F	17.9	L	1 - 111	-	Sole	All day	Nil	3
(Transferred to High School for Terms 3 & 4)									
12	F	17.1	2LH		25	Sole	All day	Nil	3
					35	Sole	All day	Nil	3
13	F	17.7	L		15	Sole	All day	1-V11 Singing 111-V11 Sewing	3+
14	F	18.9	L+LH		-	Sole	All day	1-V11 Singing	3+
15	F	17.7	L+LH		27	Sole	All day	Nil	3
1941									
16	F	17.9	L	1 - V11	22	Shared (subjects) - Hospital School			7
(Repeat year as a junior teacher - see No. 2)									
17	F	17.4	LH	1 - 111	30	Sole	All day	Yard duty	3
18	M	17.3	L	1 - 111	28	Sole	All day	Yard duty	3
19	M	18.5	L	V	12	Sole	All day	Yard duty	1
20	F	17.3	L	1 - 111	-	Sole	All day	Sewing/Rhythm	3+
21	F	17.5	L	1 - 111	30	Sole	All day	Nil	3
22	F	16.5	LH	Average of 12 across 1 - V11 – Hospital School					7
23	F	16.3	L	1 - 111	20+	Sole	All day	Sewing + Secretary of Mothers' Club	3+
24	F	17.0	LH	1 - 111	18	Sole	All day	Sewing 111-V11 & Eurhythmics	3+
25	F	16.9	L	1 - 111	12	Sole	All day	Yard duty	3
26	M	16.2	LH	1 & 11	12	Sole	All day	Nil	2
27	F	18.2	L	1 & 11	-	Sole	All day	Singing/Poetry for 111 & Sewing for 1V-V	2+
1942									
28	F	19.2	L	1-11	-	Sole	All day	Nil	2
(Repeat year as a junior teacher - see No. 27)									
29	F	17.2	L	1 - 111	30+	Sole	All day	Yard duty	3
(Repeat year as a junior teacher - see No. 8 on High School survey)									
30	M	16.6	Inter+	1 - 111	15+	Shared	All day	Nil	3
31	F	17.1	L	1 - 111	-	Sole	All day	-	3
32	F	18.2	L	1 - 111	-	Sole	All day	Music 1-V +	3+
33	M	17.4	LH	1) V	15	Sole	All day	Sewing V1-V11	1
				2) 1-111	12				
34	F	18.3	L	1 - 111	12	Sole	All day	1-V11 Nat.Stud. & Sport	3+

(TABLE 12.2 continued}

	M/F	Age	School Level Reached	Main grades taught	Nos	Sole/ Shared	Lessons a day	Other duties	No. of grades taught
35	F	17.	Inter+ some L	1 - 111	18	Sole	All day	Junior Red Cross	3
36	F	16.9	L	1 - 111	9	Sole	All day	Sewing	3+
37	F	16.4	L	1 – 111	14	Sole	All day	-	3
38	F	18.0	L	1 - 11	15	Sole	All day	Sewing/Rhythm Piano, all Singing Secretary to Welfare Club	2+
39	F	17.8	LH	1 - 111	18	Sole	All day	Yard duty	3
40	M	18.6	LH	1 – 111	16+	Sole	All day	Drum/Fife Band	3
41	F	17.4	L	L1,U1+11	30+	Sole	All day	+ 111-1V History & Welfare Club	2+
42	F	16.6	L	1 - 11	16+	Sole	All day	Sewing/Craft SPF money &supervise toilet cleaning	2
43	F	17.6	L	1 - 111	as a supernumerary			+ some Maths & Eng in Secondary	-
44	M	18.9	LH	1 - 111	15+	Sole	All day	+ Gr 1V History	3+
45	M	17.8	L	V - V11	18	Shared	All day	Art & woodwork	-
1943									
46	F	17.1	L	1 – 11	-	Sole	a.m.	Yard duty	2+
				1 - 111	-	Sole	p.m.		
47	M	18.4	L	1V & V	as a supernumerary			Yard duty	-
48	F	18.3	L	1 - 111	16	Sole	All day	1V Drawing & Secretary to Welfare Club	3+
49	F	17.9	L	1 - 111	25	Sole	All day	Upper School Singing	3+
50	F	17.1	L	1 – 11	-	Sole	a.m.	Nil	2+
				1 - 111	-	Sole	p.m.		
51	M	16.11	L	111 - V	30	Sole	All day	Yard duty	3
52	F	17.11	L	1 - 11	-	Shared	All day	Nil	-
53	M	17.1	L	1 - 11	15	Sole	All day	Nil	2
54	F	18.6	Pre-Inter	as a supernumerary but sole responsibility for some subjects					-
55	F	17.4	LH	1 - 111	20+	Sole	All day	Sewing/Rhythm	3+
56	F	17.0	L	1) 1 – 11	-	Sole	All day	111-V11 Sewing	2+
				2) 1 - 11		Sole	All day	1V-V11HomeSc.& Sewing	3+

* Inter = Intermediate (Year 10) L = Leaving (Year 11) LH = Leaving Honours (Year 12)

It is clear that the material recalled by these respondents mirrors much of what is to be found in the survey of 1942 but, not surprisingly in view of the time factor, the memoir material differs in some respects. A feature of the 1942 survey was that exact numbers taught were available for each grade. The memoir questionnaire asked respondents for this information too, and although most were able to supply it, a number of them admitted to being unsure of exact numbers after so long. The numbers were often indicated in such term as 'about 12 altogether' or 'approximately 18 pupils'. Nevertheless, both surveys show a similar range of numbers - 9 to 37 in 1942 and 9 to 35 in the memoir survey. Indeed some of the memoir writers from 1942 may well have been part of the survey. No. 33 from the Union's survey and No.36 from the memoir survey, for example, are practically identical - both from

1942, with 9 pupils in Grades 1 -11 and sewing as the only other duty. No. 54 from the Union survey and respondent No.38 are very similar, too, in that both taught small numbers in Grades 1 & 11 and both were required to act as secretary to the Mothers' Club/Welfare Club. No.23 from the Union survey and respondent No. 41 are very similar as regards the grades and numbers taught but differ in that the former did not list any extra duties. No. 5 and respondent No. 43 both mention teaching in a secondary section but differ in other respects. With 74 responses, the Union had surveyed close to 70% of the 111 junior teachers listed for 1942 so it is not surprising that there are close similarities in a number of the other memoirs from that year. It is not surprising either, in view of the time difference, that there are certain differences that make it difficult to identify with much accuracy those in both surveys. Certainly no respondent from 1942 mentioned having taken part a Union survey, or indeed knowing anything about such an event.

The compilers of the 1942 survey made sure that the 'Other duties' section was well recorded and only three of those junior teachers seem not to have provided any details of this. In something of a contrast, 16 memoir writers recalled having no other duties or left the space blank. Another 9 listed ordinary yard duty as an extra - an aspect not mentioned in 1942, probably because it would have been regarded as a normal part of teaching duties. With so many of the respondents not listing extra duties, it might well be thought that some had forgotten them and indeed a few admitted this in such words as 'None that I recall or remember'. Of the 55% who did remember, however, the list of such duties closely resembles that of 1942 with Sewing, Rhythm, Domestic Arts, Nature Study and lessons with the upper grades appearing regularly, together with such an unusual duty as secretary to the Mothers' (Welfare) Club appearing twice. There is a close resemblance, too, between the amount of extra work required of a number of those in each survey. The work loads of Nos 32, 38, 41 and 42 - all from 1942 - are as heavy and diverse as a number of those recorded in the data presented to the Inquiry.

Before examining the work of those in secondary schools, it is important to note that not all respondents could be placed in a situation that suited the kind of teaching they wanted. Although just over three-quarters of the respondents at least experienced the type of teaching that they hoped to do, the rest were placed in schools where this was not possible. Those most disadvantaged in this respect were 16 respondents who had wanted to become secondary teachers but who, on account of the needs of the Department, were located mainly in one-teacher schools to teach the lower grades. Of the rest, several wanting primary teaching were placed in secondary schools and a few who wanted to be infant teachers were required to teach primary classes. The question of whether the junior teacher experience could be considered as proper training is examined in detail in the cultural section as is the effect of a wrong placement on some individuals.

Junior Teachers in High and Other Secondary Schools

The memoirs allow for the details of 21 respondents in high, technical, higher primary and area schools to be put into as similar a format as possible to that recorded for those surveyed in high schools in 1942. At that time, the beginning year of secondary schooling was known as First Year (now Year 8), the third year as Intermediate, and the two final Years as Leaving and Leaving Honours (now Year 12).

TABLE 12.3 **Former Junior Teachers In Secondary Schools 1940 - 1943**

	M/F	Age	School* level reached	Subjects taught & numbers	Sole/ Shared	Other duties	Number of levels taught
1940							
1	M	17.8	LH	Inter Maths 1&11	Sole	Nil	2
(Transferred from a Primary School – see No.5 –TABLE 12.2)							
2	F	17.9	L	Ist Yr Maths (50) Inter Shorthand/Typing & Leaving Mod. Hist.	Partly Shared	Sports School Choir	3+
(Transferred from a Primary School – see No.11 -TABLE 12.2)							
3	M	18.4	LH	1st Yr Maths & Arith (40), 2nd Yr Latin (12)	Sole	Relieving/most duplicating	2+
4	F	-	L+ 2LH	1st Yrs (30)	Sole	Nil	1
5	M	17.6	LH	Inter & Leav for Maths, Phys, Chem	Sole	Supervision of Science	2
6	F	17.3	L+part LH	2ndYr Shorthand & Typing (12)	Sole	Relieving & assist other Comm. Classes	2+
7	F	17.10	L+LH	1st Yr to Lv. German(5)	Sole	Accompany Choir	4+
1941							
8	F	16.2	L	Supernumerary for Latin, French & Shorthand	Shared	Accompany Choir, run messages for HM	-
9	F	16.5	L	1st Yr Arith, Eng & Hist. (30) & Leaving Shorthand	Sole	Sport	2+
10	M	16.9	L+LH	Supernumerary–occasional lessons 1st Yr Maths/Lv History	Shared	Minor clerical Gestetnering	-
11	F	17.4	L+ 2LH		Sole	Sports supervision	2+
12	M	16.3	L	1st Yr Maths (40) 2nd Yr & Inter Chem (20), Lv Chem (10) & Physics (8)	Sole	Odd jobs, lock gates, Labs & sports, Sch. Patriotic Fund	4+
13	F	18.3	L	1st Yr Eng, Arith & History (20 girls)	Sole	Umpire girls' sport	1+
14	F	17.0	LH	1st Yr to Inter Eng & History	Sole	Sports & School Socials	3+
1942							
15	M	17.2	LH	1stYr His & Maths, 2nd Yr to Inter Sc. & Leaving Physics	Sole	Nil	4+
(Repeat year as a junior teacher – see No. 26 on Primary survey)							
16	M	18.2	LH	1) 1st & 2nd Yr Eng, Leav Arith & Leav Hons Eng (2) 2) Supernumerary	Sole	Nil	4+

TABLE 12.3 (continued)

	M/F	Age	School* level reached	Subjects taught & numbers	Sole/ shared	Other duties	Number of levels taught
1943							
17	F	16.3	L	1stYr Typing, Bookkeeping & Shorthand	Shared	School typing, duplicating & library & sports	
18	M	17.1	L	All Sciences 1st Yr to Leav (Sc, Physics & Chem)	Sole	Sport. 'Train Duty' weekly (5 - 8.30 pm)	4
19	M	16.3	LH	1st Yr Sc (24), 2nd Yr to Inter Chem & Physics (4)	Sole	Science labs, equipment & stores + yard	4
20	M	16.2	L	All subjects to composite 1st Yr to Inter (15)	Sole	None expected but much assumed	3
21	F	17.0	L+ 2LH	1st Yr Eng, Latin & SST.	Sole	Supervise/coach girls sport. Duplicate & supervise exams, prepare staff am/pm tea	1

* L = Leaving (Year 11) LH = Leaving Honours (Year 12)

As the memoirs did not ask for details of the number of lessons taught or whether respondents had to teach more than one class at a time no comparisons can be made with the 1942 survey on these issues. The list of extra duties would, however, seem to indicate that for most of these respondents any time free from teaching would be taken up with relieving, duplicating, typing and other clerical or administrative duties, running messages or even making tea for the rest of the staff. The number of classes taught and the small numbers involved would seem to indicate that some composite classes were very likely. No. 19, for one, would seem to be an example of this and it was certainly the case for No. 20 who had responsibility for all subjects in the secondary class of 15 post primary students attached to a country primary school. As with those in primary schools, few of these respondents could be seen to have 'light' teaching responsibilities. Not every respondent recalled the actual numbers taught but both surveys show a similar range of numbers from very large classes at First Year to smaller ones at Intermediate and Leaving. As with the 1942 survey there is even one respondent taking a Leaving Honours class, in this case for the first six months of the year only. These respondents seem to remember well the extra duties required of them and, as with those in primary schools, the lists are very similar to the ones in the 1942 survey. With only two respondents from 1942 itself, it is not possible to find any likely matches as it was in the primary survey but there seems to be at least one school involved in both surveys. Although not in the same year, No. 9 in the Union survey and No. 18 in the memoir survey were very likely at the same country high school carrying out the unusual extra task of several hours of 'train duty' well into the evening.

Other issues raised at the Inquiry

In looking at the similarity between teaching duties, extra duties and to a lesser degree perhaps, numbers taught, in both surveys, it is reasonable to claim considerable authenticity for memoirs that recall such details experienced over fifty years ago. The memoir survey looked at other significant issues not listed in the Union survey but brought before the Inquiry in some other way and it would seem reasonable to accept the authenticity of these as well.

Gender

One of the more general issues at the Inquiry was the gender of junior teachers. The Union did not stress this aspect, probably because everyone concerned would have been aware that the majority of junior teachers were in fact females. As was seen in Chapter 8, Dr. Fenner had begun the re-feminization of the teaching service in 1938 on the grounds of the greater mobility of females and the economy of their use in terms of both wages and boarding costs. However, at the Inquiry the S.A. Public Schools Committees Association referred to the use of female junior teachers in several contexts. The example it gave of the unfairness of the system related to a young female, direct from school herself, being expected to teach 25 children in three grades. Attention was also drawn to the particular financial difficulties females were likely to encounter after paying board in country towns. The other main reference to females was from the Women Teachers Guild who were concerned at 'raw recruits' being given responsibility for such subjects as Sewing and Domestic Arts. What respondents felt about financial disadvantage and teaching specialized subjects is dealt with in detail in the cultural section but it is important to note here that like their counterparts in the Union survey, most of whom listed the board that they paid, the majority of the female respondents in the survey constructed from the memoirs were boarding away from home and about a third of them were teaching unfamiliar subjects such as Sewing.

It was seen earlier that there was a decided view within the Education Department that females should teach lower grades in primary schools and males the higher ones. It is clear from the memoir survey that while the demands of the war affected this convention to the extent that some males had to fill vacancies in one-teacher schools, wherever possible they tended to be put with primary classes. Of the males, 6 (Nos 3, 19, 33, 45, 47 & 51) were allocated primary grades for all or part of a year. In the case of the females however, only one (No.8) was given full primary classes and that was merely for part of a year. Of course, many of the females had to take primary classes for several subjects while the Head Teacher was otherwise occupied, but that was rather different to having sole responsibility for higher grades, particularly as the subjects they were usually given - Needlework, Domestic Arts and Rhythm - were regarded as women teachers' work anyway. Of those respondents with secondary classes, 7 males

took classes to Leaving standard as compared with 4 females and males tended to teach Sciences and Mathematics, while the females were more likely to be teaching arts or commercial subjects, usually to the early secondary years. While this is similar in a sense to the primary situation, it is hardly surprising for the times, as most male junior teachers in secondary schools were filling in for the male teachers who had joined the armed forces.

Age

The question of the age of junior teachers was of direct consequence, both in the lead up to the Inquiry and in the evidence presented to it. It was questioned by the Union in its cartoon of July, 1943, which poked fun at a number of assertions from the Department that the Union believed were palpably incorrect. The Department had asserted that only one in four of the junior teachers were under 17. Whether this was meant to indicate that anyone over 17 was mature enough to handle a class was not clear, but the Union's cartoon certainly drew attention to the fact that if the figure was indeed true, the other three-quarters could well have been at the College instead of acting as untrained assistants in schools. Surprisingly enough, the Union survey did not list the ages of the junior teachers about whom it had gathered such a wealth of other information. The memoir survey, however, indicates that of the 56 in primary schools, 18 appear to have been less than 17 years of age by the end of the January of the year that they applied for entry to teaching, a rather higher figure than that of the Department. While the other 38 were older and presumably considered to be more mature, they also could well have been in College undergoing proper training. As for those in secondary schools, almost half of them were under 17, a very different story indeed to that of the Department. While this is only a very small sample over a long period, it does give some grounds for accepting something of the Union's general cynicism about the Department's defence of the system.

While age may not have been a major problem for those younger people who were teaching infant classes, the situation in secondary schools was different as respondents dealt with students very close to, or in some cases, even older than themselves. Respondents were not asked to comment on their age in relation to their teaching duties in the concrete section but a number did so in the cultural section and these will be examined in detail there. Suffice it to say here that some recalled as less satisfactory aspects of the job, situations very similar to those quoted in support of the 1942 survey. No. 19, for example, a male aged just 16 and teaching Leaving classes, recalled:

- Dealing with the challenges to my authority of two or three male students – occasionally.

and No. 8, a female, also aged just over 16 and acting as a supernumerary, recalled:

- My lack of ability to control and discipline secondary students. [she was given another chance as a junior teacher in a primary school in the following year]

The memoir survey allows for an extension of this aspect in that it asked for details of the level of secondary education reached by the respondents themselves. It will be recalled that the S.A. Public Schools Association had made much of this issue in its evidence to the Inquiry in relation to the exploitation of junior teachers. It gave as a example the sending junior teachers who had just come out of high school to take classes of Intermediate and Leaving students of their own age in subjects they had only just finished themselves and at a time when they had no idea of handling children or imparting knowledge. In looking at the overall picture, it does seem from Tables 12.2 and 12.3 that the Department tended to send respondents with full or partial Leaving Honours to secondary rather than primary schools. The largest proportion of those with Leaving Honours in primary schools was in 1940, but from then on the number narrowed considerably with 63% overall coming from Leaving only. It would seem that this was very much in response to the need to get junior teachers into schools as quickly as possible when the shortage of trained teachers increased as the War continued.

The situation in secondary schools shows this even more clearly. Although for the whole period, the number in secondary schools with at least some Leaving Honours was as high as 62%, from 1941 the numbers with Leaving only increased. As can be seen from Table 12.3, at least four with Leaving only - Nos 2, 9, 12 and 18 - were expected to take Leaving subjects. In the case of No.2 who was just over 16 and No.18 who was barely 17, the loads were very heavy ones indeed and could well equate with several the Union presented as examples of exploitation. Respondents were not expected to comment on their teaching duties in the concrete section but some of the details from the cultural section can be seen to be backing up the comments quoted by both the Union and the S.A. Schools Committees Association. No. 2, for example, recalled in the cultural section that she:

- Felt a bit at sea having to take a couple of Leaving students for Modern History which I had never done and didn't have a clue about...

and No. 12's memory was:

- I was fairly conscious of my very shallow knowledge of subject matter, especially in senior classes.

Indeed the general trend at primary, and increasingly so at secondary, to move respondents straight from Leaving can be seen to justify the evidence of Mr Westgarth, the Union's spokesman at the Inquiry, who alleged that propaganda was being used to attract junior teachers. Officers of the Department were said to be using suggestions and enticements to get as many as possible into teaching when it might have been in the interests of most of these candidates to have remained at school for another year rather than spend time as a junior teacher. As will be seen later, some respondents would have much preferred to have remained at school to do Leaving Honours. To have done Leaving Honours was not necessarily an advantage, however, when it came to teaching at Leaving level. Several respondents in this category did not feel particularly happy about their secondary teaching

duties and comments from them support the claims made before the Inquiry that it was not appropriate to send out young people before they had learnt how to teach and manage students. In commenting on less satisfactory aspects of the job, No. 15 recalled:

- It was less satisfactory having to do a job less well-equipped professionally than was desirable.

No. 16, who had to teach Leaving Honours English to two students in a country high school for the first six months of 1942 recalled 'feeling a failure' because, despite having been a co-dux of Leaving Honours English himself, he:

- ... simply couldn't relate to these students only two years my junior.

Not all those in primary schools felt that they could cope adequately with some of the things they had to teach either. As would be expected from the comments of respondents from previous years, Sewing was again the bugbear although in contrast to the Union survey, only about a third of the respondents mentioned having to teach it. It was still a major problem for some, as will be seen in greater detail in the cultural recollections. The Women Teachers Guild's concern about the demands on female junior teachers because of Needlework and Domestic Arts was noted earlier. The recollection of No. 24 in Table 12.2 referred to the type of problems such raw recruits encountered:

- Needlework was a problem. I'd taken over from a highly skilled local person and I felt very inadequate.

'Light' responsibilities?

In its depiction of a junior teacher studying or marking by kerosene lamp the Union's cartoon cast doubt on the assertion of the Department that apart from the difficulties imposed by the war, the responsibilities of junior teachers were 'light'. The details in the 1942 survey and the supporting evidence given by the Union and others show that this was far from accurate. As has been seen, the memoir survey also shows very clearly that even after 50 years, many former junior teachers recall their teaching duties as being anything but light. The question of whether respondents felt they were exploited will be dealt with in the cultural section but there is further evidence in the concrete material to support the general view put to the Inquiry that junior teachers were given more responsibility than should have been expected of an untrained person. It will be recalled that Staff Inspector Pitt, told the Inquiry that junior teachers had to accept responsibility for classes because no one else was there to do the particular work. This was in direct contrast to Circular 18 of 1943, which indicated that it was undesirable for the final responsibility for the progress of any children to rest on a junior teacher. As can be seen from Tables 12.2 and 12.3, the great majority of respondents believed that they did have sole, rather than shared responsibility for their classes or subjects. A number of those in primary schools drew particular attention to the fact that the Head Teacher was so busy with his or her grades and other duties that they simply had to leave sole responsibility to the junior teacher, usually, as can be seen, for Grades 1-111 as well as for a variety of extra duties. Examples from the secondary schools are

even more explicit about the measure of responsibility given to many junior teachers. No. 5 pointed out that he was responsible for supervising another teacher for First Year Science and he explained it thus:

- I was the only science teacher in the school. I outlined the courses and practical for First Year Science and the lessons were given under my guidance by one of the women teachers - [who was] - essentially trained in languages, history and botany.

No.1 was in a similar position of responsibility for subject areas as he recalled:

- I was virtually a maths and science senior master.

Beyond 1943

So far only memoirs from the period leading up to the main representations to the Inquiry have been used. As can be seen from Table 12.1, there were 7 respondents from 1944 and 9 from 1945 and much of the information supplied by them either further illustrates aspects put before the Inquiry or simply adds to the general picture of what it was like to be a junior teacher in the period in which the Inquiry received its final evidence on this topic and prepared its first report which recommended abolition of the system. It is appropriate to complete the details of what respondents were doing in the final two years of this period in the same format as before and then to explore aspects detailed in the concrete section that further illustrate or, in a number of cases, go well beyond what was put before the Inquiry.

TABLE 12.4 **Former Junior Teachers in Primary Schools - 1944 to 1945**

	M/F	Age	School* level reached	Main grades taught	Nos	Sole/ Shared	Lessons a day	Other duties	No. of grades taught
1944									
57	F	17.6	L	Reliever & supernumerary in Infant grades					-
58	F	17.9	L+2LH	1 – 111	30	Shared	All day	Some Gr V + Secondary sport	3+
59	F	16.10	L+LH	1 – 111	8	Sole	All day	Nil	3
60	F	16.3	Inter	111	20	Sole	All day	Nil	1
61	M	16.5	L	1V & V	27	Sole	All day	Patriotic Fund	2
62	F	17.4	L	1 – 111	20	Sole	All day	Yard duty	3
1945									
63	F	17.0	L	1V	20	Sole	All day	Reliever for Infant classes	1+
64	F	16.5	L	1 – 111	-	Sole	All day	Sewing	3+
65	F	17.1	L	1 – 111	-	Sole	All day	Yard duty	3
66	M	20.0	L	1 – 111	26	Sole	All day	Upper school sports	3+
67	F	18.0	L	Supernumerary	-		All day	Banking & other - jobs no-one else wanted	-

* Inter = Intermediate (Year 10) L = Leaving (Year 11) LH = Leaving Honours (Year 12)

TABLE 12.5 Former Junior Teachers in Secondary Schools 1944 - 1945

	M/F	Age	School* level reached	Subjects taught & numbers	Sole/ Shared	Other duties	Number of levels taught
1944							
22	F	17.9	L	1st Yr Maths(20), 2nd Yr Science (15) Leaving Geog (10)	Sole	Yard duty	3
1945							
23	M	17.5	L	1st Yr Arith (45) 2nd Yr Gen. Sc. (38) Leav, Arith (1)	Sole	Phys Ed & Sport	3
24	M	17.7	LH+ 1 Uni	1st Yr Soc. St (30), 2nd Yr Latin (12) Inter Arith & Bookkeeping (15) Leav Bookkeeping (9)		Sport-coach/ supervise	4
25	M	17.7	L	1st Yr Maths, 2nd Yr Sc, Inter. Phys, Leav Chem, Latin & Ec History	Sole	Nil	4
26	M	17.0	LH	1st Yr Eng (20) 2nd Yr Maths (15) Inter Typing (6) Leav Chem (4)	Sole	Yard & Sport	4

* L = Leaving (Year 11) LH = Leaving Honours (Year 12)

As can be seen from the above tables, very little changed in the way the junior teacher system operated in the two years after it had been challenged as exploitative and its abolition demanded. This was only to be expected, as the decision of the Education Inquiry Committee was not handed down until part way through 1945.

A wider view

The concrete section of the memoir survey provided a good deal more information about the work and lives of junior teachers than what needed to be assembled in the above tables in order to reconstruct the Inquiry survey. The general picture of what it was like to be a junior teacher at the time of the Inquiry is enhanced by details of whether respondents had matriculated, whether they went to a metropolitan, country or private secondary school, whether they were studying during the year and what happened to them at the end of their junior teachership. Also useful in this regard is material on the type of board they had and the social life they were able to participate in during the war years. These all add to the picture of what it was like to be a junior teacher between 1940 and 1945 from the perspective of those who experienced it. Firstly, however, it is important to look at two questions from the concrete data that relate directly to the matter of the responsibility expected of junior teachers. One of these concerned the availability of assistance and the other called for details on whether lesson notes had to be kept and how they were supervised.

Assistance from other staff

Respondents were asked whether the Head, senior teachers, or other teachers had assisted them in any

way with their teaching duties. The amount of care taken of junior teachers in this way, or indeed the lack of it, can be seen as a measure of the responsibility expected of them. The question of whether the Head of the school did his/her duty by the junior teacher is canvassed in greater detail in the cultural section. In the concrete section respondents had to indicate 'Yes' or 'No' to the question of whether they got help and there was space for them to elaborate if they wished to. The overwhelming majority - 75% - indicated that they did get help but the nature of that help varied considerably. For some it was merely through study of the official text book and there were variations on how this was provided. For some the Head went through the book chapter by chapter, others had to note it on their own and for some it was combined with general supervision according to the traditional instruction of junior teachers:

- Head regularly discussed my work and twice a week I studied Green and Birchenough, the Act and Regulations under supervision.
- [He] supervised my lessons and my teaching and gave me a book on educational theory.
- He discussed teaching methods - he did this after school as part of his duties.
- He gave me a criticism lesson once a week but that was all.

Altogether about a third of the respondents recalled a regular session - usually twice a week - for instruction of some kind by the Head. For others the help was given in more informal ways:

- He often talked to me after school or sometimes at his home.
- HM sat in on my lessons whenever he could.

Some respondents did not describe the help they received in formal terms but were able to say that the approach of the Head was 'very helpful', 'most helpful and confidence boosting' or 'supportive'. Others were not so fortunate in the help they received or in the way it was given. One who was transferred from a school where the supervision was 'excellent', found at the new one the Head's approach was 'perfunctory'. Others recalled getting help only when they asked for it and for some any help at all was minimal:

- A little - mainly when the inspector was due.
- To a limited extent - minimal guidance from the Head.
- One of the seniors spoke to me once or twice about what I was doing.

Some used this question to recall conditions in classrooms they shared with the Head:

- My class was at the back of the head Teacher's class in the same room separated by blackboards and easels and I was under observation all the time except when I took oral language in the shed.
- We were both in the same room and if Miss Y... thought I was teaching something the wrong way, particularly drawing, she would come bowling across the room to set me right. Otherwise I was left to do things my way (given responsibility).

The bracketed comment would seem to give the impression that the respondent appreciated that measure of responsibility!

A small number - about 2.5% - were not sure whether they got any help with their teaching and a similar number did not answer the question. Of the remaining 20% who answered 'No', few added an explanation but some of those who did threw light on the responsibility that some junior teachers were expected to handle. This response - from No. 1 on Table 12. 3 - typifies the situation that many of those in secondary schools would have met:

- No - very little - other teachers did not have the subject expertise. [he was the one who felt he had the responsibilities of a senior master for Maths and Science]

One from a primary school (No. 36 on Table 12.2) was equally blunt:

- No direct help. [with Grades 1 - 111]

Several tried to explain why no direct help was forthcoming from the Head in particular:

- No - not really. I found I was supposed to have lessons from the Head but we were just so busy in that school that there wouldn't have been much time for it
- No. I was responsible for what happened in my primary class.

A few recalled that although they got no help they knew it was there if they needed it:

- No not really but I'm sure he kept a fatherly eye on me as we shared the same room.

Others who gave a negative response merely remembered casual chats, checking of lessons, supervision of weekly programmes and the planning of courses and occasional classroom visits from heads or seniors. One at Escourt House recalled that although she received no help with teaching duties she was shown how to supervise 'the lot of craft work' that was taught there.

With so many of the respondents coming from small schools it is not surprising that very few could mention help from other staff. Several from secondary schools provided interesting comments:

- I took subject problems to the senior - other problems (discipline etc) I discussed with the staff during breaks - they were always very helpful - offering a variety of suggestions. [a large country high school]
- Teachers - except for the Head - were very helpful and I learnt a lot. [a supernumerary in the primary section of a medium sized area school]

A few in small schools mentioned the valuable help that they received from a Head Teacher's wife who had been an infant teacher.

Overall there was very little difference between the replies of those in primary schools and those in secondary schools as regards assistance with teaching.

Lesson planning

Respondents were asked if they had had to prepare lesson notes and 68% of them recalled having to do so. This in itself was a means of assisting these young junior teachers with their responsibilities but as with teaching assistance, the nature of and the detail required in such notes varied considerably. At one extreme were those who prepared daily notes - often in the format that was required at the Teachers' College:

- I wrote out a framework of my day's lessons under Matter, Method, Aids and the HT would go through this work with me before school.
- Daily preparation - checked and signed by the Head Teacher daily.

However, most respondents who prepared notes recalled them being for specific lessons only:

- Yes - periodically specific lessons to make notes for and Head observed as much as he could while I taught.
- Yes - detailed lessons were expected when a demonstration was to be given in the Head's presence - approximately twice a term.
- Not for all lessons but for about four lessons each week in detail under Aim, Presentation, Method and Matter to be taught.

Several remembered the role of the Inspector in this:

- Prepared detailed plans for all lessons. These were examined by the District Inspector.
- Yes - each day three lessons. Kept in a book to show the Inspector.

In view of the annual gazetting of the requirement that teaching notes prepared under the direction of the Head Teacher had to be preserved for presentation to the Inspector when he visited the school, it was surprising to find at the other extreme, recollections of what sound like very sketchy notes indeed:

- Yes - but not in any formal manner - more for my own benefit. - Plans and blackboard preparation.
- Brief planning notes - mainly of material to be taught.

For others the 'notes' seem very much like programme preparation:

- [I had to] copy out precise weekly details of programmes.
- Only programmes as the curriculum in all subjects was clearly set out but weekly programmes were required for Dom. Arts.

Some Heads began well but interest in supervising lesson notes soon abated:

- Only for the first few weeks - nothing very formal but discussed these lessons with Head.
- Lesson notes were submitted in detail for most of first term but after that I was left to my own devices and I prepared short notes for my own use.

Even more surprising in view of an Inspector's supposed role in looking into the work of junior

teachers was the fact that 24% did not recall having to prepare notes of any kind. Few of them explained this any further. Several did mention preparing 'only programmes' or 'programmes but not lesson notes' but only one gave any explanation of why no assistance was forthcoming in this aspect of training:

- No - I was made aware of the fact that Teachers College equipped teachers with skills to properly prepare lessons.

Only a small number admitted to having forgotten whether notes were required or not but even some of them seemed to think that they might well have been. There was little difference between those in primary schools and those in secondary schools regarding note keeping.

Life outside of the school

The question of how junior teachers fared outside of school seems to have attracted very little comment from opponents of the system beyond the issue of the allowance, the amount of board paid and the question of living at home. The memoirs provide some insights into the type of board available, contact with home, social life, study arrangements and what happened at the end of the junior teacher period.

Boarding or at home?

It will be recalled from Chapter 8 that in September, 1942 the Director of Education had blamed the abnormal staffing situation for the fact that some junior teachers had to be placed away from their homes. He had pointed out, however, that at that stage 38 of the junior teachers were able to live at home while 60 others could go home at weekends. This claim, together with the other suspect assertions from the Director, was branded by the Union as being 'weaker than distilled water' and indeed the 20 respondents from 1942 did present a rather different account of how the system had worked for them. Two were at home for the whole year and one of them travelled by train to a school 23 miles away leaving at 7 a.m. and arriving home at 7 p.m. Another was appointed close to home but her parents shifted shortly afterwards so from then on she saw them only during vacations. Four were able to get home at weekends from distances of between 14 and 20 or so miles. Those between 100 and 150 miles from home usually got back only in vacations while those 30 to 40 miles away generally managed to get home more frequently. Two changed schools during the year and this enabled one of them to move home and the other came close enough for weekend visits. The overall picture for the whole period 1940 to 1945 was as follows:

At home	22 %				
Weekends	18 %				
Vacations only	36 %	More frequently	19 %	Less frequently	5 %

The Union presented no figures to support its disagreement with the Director's belief that in 1942 over 60 % of the junior teachers were able to get home at weekends. The figures recalled by these respondents could certainly have supported its case.

Only a few commented in any detail on this aspect. One male recalled that his widowed mother took a job at the farm where he was boarding, so for them this became home for the year. Another male who was at a country high school on Eyre Peninsula recalled that he came home only at Christmas because he could not afford to travel more frequently. One female aged 16.3 wrote 'not at all' but gave no reason and nor did a male aged 18.5 who managed to get home only in the September holidays. Genderwise there was very little difference between those who got home only in the vacations but females were twice as likely to be living at home than males and proportionally, far more females than males could get home at weekends. It is not clear whether this was mere chance or whether Departmental staffing officers were attempting to put into practice, for some females at least, what Dr Fenner believed was in fact happening generally.

Contact with home

Respondents were asked how easily they could get in touch with their homes and by what means. The majority of those boarding away seemed to think that it was easily enough done in terms of what was available at the time. About a third could get in touch by letter only and most of them recalled a weekly letter exchange. Another third or so mentioned both telephone and letter and the rest recalled the telephone as a means of getting in touch, particularly in an emergency. However, a number of them added that they couldn't remember actually using it. It would seem the use of the telephone was increasing somewhat by the 1940s as a number mentioned the availability of this service at their local post office. There were, however, similar problems to those noted from respondents in the 1930s. Many parents still did not have a home phone nor did many boarding places and responses similar to these were common:

- Occasional phone call - seldom could afford it.
- By letter or phone except my mother had to put in a person to person call and the post Mistress would come a quarter of a mile to me as my boarding place had no phone.
- I could have telephoned from the Post Office but never did.
- Daily mail but could be telephoned or telegrammed from home.

A few recalled that contact with home was not easy:

- Letters only and mail took several days in travel.
- Not easy - no phones only letters.

One male respondent seems to have found it so difficult that he contacted home 'Rarely, except during holidays' but another male recalled that he 'came from a family that believed in a weekly letter and this

became my practice after I left home until I married when my wife took over the practice'.

Boarding

It will be recalled that the question of the cost of board for junior teachers was raised both in the run up to the Inquiry and in some of the evidence presented to it but practically nothing was said about conditions of board. The S.A. Association of Schools Committees for instance, told the Inquiry that mothers did not like their children aged 15 or 16 'going away from home to the country on such shocking pay as is offered'. This was particularly in relation to females whom the Association believed would hardly have enough over after paying board to be able to cope. As has been noted, respondents were not asked to recall the amount of board but rather what type of board was provided for them and whether they stayed in the same boarding place for the whole time they were at a particular school. The majority found board in private homes and most seemed happy enough with it, stayed in the same place and described it simply as 'private board' or 'a family home'. Some were particularly fortunate and explained why. One male recalled that his time with the family he was allocated was:

- One of the most enduring and most happy and felicitous time as one would wish to share.

A female recalled having her own room and 'being included in all family activities'; another who boarded at a hotel remembered being treated as 'a guest of the family' and such other comments as 'a very good and caring family', 'a pleasant elderly couple' were indicative of very satisfactory boarding places being provided for these young people. Several were fortunate enough to be able to board with a relative - grandmother, aunt and married sister. For others the board was only just satisfactory. A male remembered the board found for him as 'Basic, sleepout type - meals adequate' and several others mentioned being put into enclosed back verandahs.

For some, however, the board provided was far from satisfactory:

- Cruel - no bath, no electric light, no running water. [male aged 17.1]
- Private board with a family of German origin. Very unhappy there. Poor food. [female aged 16.4 who subsequently moved elsewhere]

A female aged 18.3 was found unsatisfactory board in 1942 and after a few weeks was allowed to move into the school house attached to the school. Normally this would have been contrary to Departmental rules as Head Teachers were not allowed to board junior teachers. However, this case was very unusual as the Head Teacher was overseas in the army and the acting Head, a female, lived 'in a caravan in the scrub opposite the school'. Such circumstances apparently allowed the Head Teacher's wife to board the junior teacher!

Only relatively few others moved and of those who did it seems that it was usually because of arrangements within the town rather than of their own volition. However, some did take matters into

their own hands. One other female recalled that she 'moved to a family of my choosing' while another answered somewhat cryptically that she had 'found my own board - a private home'. Several recalled having to share a room. Where this was with another adult or just the room, it may not have been too difficult, particularly where a boarding house was involved, but four females encountered what could well have been rather difficult situations. None of them complained in this section but merely set down the following facts:

- I had to share a double bed with the daughter (aged 21) of the house. [female aged 17.1, 1945]
- I shared a room with a girl of 11, daughter of home owners who obliged the school by taking me as no-one wanted to board a teacher. [this female aged 18.2 taught Grades 1 - 111 in 1940 so this girl was not in her class]
- Share room with a 15 year old girl. [female 16.10 - 1944)
- I shared a bedroom with a High School student. [this female was aged just 17 in 1943 and was teaching at the high school but did not indicate whether she had to teach this girl]

The sharing situations in 1940 and 1943 may well have made interesting evidence for the Inquiry had the Union investigated anything beyond the actual cost of board!

Social life

Respondents were asked whether they took part in local sport and social activities. Some 70% indicated that they did and gave details of the activities available to them. Traditional sports such as football, cricket, tennis and basketball led the list but horse riding, skating, swimming and golf were available to some while one male who was a keen gymnast started a gymnasium in the town and recalled that it was 'keenly attended'. As far as social activities were concerned, church attracted a good deal of interest. Several males recalled going to church 'a little' or 'occasionally' but for others - mainly females - the church and church affairs such as the choir and youth groups, provided a lot of social activity. Indeed one female in 1945 recalled very little social life being available and went on ' Church was about the only regular activity'. Others recalled normal country activities such as dances or the occasional picture show (one female recalled riding her bike 16 miles to get to the pictures!). In this period however, most memories were of war related activities. These included fund raisers such as dances, socials, card evenings and farewells or welcomes to servicemen on leave or on their return home. Others were involved in practical activities such as the Home Guards, the local CMF, the Voluntary Air Observers or the Fighting Forces Sewing Circle; with air raid precautions, plane spotting and the making of camouflage nets; (one who recalled this activity added that Darwin had just been bombed) or in raising funds for the Schools Patriotic Fund or the Red Cross.

Most of those who said they did not take part in sporting or much social life in the local towns went home every weekend. For the rest, the war meant that there were few sporting or social opportunities.

A number mentioned that as it was war time country sport was almost 'non-existent' or that 'there was no country sport in war time'. One male who had joined the Home Guards noted that with weekend training expected there was not much opportunity for sport anyway. Much the same was said about social life. One recalled that 'social activities were rare in wartime' and a number of others stressed that for them the war years generally 'curtailed social life' apart from an occasional fund raising dance or card evening. A few explained why both sport and social life were restricted in the country:

- It was war time - there was no petrol and little social life.
- Travel was by gas producer truck with young people riding on the open back. Petrol was rationed for essential purposes in war years. [this was 1944] Gas producer power was produced from charcoal made from mallee roots.

Studies

As the following table shows, a majority of respondents in both primary and secondary schools were studying at various levels.

TABLE 12.6 **Study Levels of Respondents**

	PEB	University	No Study	Text Book
(a) In primary schools	17%	30%	39%	14%
(b) In secondary schools	19%	54%	23%	4%

Those undertaking a PEB subject usually needed it for matriculation purposes. Earlier in the questionnaire respondents were asked whether or not they had matriculated before becoming a junior teacher. Most indicated that they were fully qualified for University studies but 24 of those in primary schools and 4 in secondary schools had not yet matriculated. A number of them knew what they had to pass in order to qualify but others gave no reason for not having matriculated and a few seemed unsure about what was actually meant by the term. One wrote 'No matriculation then' which seems to indicate confusion between the current Year 12 situation and the matriculation at Leaving level of the 1940s. The situation was further complicated by those few who believed they had not matriculated but who did a University subject rather than a PEB one. While considering matriculation it is worthwhile noting the type of secondary school attended. Of the respondents placed in primary schools, 32 had attended a metropolitan high school and 14 of them had done full or partial Leaving Honours compared with only 4 of the 35 who had attended country secondary schools. A further disadvantage was that smaller high and other country secondary schools could not offer a wide range of subject choices and not every student had access to a language. Of those appointed to secondary schools, 12 had attended metropolitan high schools and 10 of them had reached Leaving Honours level. Of the 10 who had

attended a country secondary school only 4 had reached that level as had 3 of the 4 from private schools. It would seem that there was some advantage in attending a metropolitan high school or a private one rather than a country secondary school in the 1940s. The explanations given by respondents help to clarify the situations some found themselves in regarding PEB studies needed for matriculation:

- I tried to do a Leaving language (French) from scratch to complete my matriculation. Did it on my own with quite a bit of help (out of school time) from the French teacher. [she was at a high school]
- Intermediate Maths 11 for matriculation. [a requirement if no Maths at Leaving level]
- Leaving Latin to complete matriculation. Was tutored at the High School once a week.
- Did some Leaving subjects with the Leaving class during Term 3 and the senior master checked private work so I was able to pass Maths and Arithmetic (to matriculate)

Some were not fortunate enough to be in a position to get help and one male in a remote one-teacher school recalled:

- I did Leaving Ancient History - which , alas, I failed.

A female had little success with her PEB work because of her living conditions. She recalled that she:

- Attempted to do Ancient History studies but it proved too difficult with small children in the home and only 'candle light in my room'.

A few undertook Leaving Honours subjects, possibly as a preparation for University. One female who had reached Leaving only, recalled that she started Leaving Honours Latin but found she really did not have the time so she 'dropped it'.

Some of those who undertook a University subject failed or gave up during the year. The causes of failure or drop out varied as these recollections show:

- In 1940 I tried to study Maths 1A at Adelaide University using notes supplied by the Teachers' Union. Conditions for study were not good as I shared a room at the boarding house with two others. [had done Leaving Honours]
- Tried to do Latin 1 but got bogged down with it and gave up during the latter part of the year. [Leaving only]
- Latin 1 for B.A. - but gave up during the year. [Leaving]
- Tried to do Maths 1 but had no help so gave it away. [Leaving]
- I tried a correspondence course in Latin 1 but it proved unsatisfactory. (I had done LHs Latin)
- Had to do a Uni subject by correspondence. Did Latin with disastrous results. [Leaving]
- I began Maths 1 by correspondence using notes supplied by, I think, the Teachers Institute. A student took notes which the Institute copied and posted on. The notes were often wrong and I wrote several letters asking for help from my Leaving teachers. I really couldn't understand the notes and I had no text book so I gave up. [Leaving]

Clearly the step from Leaving to University was a great problem for some respondents and this would seem to support the contention of the Union that many junior teachers would have been better off

remaining at school for Leaving Honours. However, a number did manage to pass even Latin 1 or Mathematics 1 straight from Leaving by external studies:

- I did Latin 1 and sat for the examination at the manse with the minister's child running up and down the passage. I passed!
- Maths 1A - lecture notes from the Union. Passed.
- Uni Maths 1 by correspondence and passed. I received a lot of help from one of the teachers. [at the high school where he taught]

Others with Leaving only managed to pass other subjects, too, and History 1, Economic History, English 1 appeared amongst their successes. However, those with a Leaving Honours background appeared much more regularly with passes in such subjects as Latin 1, Pure Maths 1, and Economics 1. Some did particularly well, too:

- The Teachers' Union used to supply a weekly set of notes and examples for University subjects. At the end of the year I passed with top credit in Pure Maths 1.
- Latin 1 externally and passed with credit.

Of the large group who did no study at either PEB or tertiary level only one explained why by writing 'Hardly time with the work load'. The others, including some of whom believed that they had not yet matriculated, left the space blank.

As can be seen from the table, a number regarded Green and Birchenough's text as their study for the year and for most of them it was not a particularly useful exercise:

- Only study I did was to read a book on teaching practice. I kept a record of each chapter but it was rather boring and of no help whatever.
- We were required to study a book or two on teaching - nothing very time consuming.
- I was supposed to have studied a book - have forgotten its name - only thing I remember is 'The burnt child dreads the fire'.
- I think Mr. S... was supposed to give me some instruction, but I don't think he could cope with it.

One, however, did get something out of her study of the official text:

- I spent time with the suggested text and knew the book extremely well. When I had to sit for the exam - 98%

Another listed the text along with his higher studies:

- a) 'Method' & text by Green and Goodenough (or ?) as set down by Education Department
  b) Maths 1 (University B.A. course) by correspondence.

Two respondents recalled studies that they required for the course they intended to enter at the Teachers' College. One in a high school who taught herself Typewriting and Shorthand eventually entered the commercial course. The other took Music lessons to meet the requirements of the C course.

The final piece of concrete data collected from these respondents was the direction they took at the end of the junior teacher year. Some were not happy about the course they were put into, but at this stage only the numbers need to be recorded as there is an opportunity in the cultural section for comments on whether it was the course of their choice.

TABLE 12.7 Directions Taken After the Junior Teacher Year

(1) **By 67* respondents in primary schools**

	Teachers College Course								Other	
	A	B >	D etc	C	D	E	F	H	Repeat JT	Resign
1940	1	3	6	2	-	-	3	-	1	-
1941	1	1	4	3	-	-	1	-	1	-
1942	5	4	2	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
1943	1	5	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
1944	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
1945	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
Total	10	18	13	18	-	-	4	1	2	1

(2) **By 26* respondents in secondary schools**

	A	B >	D etc.	C	D	E	F	H	Repeat JT	Resign
1940	-	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1941	-	1	4	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
1942	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1943	-	-	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
1944	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1945	-	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Total	-	5	17	-	2	-	1	-	1	-

* Two who were transferred from primary to high schools in the same year appear on both lists.

As has been seen earlier, those without the required passes at Leaving were put into the one year A course and those wishing to specialise in primary, infant or craft teaching entered directly into the B, C, F, or H courses. Those wanting to be generalist secondary or commercial teachers were usually required to be further tested in both academic work and teaching ability by one or two years in the B course before they were allowed to transfer into the D or E courses but, from time to time, a few were allowed to bypass the B course altogether and enter the D or E course direct. Those who commented here generally referred to the policy of putting most students in the B course for one or more years before allowing them to move to D or E. Some accepted this but others indicated some frustration:

- There were no D entrants at Coll. in my year.
- B view D i.e. an introductory year with the possibility of getting a full secondary program if the exam results justified it.
- One had to do the same course as primary for a year e.g useless lectures on sewing etc!

One other female was frustrated by the course rules:

- I would have preferred to enter the C course but was ineligible as I was unable to play a musical instrument.

Occasionally Departmental needs predominated according to another female:

- My choice was infant or commercial but one went where needs were greatest & I drew Primary.

One female was persuaded to change her course from secondary to infant:

- The School Inspector advised me that this was my forte.

It will be recalled that the one of the Department's defences of the junior teacher system was that it gave both the junior teacher and the Department the opportunity to decide whether teaching was the appropriate job for the candidate. The Inquiry was told that in fact few junior teachers left voluntarily because by that time they were 18 or 19, it was generally too late to look around for some more congenial work. It was also said that few were rejected by the Department. The one respondent who resigned in 1945 was not expected to explain why he did so in the concrete section and his recollections on this matter will be examined in the cultural section. Of the three who repeated a year as junior teachers, two were just 17 at the beginning of their second year. No. 26 from Table 12.2 was transferred to a high school but later entered the B course and trained as a primary teacher. No. 8 in Table 12.3 who was noted above as one who had difficulty in disciplining secondary students was moved to a primary school and eventually entered the C course.

It can be seen that the concrete details recalled by these former junior teachers confirm in most respects the factual material presented to the Inquiry. The generally high correlation between what these respondents remember from a distance of some 50 years and what was found in the 1942 survey suggests that a good deal of reliance can be placed also on the wide range of other details that have emerged from the concrete section of the memoirs, as well as on what is in the cultural section. It now remains to see what further light the cultural data can throw on the situation, especially as regards the major faults in the system that were presented to the Inquiry by its opponents in order to justify a finding in favour of abolition.

PART B THE CULTURAL DATA

As has been seen, the evidence presented against the junior teacher system was very one-sided and it is hardly surprising that the Inquiry recommended abolition on the grounds that the system was exploitative and not in the interests of either the trainees or the pupils. The concrete data supported much of that line of argument but it also opened up some rather more positive aspects of the system. The cultural section gave the respondents considerably more scope in this regard, as each individual could put his or her own case rather than merely being represented by those with a vested interest in bringing down the system. As a result there is - in a marked contrast to the case put to the Inquiry in 1943 - a consistent thread running through this section of the memoirs of the system having both good

and bad effects. In this way, the cultural responses help to throw new light on some aspects of the major criticisms of the system. By looking at what the respondents remembered about such aspects as the training they received, the exploitative nature of the system or the need for its abolition, it is often possible to see a quite different side to such questions than that presented to, and generally accepted by, the Inquiry. This wider view of the junior teacher system is further enhanced by the descriptions of how ready respondents felt for the job, how they rated their success at it and whether or not they had enjoyed the experience.

In the previous two chapters the questions in the cultural section were examined in the order in which they appeared in the Memoir Survey Document. In this chapter it is more useful to illustrate the main criticisms raised at the Inquiry by referring directly to the most appropriate section of any question.

Was it Training?

In the letter of September, 1942, which sparked off very strong Union criticism, Dr Fenner had stressed that the period of junior teaching was to be regarded as training only. The survey conducted by the Union in that same year had revealed that most junior teachers were in fact teaching in place of trained teachers and the inference was that there would be little time for any training. However, the Union's survey did not gather any data about the training and help that junior teachers might have received from their Head Teachers or from senior or other staff. Apart from several references to this matter in evidence put to the Inquiry it would seem that the Union case rested very largely on the fact that junior teachers, and indeed the Heads of schools where they were located, were too busy teaching to be able to be engaged in any training. Mr. Westgarth had told the Inquiry that junior teachers were not under supervision in most cases and the Male Assistants' Association had pointed to the particular problem in one-teacher schools where they believed that the teachers in charge were generally not very experienced teachers. References were made, too, by a number of witnesses to the likelihood of junior teachers falling into bad teaching habits through lack of adequate supervision.

It would seem, however, that very little hard evidence was available in 1943 to prove that junior teachers were not getting any training at all. The survey compiled from answers to the concrete data certainly supported the contention that most junior teachers were responsible for heavy teaching and preparation loads but another section of that data indicated that some 75% of respondents recall receiving some help with their teaching duties. The cultural data allows for deeper insights into the nature of this help to determine whether it could be classed as training. Question 3 required the respondents to describe how the Head Teacher treated them and the type of support and help given to them. They were then asked to say whether they felt the Head had done his duty by them and their class or classes and to give details of ways in which they felt they might have got better support, help and

advice. They also had to say whether other staff had helped them and to recall if there had been any assessment of their work. All of this throws a rather different light on the very negative case put forward by the Union and other witnesses in the attempt to show that the system did little or nothing to train and assist young people burdened down by heavy teaching and preparation loads and responsibilities that rightly belonged to trained teachers only.

Treatment by the Head and the type of support and help given.

Very few neglected to answer this section and 65% of those who did recalled their treatment by the Head as good and most of them were able to explain why they felt that way. Some were content to answer 'well' or 'very well' but others used such terms as 'with kindness and consideration', 'very professional'", 'an outstanding gentleman', 'very supportive', 'fatherly advice and encouragement', 'lots of praise'. It is clear that what many valued highly was being treated properly:

- As a full and responsible member of staff.
- As a fellow (but junior) teacher.
- Treated me as a young teacher and not as a child. This was very important as it did not give the older children the impression that they could treat me exactly as an equal.
- Always treated me as an equal and the students were left in no doubt about this.

Treatment of that kind should have created an atmosphere in which training was likely and a number went on to show this:

- Strong, stern and fair - I had always worked hard and he saw that I was prepared to thoroughly prepare my lessons and do plenty of testing, marking and preparation of my science experiments.
- He was definitely the Head Teacher! A conscientious, thorough leader. Professionally he helped me with lesson notes and ideas ... socially he and his wife were kind.
- A good friend and was very encouraging in my teaching efforts, giving me lots of useful hints for classroom and also for the community.

Others went into further detail about the helpfulness, consideration and encouragement they had received, all of which most certainly sounds like training:

- Gave hints on discipline and approaches to students.
- He organized my work and advised me on all aspects of it. He could not have been better or more encouraging.
- Occasionally gave a lesson - made suggestions when he felt I needed it or when I asked.
- Always felt I could take a concern re school to him.

Some 23% were not sure about the Head's treatment of them or of the help given. A few were prepared to excuse their Head for not doing more:

- Very supportive and very busy himself with the other four classes to attend to. [a primary school situation]
- Tried to see me each week, inspect preparation, discuss problems but was often too busy! I had little formal instruction, but plenty of moral support. [a secondary situation]

Others were rather more ambivalent about any help and support:

- I suspect I thought him a hard man but he gave a good deal of help.
- Was a good sort of bloke who worked hard himself and kept good order. I think he believed he was helping me by insisting that I made notes on Green and Birchenough. I was obviously too thick to see that these principles should be applied in practice.
- Gave me some help when I asked for it.
- He treated me all right but he was a sadist with the children. There were no discipline problems. (You may have heard of him, Mr…, spent some time in gaol (later) for child molesting.)

Some answers well illustrated the problems that junior teachers caused for Heads and help to explain something of the determination of the Union to have them replaced by trained staff:

- My second Head had a problem with me replacing a trained teacher and I was placed in his large classroom too.
- He was old and not in good health. Had only had one junior teacher before me (trained assistants before). I don't think he could cope and didn't really know how to help me. Our weekly sessions left me feeling frustrated and unsatisfied. However, he did support me as a colleague, and corrected me at times.
- I wouldn't say either Head Teacher gave me any real support. They were not unfriendly but obviously a junior teacher was just a help they expected and needed.

This latter attitude resulted perhaps in the overuse of junior teachers as this respondent recalled:

- Usually very helpful and respectful but on looking back I realize he used me for yard duty and as a general 'message runner' about the town.

Such attitudes resulted in some 10% recalling having been badly treated. These responses speak for themselves:

- The Head Teacher treated me as a dogsbody and anything that went wrong was my fault. He gave me no support at all and if he had had his way I would never have continued. Even 40 years on I still resent some of the things he made me do in front of the children.
- Treated me like a chattel - gave me all the lousy jobs e.g. all yard duty.
- The Head largely ignored me and I ignored him. It would be fair to say he gave me no help. [This respondent served a second year as a junior teacher as he was too young for College. This time he was placed in a high school where he recalled a very different kind of Head - one who chatted with him about school, invited him for meals and helped with his University subject.]

- Expected me to accept responsibility of a class and subject teacher but still treated me as a student.
- Very little help or support. HM treated me as if I was a qualified person and expected too much of me.
- He was a petty pedant with neither intelligence or learning. I did some of his marking. I received no help at all.

Clearly in such circumstances little or no training could be expected to have taken place. It is important however, to note that only a small proportion of the respondents believed that they got no help or support. The great majority, despite having to teach all day, undertaking heavy preparation and being given responsibilities far beyond that of an untrained person, still felt that they were in an atmosphere where help and support were available. This seems somewhat at odds with the very negative view of the junior teacher system as presented to the Inquiry. However, the type of help and support described above generally falls outside the limit of what might be regarded as actual training. As was seen in the previous chapter, the rules about how a Head Teacher was expected to undertake the training of junior teachers were still in force. The weekly lessons from the text book were still expected to be done as was a study of the primary course of instruction. It would have been expected, too, that a Head Teacher of a primary school would supervise the teaching of any staff to ensure that proper standards were being maintained, keeping in mind that the District Inspector would give tests in certain subjects and note progress across the whole school regardless of whether a junior teacher or a trained assistant was teaching. The same would apply in a secondary school with the added responsibility of the Head Master for the public examinations in Intermediate and Leaving. The memoir questionnaire sought information on whether respondents believed that the Head had done his duty by them and by the children in the classes. Recollections here assist further in understanding how much actual training of junior teachers might have taken place.

Did the Heads do their duty by the junior teachers and their classes?

As might be expected there is a close correlation between the proportion who believed that they were well treated, helped and supported by their Heads and those who felt that the Head had done his duty. Indeed some saw that duty as being more closely allied to the way they were treated than to any supervision of lessons or readings from a text book. What is different is that a much higher proportion believed that their Head had not done his duty than had felt that they had not been treated well. Some 6% did not reply at all, 67% felt that the Head had done his duty and a clear 27% believed that he had not.

Of the majority who felt that the Head had done his duty there were some who had no doubts about it at all:

- He certainly did. In a small high school he was in and out of my classes a lot and his standards permeated the whole school and made it easy for me (and the other teachers).
- Yes - very conscientious about helping me. Made my junior teacher year very meaningful. Doubt if any other person could have been more caring about his duties.
- Yes - he carried out his prescribed weekly readings from the text and marked my weekly essay on this text.
- I felt at the time, as I do now, that the Head did his duty by me, even though he may not have fulfilled the officially stated expectations. He treated me as a teacher and was friendly, kind and helpful.
- Yes – Can't remember any occasion when I was criticised or made to feel uncomfortable.
- Yes - I remember he explained everything clearly - in the same room so I learnt a lot from watching him teaching the other four classes.
- Yes - our afternoon discussions made for my confident management of the class. I was always aware that immediate help was at hand. I only had to knock on the adjoining door.
- Miss G… did what she could to help even though she kept my nose to the grindstone. Teaching was her life and she expected the same of me but being young I wanted some time to relax.

Then there were those who were prepared to qualify their positive response by referring to the difficulties facing a Head in supervising and training a junior teacher:

- Yes - he was of course a full time teacher. He was diligent in the formal support he gave. He avoided the paternalism that might have been expected because of my age.
- Yes to the best of his ability but limited by having 7 grades, basic resources and a 'raw' junior teacher.
- I can't cast him as deficient in any serious way. My youth and inexperience must have tried him sorely but I can't remember his loss of temper with me though I can't say the same for some of his relationships with parents and/or pupils.
- Yes he did his best considering he was an older man and had never had to face the situation [of having a junior teacher instead of an assistant] before.
- He was observant and supportive. We were both teaching several grades in the one big room.
- He was busy and so was I but he found time during the day to put me on the right track if I missed the point at times.
- Yes - according to their lights and the demands on their time and the milieu of the day. [this junior teacher had had three different Heads]

The responses of those who felt that the Head had not done his duty ranged from the rather mild to the

quite critical. Some tended to find excuses for the neglect:

- Yes - to the best of his ability. A more friendly and open relationship would have enabled discussion of problems etc. but that was his nature. I think he felt the great age gap as much as I did.
- Perhaps he could have helped me by taking lessons jointly with me so that I could observe his methods but I don't see how he could. He must have found it difficult to spare the time for the criticism lesson seeing that there was no one to take his four classes.
- I should have received more guidance when I was in charge of a class but did the HM have the time? All classes were in the 50s and there was no clerical assistance.

Others simply recalled the nature of the lack of duty:

- Not fully - his supervision was lax and I could have muddled along but I took the task seriously and worked very hard indeed.
- He did not take the mentally deficient child [who, as will be seen later, made junior teaching less than satisfactory for this female] under his own supervision as I suppose, in retrospect, he could have.
- My feelings are fairly negative. Department should not have expected young people to teach without proper guidance or help. I suppose the kids did learn something but I didn't feel confident. [this respondent got 'some help' when he asked for it but recalled that his training consisted of reading Green and Birchenough, a text he described as 'Hopeless garbage')
- I didn't get much professional help from him.
- I should not have been given full responsibility for a class in a room by myself. I think he should have taken more classes and I should have done some monitoring.
- I believe the tuition I received that year was unsatisfactory because of the structure of the junior teacher system. The Head had little time to devote to my development as he had his own goals to achieve. During the days of the Grade 7 Qualifying Certificate, a teacher's skill mark depended largely on the level of passes at that examination. In consequence my progress was secondary. The Inspector seemed to set little store by my welfare apart from seeing that I kept up to my teaching programme.
- The Head rarely gave me advice - in fact rarely spoke to me. I now recall I never entered his house. I believe he was even more scared of Inspector G... than I was.
- Not really. He is dead now or I wouldn't say it. He drank a lot at weekends - I didn't respect him for that - I being a teetotaller then. When I talked to other junior teachers, they had had 'lessons'. I had nothing but as I said we were always busy.
- I would say he was a dutiful man who tried to keep a good moral tone. However, he was also a pedantic man, entirely without intellect or true education. I remember being reprimanded for leaning against a doorway.
- I was given little or no support in lesson and subject planning or preparation. It seemed as if

this was something I was expected to have at my finger tips. Observation periods were non-existent due to the number of teaching periods I had.

A few had particularly unpleasant recollections of their Head's treatment of them:

- No - a trustworthy and conscientious Head Teacher would have been a great asset to a junior teacher. [This female respondent had written in an earlier section about 'unwanted and unwelcome attentions' from her Head and went on 'I was expected to remain at school for one hour a week for instruction and tuition. However, due to the problem and on the advice of parents this 'tuition' did not eventuate!'.]

Another female, quoted earlier as saying she was treated as a 'dogsbody' illustrated this in rather more detail as an example of the Head not doing his duty by her:

- No - two instances come to mind. 1) I had done the school banking in his office and had to take the books back to the classrooms. When I returned I checked the money and it was short. So as it was recess time I went to the staffroom and told the Head what had happened without mentioning the sum short. The other teachers were horrified when he put his hand in his pocket and took out the exact amount and gave it to me. 2) I was helping in a classroom. We had been given our pay cheques in the morning and both the teacher and I put them in our handbags hanging in the back of the class. When we went home to dinner the other girl found her cheque missing. She reported it to the Head and he rushed over to the classroom, grabbed my bag and emptied it onto the floor. I was terribly embarrassed and more so when the class teacher gave him a lecture on trusting people.

The female whose Head drank a lot at the weekends recalled a 'telling off' she got after what she felt must have been a 'rough weekend' for him:

- The only time he made me feel a fool was when I went home for the weekend and came back on the 4am goods train. That morning it was 3 hours late. I sneaked into my room but he came in and roared at me and I had to go into the upper classroom to be told off.

Respondents were also asked whether the Head had done his duty by the classes taught by the junior teacher but few answered it in any detail. One who did recalled:

- Yes - both to me and the children. He took an active interest in the lesson I was giving Grades 1 - 111 and found out how the children were progressing. Very difficult for the HT of a one-teacher school - time is never enough.

Help from other staff.

Respondents were asked to give details of any help given by other staff members or if they gave none, to say how they might like to have been helped. Just over half the respondents left the space blank and

practically all of them were from one-teacher schools where there were no other staff. A number of others from one-teacher schools answered by pointing out that fact. One regretted this:

- No other staff. A young person always has some fear of his Head Teacher. Perhaps other staff could have supplied alternative bases for professional and personal discussion.

Some females were glad to have outside assistance with Sewing:

- Was pleased the Head's wife taught sewing - a subject quite beyond me.
- There were only the two of us on the staff. Needlework was a problem. I had taken over this class from a highly skilled local lady and felt inadequate. One girl brought along a white silk dress to make up, by hand, and I looked at the pieces in despair. Fortunately the local lady (who lived next door) came to my rescue and the dress was a success.

Another female received outside support too:

- No other teacher but the Head Teacher's wife with whom I lived [where the HT had joined the Armed Services and a relieving HT was there] had been a teacher too and she was very understanding about a young girl away from home and in the midst of strangers. She treated me like a daughter, gave me helpful advice ... even lent me her evening frock to go to a dance.

A few in larger primary schools were helped while others either did not seek help or it was simply not available:

- I shared a room with this lady and she helped me in a way - I suppose I learnt a lot from her – she was quite a mature teacher.
- The infant teacher was very helpful and let me copy her methods.
- The training I received from Miss... was invaluable when I was transferred to W... and it showed up in my first practical at Gilles St. where my supervisor asked where I had learnt such methods in my first year at College.
- The other teacher (female) took Grades 1 - 111 in another room. Our contact was friendly but limited. I [a male] did not feel she should be helping me.
- Apart from meeting in the staffroom, I [a male] received (and did not want!) no help from the two women on the staff - we all did our own thing with little relationship with each other. They were easy to get on with - & this was all the help I wanted.
- I never saw the other teacher (HT's wife) working, never invited to the 1 - 111 room, as I recall.

Those in secondary schools had the best opportunities for help and support from other staff and some clearly appreciated it:

- The other teachers were wonderful to me - without them I would have given up. [this was the female whose Head treated her as 'dogsbody']
- Moral support by always appearing to support me as an equal in front of classes.

- Always ready with discipline and were a great help.
- No specific details but I felt I was working with a group of friendly, helpful, caring people and that I was just as important in the school as they were.
- Friendly, always ready to give advice and encouragement.
- We had a good relationship and the two young women staff members were a great help to me [a male] socially at various town functions.
- I recall we two junior teachers were treated well by the rest of the staff. We were a happy bunch.
- Most staff were much more friendly than Mr... (who reported to the HM on the junior teachers' discipline) - they did not regard me as a mere school boy out of his depth.
- I received support from the SM and from the assistant who helped a lot with my Uni assignments. The Senior Mistress was a wonderful lady who although not directly overseeing my work offered encouragement.

One gave a practical example of the help he received in teaching an unfamiliar subject:

- The female assistant gave invaluable help with the Intermediate Typing class. Neither of us had had any experience with Typing but together we managed to keep ahead of the class. All 6 girls passed Intermediate Typing.

Only a few in secondary schools did not receive such help and some did not seek it:

- There seemed to be an attitude of 'You're on your own son - it's up to you whether you sink or swim'. This was probably due to staff shortages, individual teaching loads and the uncertainty of the war years.
- I do not recall having been helped at all. Nobody helped me close the gap between myself and the students. [this male noted elsewhere that the rest of the staff found him 'juvenile and arrogant']
- The curriculum was divided into self-contained parts so there was no one to turn to for curriculum advice. But for me, the other teachers' friendship was more than enough.
- No assistance - I felt confident and sought none.

A few were supernumeraries in secondary schools. For some of them it was a rewarding experience while others appear to have had very routine roles:

- I sat alongside teachers in subject rooms helping boys who came out for assistance when I could, or observing and noting how my mentors went about it when, as commonly happened, the boys preferred to go to the experienced man. During intervals we were able to talk quietly about the curriculum, teaching as a career, teaching methods, the books we were reading or topics of general interest. I have vivid memories of talking enthusiastically to Mr D... about the short stories of Guy de Maupassant, ... about contemporary literature with Mr R ... (he was

reading Joyce's Ulysses, shortly to be banned) or about modern art ...

- I remember being on good terms with the rest of the staff. I was willing to do favours for them e.g. writing up the class timetable on the black board. These tasks helped me to feel useful, a satisfying feeling.
- The teachers set work for classes, I merely supervised, and did some marking.

Assessment of the time in schools

If the Education Department was serious about the time as a junior teacher being a training period, it might be expected that there would be some kind of assessment and a report at the end of it. In his defence of the system in September, 1942, Dr Fenner had pointed out that the Education Department was convinced of its value for enabling it to discover whether the persons selected as junior teachers were capable of becoming 'good teachers'. However, there were no official instructions about the form of any such reporting in the Education Gazettes of the period or in the Regulations or E.D. Circulars so there is something of a mystery about how the Department carried out its discoveries. It will be recalled that the Public Schools Committees Association told the Inquiry that the lack of assessment led to junior teachers falling into bad teaching habits, a point also made by the Union and other witnesses.

Respondents were asked whether they recalled any assessment of their time as junior teachers and, if so, the form it took. No clear picture emerges from their recollections. Many could not recall details of any formal assessments or of any report being written by their Head but a number most certainly recalled a visit of some kind from an Inspector. Even those who had no memory of a report generally seemed to think that there would have been one. This feeling was closely linked with the role of Inspectors, the constant assessing and reporting done at that time in most other aspects of training, teaching and learning and the likelihood that the Department would require some evidence of the suitability of candidates for the Teachers College. However, a small number did recall actually seeing a report or being told that one was to be written while others remember the details rather less distinctly:

- A report (on a special form, I think) was required by the Education Department by the end of the year. It was completed by the Head Master and shown to me before being posted. I vaguely remember being satisfied or happy about its contents.
- Assessed by the Head Teacher, records kept. He was a bit of an autocrat in administration and acceptance of responsibility.
- I was given a report at the end of the year. I assume I could not have entered Teachers College if it had not been satisfactory.
- The Head had to write a report from the exam I did.
- I did not see the report but I remember Miss G... saying she had to write one. It probably became part of the secret and forgotten Departmental papers.

- Head told me he would give me a good report.
- Think the Head made a report - probably sent to the Administration or to the Teachers College (not sure) and I seem to recollect him going through what he had written with me - a bit hazy about this.
- There was a report I think but I don't remember the details.

More respondents linked being assessed with the visit of the Inspector. Some recalled this experience vividly, probably for the wrong reasons in most cases, but it is possible to see an element of assessment, and indeed training, in the approach of certain of the Inspectors:

- Yes - the Inspector must have reported on me.
- Inspector in conjunction with the HM.
- When the Inspector came for his inspection I was assessed. I remember him observing as I managed my group. I was quite nervous, as I recall and perhaps tried too hard. Afterwards he had a talk with me in front of the HT and took me to task about being so strict and expecting too much of the children. He went on about what I should do and how I should act. This took me by surprise. I remember feeling it was quite unfair and I was quite devastated to think I hadn't pleased him after trying so hard. There was I without a hanky - and tears running down my cheeks. I felt awful. [she went on to say the Inspector's report 'turned out not so bad after all' and that after that she was 'much more relaxed towards the children']
- DI F... came for a detailed inspection. I certainly remember him telling me that I must slow down and speak more softly. I think the Head had to write a report for forwarding to ATC.
- The Inspector, Mr L..., was very kind, very supportive, praised my work ... and really worried about junior teachers, especially very young ones like I [a female] was ... 16 when I came to W...
- I remember an examination on Green & Birchenough at the end of the year and the Inspector wrote a report. I remember shaking like a leaf when I saw him drive into the yard.
- Only by Inspector G... On his visit I shook in my boots as he sat in my chair.
- Assessed by Inspector. Again I was lucky as I had one of the more humane and kindly men.

While a few did not answer or simply said 'no', 'not aware of' or 'can't remember', most of the rest gave some kind of explanation for why they thought there may or may not have been a report:

- To me personally only verbal - whether a written assessment was sent to the Department I am not aware.
- If there was I didn't see it.
- Suppose - but I never saw one or had any feedback.
- I don't remember any assessment/review sessions with the HT.
- No idea! Imagine there was as all later stages of training were 'assessed'. I have no recollection

of any Inspector's visit.

- Not to my knowledge but sure HT must have had to write a report.
- Don't remember any formal but had the impression the Head felt I had coped well.

The overall impression from these recollections is that the assessment of junior teachers was generally low key and that while not much emphasis was put on reporting, there probably was some kind of report at the end of the period. One response may hold the clue to why the actual report did not feature prominently in the memories of most of them. After noting that the Inspector had visited, watched teaching and talked and that the Head had given useful feedback, the respondent went on:

- There may have been a report which went with the application to enter Teachers College but I suspect that it was a statement of successful completion rather than qualitative.

While there is little evidence of any sustained training programs that would support Dr Fenner's contention that the junior teacher period was training only, it can be said that on the whole, a majority of respondents recalled getting some training in how to teach and being helped and supported in their work. The relatively few cases of neglect, over-expectation, open hostility and ill-treatment tend to highlight the fact that most of these respondents could have given some evidence for the defence of the system had they been called as witnesses before the Inquiry. The strength of this argument tended to increase as respondents recalled whether the system was in their interests or not.

Was the system not in the interests of the trainees?

In its case against the junior teacher system, the S.A. Teachers' Union argued very strongly that the treatment of junior teachers was unfair and cited the heavy work loads and responsibilities and the poor remuneration as evidence of this. The Union was strongly supported by the S.A. Public Schools Committees Association which told the Inquiry of the unfairness of the pay, especially for females, which forced junior teachers into undesirable living conditions and the particular inappropriateness of putting young people straight from school to teach higher secondary levels. Various witnesses backed up the Union view that the system allowed for bad teaching habits to be acquired and there was also evidence of possible emotional harm to junior teachers under the care of those unsuitable for training them or showing them proper attitudes towards teaching children. In the light of all this the Education Inquiry Committee would seem to have had good grounds for its statement that the system was not in the interests of the trainees. However, the responses to several questions in the cultural section indicate that not all the junior teachers of the time would have fully agreed with such a finding.

In Question 2 respondents were asked to list the aspects of junior teaching they recalled being very satisfactory, less satisfactory and unsatisfactory. They were also asked to give details of any difficulties

they had encountered in dealing with the children, with other teachers and with the townspeople and to recall how they had coped with these. In Question 4 they had to say whether they felt that their time as a junior teacher had helped them in any way or disadvantaged them in any way when they went to the Teachers College.

From the case put to the Education Inquiry Committee in 1943 and from the Union's publicity campaign prior to that, it might be expected that in general, respondents would have recalled having experienced a great deal of dissatisfaction and to have suffered considerable disadvantage from the junior teacher experience. While some certainly recalled such aspects, the responses overall convey a rather different picture.

The satisfaction factors

What the respondents say here can be seen to give a good indication from personal, emotional and work related points of view as to whether the system was in their interests or not. The most striking contrast is between the tiny 4% of respondents who did not indicate anything at all as satisfactory and the 60% who either wrote that nothing was unsatisfactory or who left that space blank. Clearly a majority of respondents found some satisfaction in their work as junior teachers. An analysis of aspects that were regarded as very satisfactory and moderately so shows that in most cases these related to actual teaching and to relationships with children. There seems little doubt that the development of such feelings had to be in the interests of trainee teachers.

Very satisfactory aspects

Only one respondent used this section to emphasise an unsatisfactory aspect of the experience as he listed being away from his junior teacher post as very satisfying:

- The holidays. The town was isolated.

In contrast to that comment, others recalled being very enthusiastic about the experience having found 'all', 'all of it', 'everything' very satisfactory but most were able to specify particular aspects. Some 38% of all respondents recalled that the most satisfying aspects of junior teaching related to contact with children and the varied nature of relationships with them. Some expressed it quite simply:

- I liked children very much.
- I liked teaching children.
- Enjoyed working with children
- The eager brightness of the little ones.
- My relationships with the children and their apparent reasonable progress - therefore more confident in my teaching ability. [she was now in a primary school after a rather unsatisfactory

year in a secondary school]

Others found the progress of their pupils as very satisfying:

- The progress of children because of my efforts.
- There is no satisfaction equal to that of seeing a student grasp the point.
- The progress of children - especially the beginners where mostly I felt success.
- My eventual success in getting across to the 'littlies'. [from a male ex-serviceman aged 20]

For another 23% the very satisfying aspect lay in teaching itself - with success at it, being able to cope with it, and acceptance by the children being taken as indicators of a correct career choice:

- Teaching itself - the teaching.
- The process of teaching.
- The very fact that I was 'teaching' even though I had never been taught 'how to' was most satisfying. Mostly the children were happy and bright and we had beaut times together.
- Teaching itself - this provided confirmation - not really needed - that my choice of career was a good one for me.
- I enjoyed teaching and the responsibilities of the class I relieved in - I knew it was my profession.
- Enjoyed all of it - teaching methods hadn't changed since my initiation to school so it was all familiar and comfortable.
- Being able to manage a class despite the inexperience and doubtful subject expertise. [teaching secondary Maths and Science]
- I liked Maths and was good at it and enjoyed teaching it and I believe I 'got on' with the children.

For one at least, the feeling of success did not last:

- I felt confident I was doing a reasonable job (it was not until I started at the Teachers College that I realized the children had been fed to the wolves!).

The next largest group - some 10% - related their main satisfaction to acceptance from others, especially the Head, other teachers and the community:

- The confidence the Head Teacher held in me helped me feel I could cope with teaching.
- The encouragement of the Head Teacher.
- All of it - enjoyed working with highly trained and helpful staff who treated me as an equal and gave me lots of help.
- Acceptance by the community.
- The acceptance by townspeople and fellow teachers and their attitude that I was ready for responsibility.
- The rapport I seemed to have with parents (some of the dads were like me - exservicemen)

- Friendship of my fellow teachers - Head treated me well - friendship of some of the parents and some of the older children.
- Inspector G...'s report on me.

Another smaller group found their very satisfying aspects somewhat removed from the school and from teaching itself. For some it was an opening into a new way of life:

- Entry to adult life and the workforce.
- The easy transition it gave to adult life.
- It was an entry to the adult professional force.
- Feeling that I was fulfilling a useful role. Also pride that I had stepped up in the world.

Others found it provided a very satisfying change of lifestyle:

- The experience of being able to live in a different part of the State (for two years) meeting people, enjoying the countryside and - believe it or not - having financial independence (the junior teacher salary was 30/- per week and my board in 1941 was 17/- a week and in 1942 20/- so I had plenty of money for clothes and luxuries!!! I was really financially independent on 30/- per week. [this was a male - which tends to back up evidence given at the Inquiry that female junior teachers suffered most from the low pay]
- The new friends I made and the experiences of a very small town.
- I gained an insight into the workings of a large city high school under the famous Ben Gates.
- Learning about school from 'the other side', particularly secondary State schools of which I was very ignorant. [having attended a private school]
- I was glad to have an opportunity to work other than on the farm before marriage as none of my sisters had done.
- Really enjoyed being left alone to manage a class -'finding my feet'.
- The fact that I was left to myself - had a separate classroom - was not closely supervised.
- Almost all of it - I was allowed to do things I was good at - art and music...

In the light of such a variety of very satisfying aspects, some of which quite clearly contradict evidence put to the Inquiry, it is interesting to speculate on what might have been the outcome had some of the more positive sides of junior teaching been allowed to be presented in 1943.

Less satisfactory aspects

Close to a third of the respondents did not list any less satisfactory aspects. Most of them had already noted one or more very satisfactory things about junior teaching in the previous section and it would seem that they could recall nothing less so. In fact, several used the space to re-emphasize their lack of dissatisfaction:

- I cannot recall any specific times when I was dissatisfied.
- None really - kids were well behaved and I had no disciplinary troubles. I had a great year.

The other two-thirds – a number of whom had already listed something very satisfactory about the experience - did recall some less than satisfactory aspects and these do generally reflect issues put to the Inquiry. The causes of some dissatisfaction fell into three main groups, the largest of which related to being unsure how to teach subjects and indeed being unqualified to do so. About equal numbers felt that they had been thrown in at the deep end and given little, if any, assistance or that problems with children were responsible for them feeling less satisfied, while the rest had problems outside the school.

There were those who felt less satisfied because of being unqualified for particular subjects;

- Teaching sewing. I was not an experienced needlewoman.
- Teaching subjects like Nature Science - subjects where my resources were limited.
- Having to take the upper children for that one (half-hour) lesson (singing) was frightening.
- I didn't appreciate teaching something I didn't understand (Modern History - my only training was in Ancient History)
- Teaching Latin to 2nd Year - even though it was a small class and all girls.
- A good many of the lessons [secondary] I had to give. For some I was almost totally unequipped - for others my manner was seen as odd by children who by and large, would have to leave school to live fulltime the lives they already had on a farm.

For others the problem was a more general one:

- I was conscious that my teaching skills were only in a development stage [for Grades 1 - 111]
- I knew I was not capable of doing justice to the children without adequate training.
- My frustration at not being able to make any progress with the many slow learning kids. I think I expected every child to cotton on straight away.
- The importance in the teaching process of achieving perfection from such young students whose skills, co-ordination were still growing. I had never heard of child psychology or child development - teachers generally treated children as little adults. I could only teach as I had been taught.

Closely allied with such feelings of inadequacy was the next major cause of dissatisfaction - the feeling of being given too much responsibility and too little help:

- Being in charge and responsible was a worry at the start.
- I consider I was thrown in at the 'deep-end' either to swim or to drown.
- The fact that I had no training. It was a matter of 'doing it at the deep end'.
- I had to work out most things e, g. how to teach each subject by myself.
- Assistance from the Head. [lack of it presumably]

- I was ostracised by the Head and we were the only 2 teachers in the school. [this is the one quoted earlier as having listed 'The holidays' as the very satisfying aspect of the experience]

Problems with children loomed large as a less satisfactory aspect for some:

- Some of the children were spoilt, disobedient brats.
- I [a female] was not very enthusiastic about nose-wiping and toilet accidents amongst the young. Nor did I care for the two boys repeating Grade 7 so they could leave school at 14 - both of them were obviously sexually mature.
- During the whole year I had in my class (a child) who was mentally deficient and who sat at the back of the room making strange noises. I had to blow his nose for him. He was quite unteachable. I found him distracting at times but the children took him for granted. [this is the female quoted earlier as feeling that the Head could have helped her by taking this child into his class]
- I was not always good at discipline.
- Any of the children who misbehaved and the ones too young and immature to be there. I had two four year olds who were there to boost school numbers. I also had two very bad tempered boys - sulky as well. Also one girl had a cleft palate and was hard to understand ... And a boy who was 'tongued-tied'. One boy was too smart and finished his work too soon. I used to smack him for annoying the others.
- The secondary children's snide remarks (my brother was in the class).
- Coping with a couple of brothers [not hers] who came unwillingly to school.
- Trying to teach those boys who were unruly and disruptive. [this was the respondent who resigned]

Then came a variety of factors that caused some measure of dissatisfaction across a wide range of respondents. There were those who found it less than satisfying to have to share a classroom with the Head or other teachers:

- I think my lack of discipline came partly from always being under the observation of Miss G ... on the other side of the room. I was shy of doing things in front of her except when I was really confident of my knowledge (if I knew more than she did) e.g. Nature Science.
- Never really enjoyed having the Head watching me closely or when I was thrown in to manage the upper grades when he was busy.
- I probably learnt a lot (from sharing with another teacher) but would have preferred to have had a room of my own.
- Often 'itched' to have more responsibility and to do more direct teaching than having to work and give lessons in a room with other teachers.

It will be recalled that pay in relation to the work load and responsibility was a major plank in the Union's case for claiming exploitation and it might well have been expected that this would be a major cause of some dissatisfaction. However, this was not so and only a few respondents mentioned it in this section:

- Lack of pocket money but I rectified this by employment in the wheat yards, hay sowing and odd jobs around properties and some coaching for students from colleges.
- The little pay I received for filling what I believed was a responsible position.

Others felt aggrieved to some degree by what they saw as excessive additional duties:

- Being on yard duty for most of recess and lunch periods.
- Problems when the Head Teacher had a 'headache' (we were in a wine growing district) and left me with the entire school until late morning.
- I didn't enjoy the odd jobs and the duplicating very much.

A less satisfactory aspect for some was the lack of equipment and facilities :

- The relatively poor and sparse equipment and apparatus for teaching science.
- Taught in a porch - on a concrete floor, very cold and draughty in winter.

Some were irritated by the parents and townspeople:

- The inquisitiveness of the townspeople. The strict conformity of the church congregation I felt obliged to join.
- Knowing that in a small community everyone knew all about you.
- I was somewhat disturbed by the dishonesty of the occasional parent who explained absences as illness but, in a small community, it soon transpired that they had been away shopping ... I was so immature I could not shrug it off. I couldn't cope with 'difficult' parents.

A few had quite serious personal problems:

- Trying to cope with HM [his unwanted attentions].
- I didn't know enough about my physical well-being to keep myself in a fit state condition. My mother had done all that for me. I made mistakes - I had extremely bad chilblains in winter and I couldn't keep all the body functions regular - things which interfered in a number of ways with my teaching. Nobody appeared to notice. [female aged 18.9]
- Having to meet new people and settle into a new environment.
- I did not like the conditions under which I boarded. The young woman who shared my room and I had not much in common and I was not used to sharing with a stranger.

Others found certain aspects of teaching hard to accept:

- I became critical of the more formal teaching I saw in most primary classes in comparison with

one of the Grade 3 teachers who enjoyed children and taught creatively.

- Class control - the regimentation that existed in those days - the 'system'.

The 'system' also required junior teachers to meet its needs and this too was an upsetting factor for some:

- Being moved from one location to another after a few months. I was very happy in my first appointment and took longer to settle down in my second.

One recollection appears to sum up the dissatisfaction factors;

- Hard to say - some loneliness - a recognition of scholastic limits that I had not herefore experienced - the need to change boarding houses - I may have thought the Head Teacher watched very closely (perhaps with good reason).

The unsatisfactory aspects

Almost 60% of the respondents left the space blank, presumably because they recalled nothing unsatisfactory. A few emphasized the point by such comments as:

- Don't recall anything about the junior teacher situation I could call unsatisfactory.
- Only on looking back would I name a few aspects that could be considered unsatisfactory.

Not surprisingly the things regarded as unsatisfactory were very similar to those listed in the less satisfactory section and a few actually repeated or re-emphasized their most unsatisfactory experience. The female who had 'unwelcome and uninvited attentions' from her Headmaster noted this again. The one who was unprepared for teaching sewing again recalled her feelings when presented with a pattern and a demand for a dress by 'one girl (taller than I was)' and the one who had found taking singing with the upper grades less than satisfactory recalled:

- Again the upper school lesson. I still remember the dread ... I was always relieved when it was over.

The tone of the recollections in this section was generally sharper than in the previous one. Lack of preparedness for teaching and for dealing with children featured prominently. Some expressed this in such brief terms as 'classroom discipline', 'not knowing any child psychology' while others gave more details of what they recalled as unsatisfactory:

- I was really teaching blind...
- You really 'sank' or 'swam' and luckily I managed to control the classes - but how?
- I was dissatisfied with my performance as a teacher. In retrospect this performance has for a long time seemed to be quite poor.

Allied with this was the feeling of lack of guidance which one respondent summed up very clearly:

- There should have been more guidance. The job of teaching Years 1-3 in one class is very demanding. A skilled teacher needs very good organizational abilities to do it satisfactorily. It

was just impossible for a raw recruit to do it adequately. It should never have been asked of a young inexperienced teacher.

Some recalled the unsatisfactory nature of their placement away from family and friends or simply from any form of entertainment:

- Not being able to travel home easily. Petrol was rationed.
- Being away from home and feeling terribly homesick.
- Lack of transport to Adelaide was initially unsatisfactory - however, I made new friends.

The one whose Head 'ostracized' him and who had found the holidays as the only very satisfactory thing about his time as a junior teacher re-emphasized his loneliness:

- The boredom of the town - How did I stick it?

The rest ranged over a number of aspects involved personal feelings:

- Being in my home town where the children and parents knew me too well.
- Losing the study habit.
- The first time I had to smack with a ruler a couple of boys. I always hit on the legs. The Head used to cane and I am amazed that I was told to hit anyone for misbehaving.
- Seeing (corporal) punishment being meted out for what I considered trivial misdemeanours.
- Most unsatisfactory - the hidebound 'Regulations' of the E.D. e.g. I applied for the £5 annual travelling allowance but [was informed] 'as the distance in a direct line from M... to L... is only 8 miles and 45 chains, the allowance cannot be paid. The required distance is 10 miles.' I couldn't ride my motor bike 'as the crow flies'. However, I was given a regular issue of petrol ration tickets - more than enough to cover the distance.

Perhaps the two most unusual cases were those who found that the unsatisfactory nature of the junior teacher system lay not in their own bad experiences, but in the fact that they had had better than normal experiences:

- It was unsatisfactory (for the whole system) that others did not enjoy the same good conditions (as I did).
- The fact that my situation was so much better than that of my fellow students who had gone to much different situations as junior teachers.

While it is clear that the satisfying aspects of junior teaching outweighed the unsatisfactory aspects, the memoirs went on to explore the question further by asking for details about a number of areas where junior teachers might have been expected to encounter difficulties.

Difficulties faced

The follow-up question to the satisfaction factors related more specifically to any difficulties encountered by the respondents in relating to the children, to other teachers and to the community in general. They were also asked to explain how they coped with any such problems. A major point made to the Inquiry by the S.A. Public Schools Committees Association was that the junior teacher system was unfair to the appointee, to the children he or she taught, to the other teachers and to the parents. Similar assertions by the Union, both in the publicity leading up to the Inquiry and in the evidence presented, suggested that junior teachers were likely to face difficulties in their dealings with various groups of people. The cartoon of 1943 showed a junior teacher unable to discipline an unruly class and at the Inquiry it was suggested that no-one would want a son or daughter taught for 12 months by an untrained young person straight from high school. Taking into account the evidence relating to the heavy work loads, the responsibility, the limited supervision possible, the lack of knowledge of educational psychology or of proper ways to treat and teach children, the scope for emotional harm to both the junior teacher and the pupils and the general concerns about lack of money and the likelihood of poor boarding conditions, it could be assumed that junior teachers were likely to have to face many difficulties.

However, responses to the question of difficulties shows a rather different picture to the very negative one presented to the Inquiry. Almost 50% of all respondents indicated that they recalled no difficulties or were unaware of any at the time. About a third of them left the space blank or simply wrote 'no', 'none", 'nil', 'got on well' or 'all O.K.'. The rest expanded on why they believed that they had not encountered any great problems with the children, other teachers or the townspeople:

- No trouble with the children. I'm tall and have a strong voice but mainly I loved children.
- No difficulties - good Head - good children.
- No problems because people were pleased to have their children taught (& the junior teacher idea had been in vogue for years) and the parents were 100% behind the school.
- I was well received and had no problems except to make sure my kids did well in the weekly exam to avoid getting the cane (from HT) for errors.
- Apart from being compared to other junior teachers (and not always to my detriment) there were no problems.
- Townspeople friendly - perhaps because I was a country girl too.
- As a country girl who lived only six miles away I could relate easily to the children and they gave no problems.

A number who were at home and teaching at a school where they were known believed that this had helped them to avoid difficulties. A few simply put 'at home' while others went into greater detail:

- No problems. I was in my home town. Perhaps pretty inexperienced but tried pretty hard. I knew all the parents and the local community. The Head's daughter was in my class as was the daughter of my local cricket captain.
- I knew all the children and the older ones had had started school when I was a primary pupil ... They seemed to accept me as a teacher.
- Many of the older children had older family members who had been with me at high school but I had been Head Prefect so had (perhaps) earned their respect.

Some indicated that while they had had no difficulties, being in one's home town had potential for trouble and that they had avoided it by being sensitive to this:

- I (a female) went about with students at the weekends but felt that as a teacher I should behave in a more responsible and mature fashion. The Head prefect (male) and I went to dances in nearby towns, [but] never spoke at school, very discreet.
- I was teaching my brother in one class. I didn't find it a bother but originally some of the students wondered how his sister would treat him. (Afterwards some told me they thought I was harder on him than I was on them).

The other 50% did have problems, some of which were of a minor nature and some were quite serious and included a number raised before the Inquiry. Unlike so many of those who had no difficulties, these respondents did have something to write about and most of them fleshed out their answers. Almost a quarter of these problems related to dealing with children and it is easy to see from them why lack of training and understanding of child psychology were seen by expert witnesses at the Inquiry as problematic for junior teachers:

- Main problem was having the Head's son in my group. He was a spoilt child!
- One or two incidents of some senior grade [upper primary] children being impudent - trying me out/on outside of school. I didn't know how to handle this so discussed it with the HT who spoke to them. End of problem.
- The upper children, at least some of them, were arrogant. I ignored them.
- A few children were difficult for me to discipline. I resorted to keeping them in. On the whole I managed.
- The main difficulty was in maintaining discipline because of room sharing. I tried to conduct lessons out of doors but these were often disruptive. Nature 'rambles' were particular nightmares. [this male resigned before the end of the year]
- I had some difficulties in relating to young children but in retrospect, these worried me little.

Others had to deal with very difficult children or children with learning problems:

- With two boys in and out of reformatory.
- Trying to teach a little boy in Grade 2 who had a speech impediment. It was difficult to teach

him to read or spell because he could not make the letter sounds. I gave him extra time.

Several in secondary schools emphasised the problems inherent in teaching students close to their own age:

- My biggest problem was with the students in the Leaving class. One girl was a year older than me, one boy the same age, one a little younger. However, I seemed to be accepted after the initial strangeness wore off. [male aged 17.0]
- I think my difficulties were common to most secondary junior teachers. We were 'fair game' to the pranksters and there were some days when I would leave school despondent after what I felt was a poor teaching day. [female aged 17.2]
- The students (some as old & even older than I) seemed loathe to accept me as did the staff. I was caught in between. [male aged 17.2]

One other recalled a similar problem as he tried to combine the role of trainee and teacher:

- It was difficult at times being in the middle - not a student - not a teacher.

Only a few found difficulties only with other staff:

- I think I may have found the staffroom at lunch time difficult ... I was fairly immature on a very mature staff. [one younger teacher invited her to share lunch]
- I was not liked by the other three teachers - regarded as juvenile and arrogant. I did not feel mature enough to have such responsibility in my hands. I was good friends with certain Leaving boys. Being the State's greatest junior sprinter of all time, I was conceited. [male aged 18.2]

Two female junior teachers were not as discreet as the one mentioned earlier as successfully carrying on a friendship with a Head Prefect and they fell foul of their Senior Mistress:

- The Senior Mistress reprimanded us two female junior teachers for accepting a car ride to school with a senior male student (about our age, I presume). He used to deliver milk before school so was allowed to drive his father's car to school so he wouldn't be late.

Some respondents recalled that their greatest difficulty was with the townspeople:

- Living in a small town reminded me of a specimen under a microscope. I felt I was always under close scrutiny and learned very quickly to guard my tongue and actions as befitted a teacher. It was part of the process of growing up I expect.
- Townspeople were mostly related - all worked for the Salt Co. Except for the Engineer and the Postmistress life would have been hard. Townspeople thought I was a trained teacher and treated me distantly.
- My first landlady wanted my mother's written jurisdiction over me - our family was not that sort of family, so I shifted.
- The people were very kind but they were narrow-minded in many ways. Everyone knew

everyone else's business ... I was regarded as different as I was from the city but I was horribly innocent and unsophisticated.

- But socially my biggest problem was coping with the community's love of gossip. My landlady accused me of not telling her everything! ... being isolated on a farm I expect it was understandable. She hated me 'always having my nose in a book'.
- There were few young people in the town - practically all the young men were away at the war, so found entertainment scarce.
- Luckily I could spend some weekends [away from the town and very poor boarding conditions] on a farm. But I had to put up with kids, or grown-ups, most of whom I couldn't understand – a rural community. [but not Barossa Valley]
- My main difficulty was becoming used to German customs and way of speaking and pronouncing names. It was a quiet German village then, mainly people of German origin.
- Because of my name I think the Department thought I was of German descent and therefore placed me in a German community during World War 2. I did not let on being of English background.
- My accent [he did not say what it was but there is a hint that he was very well spoken] puzzled many of the locals but since I wasn't bad at sport, they more or less forgave me.

A few had very individual problems. The female noted earlier as finding the attentions of her Head unwelcome, experienced similar difficulties elsewhere:

- The unwelcome attentions of a male parent, but this harassment was avoided by keeping my distance from him.

A male had a problem with the Inspector:

- I had difficulty pleasing the Inspector who treated me as an inferior person. I can remember being soundly reprimanded by him for saying 'Cheerio' as he left the school late one afternoon.

Only one commented on what might well have been regarded as the inherent difficulty in trying to combine the role of trainee and teacher;

- It was difficult at times being in the middle - not a student - not a teacher.

Since half of the respondents reported facing situations that caused them some difficulties, it is useful to explore further the question of whether the system was fair to the trainees and whether it was in their interests. Question 4 asked for recollections of how they were advantaged or disadvantaged by the experience and how they felt they fared at the Teachers College after having tried teaching.

Helped or disadvantaged by being a junior teacher?

It would be reasonable to expect little help and a great deal of disadvantage from a system that was not

considered to be in the interests of those required to be involved in it. However, some 92% of the respondents recalled being helped in some way by being a junior teacher. As early as September, 1942, Dr Fenner had defended the junior teacher system on the grounds that it assisted the young people to discover whether they had 'the faculty and liking for teaching'. In his evidence to the Inquiry in 1944, he defended it on the same grounds and added that he favoured the system because it assisted students to understand the lectures later on at the Teachers' College. The negative reaction of the Union and other witnesses has been well documented. Respondents, however, tended to support both of Fenner's contentions.

The advantaged

Respondents were asked to give details of any way their time as a junior teacher had helped them. A large number believed that it had helped to confirm that teaching was the career for them and most were prepared to explain why and to list some of the benefits that they believed it had given them:

- Sure - it confirmed my ambition to be a teacher.
- It gave me the desire to go on and train as a teacher.
- I found I was really interested in being a teacher and I had some practical knowledge of what was involved.
- Yes - I knew I could teach and wanted to - I was more mature. I expected as a teacher to work hard and to prepare work.
- Yes - gained confidence in front of a class and in my ability to cope on my own as a teacher and as a person.
- Yes - I knew little about teaching and what it entailed and I learnt quite a bit through the experience.
- I guess it was a good way of sorting out thoughts as to whether teaching was for you or not because if you didn't enjoy standing in front of a class, you certainly wouldn't later when you had gone through College.

While a number did not mention any direct whetting of their interest in teaching, it is clear enough that the advantages of the year had met their expectations or needs as regards a career:

- Yes - because I had some real experience in the classroom situation and the attitude and behaviour of children.
- The experience in a primary school with younger children than I'd generally associated with.
- Confidence ... I felt I could be on a friendly footing with the class without being 'overfamiliar'.
- Yes I was now prepared to settle into the course I had chosen.

At least one, while agreeing that the system was a useful career introduction, had some reservations about the time it had involved:

- Confirmed that teaching was what I wanted to do but three months as a junior teacher would have done equally as well.

The question of help in understanding lectures at tertiary level received sound support too. A third of the respondents mentioned details of how the experience as a junior teacher had assisted them with the theory they encountered at the College:

- Lectures on methodology, psychology and such were more meaningful because I could relate to experiences in the classroom.
- I could understand how the methodologies and skills could greatly improve my teaching abilities (Being a junior teacher had made me aware of my insufficiencies).
- Method, and to a degree, psychology lectures had meaning because of the help I'd been given by the Head and because of my association with children's progress.
- Some lectures in the various teaching subjects had more meaning because we'd 'been there'.

A large number, too, took this opportunity to mention the value of the junior teaching experience as a prelude to the practical teaching required at the College. This is particularly interesting in the light of the Union's disparagement of the likelihood of junior teachers learning much about teaching, an aspect perhaps best illustrated in the appendment on the 1943 cartoon "You Can Lead a Horse to Water...!" Some respondents most certainly seem to have learnt about teaching through being led into it as junior teachers:

- Yes - confidence in the classroom.
- Immensely. I knew what teaching was about. I knew the specific psychological problems of some children and appreciated this.
- During College years I felt it was evident that the junior teacher experience had been an advantage. I had learnt to discipline children. I understood more about the difficulties they experience.
- I had learnt many of the things young teachers have to learn and atone for during their first permanent appointments – discipline, control of mannerisms, lucidity of expression, questioning etc. etc.
- When it came to lessons at the Dem School I was completely (?) at ease in front of a class which allowed me to think on my feet or to be better prepared.
- My training as a junior teacher both in lesson preparation and teaching practice was invaluable. Most of the other students (in the A course) had come straight from school. At my first 'crit' lesson at Sturt St. I really excelled - Headmaster and our lecturer made a real fuss over me. [this respondent also recalled that she and one other junior teacher jointly took over a class at Sturt St. when the Dem teacher went down with measles]

A few recalled that the true benefits of the junior teacher experience often came to light after College:

- Not in Teachers College - afterwards yes - when I went out teaching I had confidence in my own ability.
- My year as a junior teacher was a valuable one which influenced me in ways that would not appear for many years.
- The advantages were more evident after the first appointment ... there was no hidden agenda about teaching - an apprenticeship had already been served and the minutiae of teaching a class already something under control.

A smaller number recalled that an advantage of junior teaching lay in the opportunity for personal development. This has been addressed above in relation to confidence but there were other factors too:

- Gave me time to mature so that I went to the Teachers College at a more appropriate age than I would have done otherwise.

Dr Fenner had also contended that the system was useful in that it allowed the Department to discover whether those selected as junior teachers were capable of becoming good teachers. As all except one of these respondents did continue on to the Teachers College, the memoirs give little help in testing the likelihood of this being correct. The one male who resigned did so largely because of difficulties he experienced in disciplining older primary boys. Whether this was entirely his own decision or whether the Department had a hand in it remains a mystery. However, three other cases do throw a little light on Departmental approaches to the futures of junior teachers. One female put into a secondary school for Departmental staffing purposes - despite her wish to be an infant teacher - and where she was unsuccessful, was given a second year. She then got her chance to teach Grades 1 - 111 and successfully completed the year. Another female recalled that the Inspector had told her 'in a brutal manner' of her needing to repeat the year instead of going to the Teachers College. However, by what she termed 'some string pulling' she avoided this and did go to College. One other female who wanted to be a secondary teacher reported that the Inspector was so impressed by her teaching in the infant classes that he persuaded her to apply for the C course rather than try for secondary teaching.

The disadvantaged

From the material presented to the Inquiry it might be assumed that most respondents, including those who saw some advantage in the experience, should have been able to list some disadvantages too. This was not so, however. In reply to the question of what disadvantaged them in any way, 17% did not answer, including the one male who resigned and 51% indicated that they felt no disadvantage. Some even used this space to reinforce their view that the system had not disadvantaged them:

- No – couldn't see how it would have.

- No - rubbing shoulders with those secondary boys and girls had given me some insights into teaching.
- No - from discussions with other students in my year who had not had my advantages in their junior teacher year, I felt I had gained a lot of help.
- No - cannot say I was disadvantaged significantly in any way - I met lots of people and saw lots of country and hopefully did not get into too many bad teaching habits.

Some qualified their 'no' to a certain extent:

- No - but it took a year out of our lives - a year longer before we could earn a living wage, a year longer before we were free to marry or travel. One year as a JT, 4 years in College, 6 years bond - 11 years from school to feeling free - sometimes rankles.
- Don't believe I suffered any serious disadvantage. Possibly I was somewhat over confident and placed too much faith in apparently successful practice and practitioners at the expense of theory.
- Never - only the fact that my lecturer at College was really horrible to me. I'm sure she didn't like it that I got on so well with the HM at Sturt St. and I got on so well there because I was a junior teacher.

Several had interesting retrospective recollections on a similar theme:

- No - but it could have, had I become big headed and thought I knew all the answers.
- No - I didn't feel it disadvantaged me at all and perhaps being a more mature student at ATC helped. However, I feel now that a year of quite different work would have been just as good and not insulated me from the outside world and knowledge of how others coped - from something other than the narrow viewpoint of education.

Others did feel disadvantaged and their answers tend to reflect a number of the concerns raised at the Inquiry. Mr Westgarth had told the Inquiry that the Union believed that most candidates for teaching would have been better off with another year at school instead of the time spent as a junior teacher. Almost a third of those respondents who felt disadvantaged would have agreed with him about this:

- I could have gained a greater depth of knowledge in chosen subjects had I used the junior teacher year to study and this disadvantaged my confidence in teaching various subjects.
- In retrospect - would probably have sat for my Leaving a second time and added a few extra subjects. [this female had to enter the A course due to lack of Leaving subjects]
- It interrupted my educational development – didn't do a subject while a junior teacher.
- The disadvantage was that one got out of the study habit during that year and it was really wasted as far as furthering one's education went.
- Certainly got out of the study habit in that year and had difficulty in coping with University work.
- My personal disadvantage was that I had neglected to do any extra studies ... partly due to the

duties in teaching etc. which seemed excessive.

- I was academically oriented and ambitious. I felt disadvantaged at not having done a full Leaving Honours.
- I'd like to have done Leaving Honours then junior teaching as I'm always glad I had the experience.
- It was hard to get back to studies - some of which we couldn't see the point of e.g. what use was Ancient History when you were going to teach primary?

Another concern at the Inquiry was the poor pay junior teachers received but only a small number recalled it as a serious disadvantage:

- It was certainly not a financially rewarding year.
- It was a year in which my parents had to keep me because the pay was so low. I don't think that was right.

Slightly more raised another concern from the Inquiry - that of the likely harm that the untrained might do:

- I probably disadvantaged the students more as I later realized how inept I was and had no teaching aids.
- Only feeling guilty about having failed to extract the best from my classes.
- When I got to College I felt that junior teaching had been a waste of time and not fair to the children.
- Later horror at what I had done due to ignorance at the time.

Some tended to recall personal difficulties as of seemingly more significance;

- I was separated from my school friends, contemporaries and my family.
- It made me older than some of the other student teachers - I wanted to get out and 'get on with the job'.
- 1941 was a bit of a wasted year, doing what I was not suited for. [teaching in a secondary school - the one given a second year with infant classes]

Course of choice

While the major measure of the success would have to be whether the junior teachers were accepted into the Teachers College, one other factor of some significance is whether they entered the course of their choice. The great majority did, including those wanting to be secondary teachers who had to spend a year or more in the primary course before giving further indication of their academic ability through their College and University examination results. It will be recalled that the Inquiry had been told in no uncertain terms that the junior teacher system was in the interests of the Department. One

respondent at least felt that her year as a junior teacher had tended to preclude her from the course she wanted:

- No - I wanted to be a language teacher in secondary schools but this was impossible (No Leaving Honours) so settled for my second choice - Home Science.

A few others believed that they were put into a course they had not chosen in order to suit Departmental needs:

- No - I wanted Primary, but I suspect that there were not enough applications for the (then) Domestic Arts course, and I had passed that subject at Intermediate in 1940.
- No - (I wanted Infant) – Don't know why. It was war time and we seemed to be slotted in where numbers indicated - never regretted primary - ended up teaching Grades 1 –111 ... anyway.

One other was in a position to have the Departmental needs reviewed:

- Not at first. I had applied for Infant but was bitterly disappointed that I was appointed to Primary. My father spoke to Mr Allen [Superintendent of Primary Education] and a transfer was arranged.

There were some extreme cases where an injustice was deeply resented. This case from 1940 illustrates a situation about which there is no official detail or other information:

- No - ... the Department was desperate for teachers and although many in our course had Leaving Honours and a few had degree subjects, we were all put in the "A" course although we had applied for "B". We were told that all future students for "A" course would have such qualifications as the course was being upgraded - a blatant lie as the next lot came in mainly from Intermediate.

Another from 1941 illustrates the type of choices offered by the Department at this time:

- A few weeks before the end of the year I was devastated to receive a letter from the Department saying that, because I was still young, I should take another year as a junior teacher and enter the College the following year if I wanted to do the "B" course I had applied for. If this did not suit, I would enter the College as an "A" student (no mention here about being too young!) This meant I would not be able to do any University subjects and that I would go out at the beginning of 1943 as a Teacher-in-Charge of a Class V11 school. (I think due to the war there was a shortage in these schools - as I guess there was in all). [she opted to accept the A course to relieve her father of any further financial burden as well as to be with friends whose support she felt she needed for her first time in the city]

Another respondent from 1941 had quite the opposite experience:

- Not really! I put myself down for an A course and was put into B - just as well.

As has been seen, by 1942 the Department was actually nominating the junior teachers who had to go to the A course because of their lack of qualifications at Leaving level. Some respondents were in this

situation, willingly or unwillingly:

- Yes (A) - I guess, as I didn't have the qualifications for B [some Leaving subjects]
- No (A) - [but] I was not qualified for any other group. [Intermediate only]

Practical and academic advantages and disadvantages

Respondents were asked how they saw themselves at the Teachers College as regards practical teaching and academic progress compared with those who had not been junior teachers. About half of them felt that they could not make any valid comparisons because they had met few, if any, other than ex-junior teachers at the College. The only ones some met were private students and a typical response was:

- There were only two or three (private students) but they seemed just like us except we thought them rich while we were perpetually poor.

Others who apparently did know someone who had not been a junior teacher tended to feel that it made little difference:

- Didn't notice any difference - we were all College students learning to be teachers and the junior teacher year was history and no-one said much about it.

It has already been seen that a number of respondents regarded their practical experience as a considerable advantage and many of them used this section expand to on that theme. The recollections ranged from simple feelings of superiority to anyone who had not been a junior teacher to more detailed examples of what such advantages would have been:

- We benefited.
- Definitely had a headstart.
- I believe we had an edge.
- Felt superior - school leavers were regarded as juniors.
- I thought I was a better teacher than some of the direct entrants.
- More perspective regarding children's needs, difficulties.
- Don't know about the other junior teachers but I know that I felt quite at home in my practical teaching. From what I heard others say, I guessed that my experience must have made me feel more at ease.
- Had a distinct edge, particularly when it came to the 'crit' - the audience of our group, plus the Master of Method and College lecturers didn't faze us.
- Obvious advantage of experience and the opportunity to find out if we were suited to such a career. Some junior teachers didn't enter College.

However, a number believed that any advantage was of a rather transitory nature:

- Think I felt at the time that I had some advantage in the classroom - sometimes - but I doubt whether there was much permanent advantage.

- Believe the junior teacher experience people were ahead in the first year, but others 'caught up'.
- Enjoyed some initial advantage but it didn't last.

Others made the significant point that being a junior teacher in a small country school did little to prepare them to prepare them for facing up to a full class in a city (Demonstration) school:

- I guess we had some sort of advantage - but it was very different - Prac. teaching in College was VERY supervised and much more artificial.
- I soon accepted that ... (a) one teacher school and a straight class in a city school seemed 'streets apart'.
- It (any difference) seemed irrelevant - terrible pressure on practical teaching while at College - worst teaching experience ever in College.

Academic comparisons

There were much clearer distinctions in the area of academic comparisons than in that of practical teaching advantage. 26% recalled no difference and 11% were unable to comment, generally because they really knew very few, if any, other students who had not been junior teachers. 8% saw some advantage in having been junior teachers but 55% felt some distinct disadvantage. From a study of the Public Examination results of junior teachers in Chapter 8, it seemed that not a great many of the most academically gifted students entered teaching between the re-introduction of the junior teacher system and the time of the Inquiry. This is borne out by the comments of some respondents regarding those who did not have to go through the junior teacher system or who were able to go direct to University. More importantly, however, what becomes clear from the memoirs is that so many junior teachers who might have obtained better academic results simply did not get the opportunity to do so because of the system. Some respondents referred to those who did particularly well and who were able to win a Scholarship:

- I cannot make any comparisons as Scholarship winners were the only ones who went straight to College. There were very few as most went straight to University.
- Scholarship winners had no need to worry about University fees and generally preferred also not to join the teaching profession which was, (I think) regarded as inferior to other professions.

Others alluded to disadvantage by commenting on the benefits some direct entrants, including private students, had:

- Those from private schools or city government schools had better academic skills/Leaving Honours.
- Those who came from school, particularly those who had done Leaving Honours, seemed more assured.

- The direct entrants had spent a Leaving Honours year -they were academically ahead.
- Those from school found it easier to continue studying in the same way as at school.
- Private students seemed to continue academically without breaking from studies.

The number who felt significantly disadvantaged through having missed out on Leaving Honours adds weight to the Union's evidence to the Inquiry that trainees would be better off by doing a further year at school instead of junior teaching:

- I had not done Leaving Honours. The time would have been better spent on further studies. My first year at Uni was hard.
- I found First Year University very difficult - (a) because I had not studied Leaving Honours (b) because I was really away from formal study for a year.
- I was disadvantaged by not being able to do Leaving Honours. My last year at school [a country school] was spent studying 3 extra Leaving subjects. I guess I was too young to be a junior teacher then and my parents were not in a position to send me to a city high school.
- I felt inferior to those who had come in with a high distinction in the Leaving Honours and who were allowed to proceed straight to second year subjects or to Honours Degrees. I wonder if I might have done an Honours Degree if I had had four years at a city High School.
- A struggle - that Leaving Honours year prepared students better for Uni involvement. I coped with College and Art School subjects but my Uni subjects seemed way above my head. It was only after teaching for six years that I returned to Uni to get the subjects necessary for promotion. And surprised myself for doing so well ... You may not believe this but we "H" course students were considered 'second class' students and we were criticized by Dr Schulz, who thought that because we used our hands, we had no brains!

A number of respondents recalled the break from studies as causing them to compare poorly with those straight from school:

- Found it most difficult to resume (studies) after having a break as after all we were teenagers.
- There had been an interruption.
- 12 months away from study made it more difficult to pick up the thread.
- I had forgotten Maths, Physics, Chemistry and Latin and these sure were the subjects I wanted to pursue. It was quite a strain in my first year in College and I didn't work very well. Fortunately I think the other junior teachers were in the same boat.

Another had quite a different view:

- No disadvantage at all, as it gave me a year free from the pressure of studying and examinations after 4 years of secondary studies.

On the other hand, a few had little trouble with their studies and believed that there was little difference between junior teachers and direct entrants:

- I had no problems at all in getting back to study habits. I did hear some complain that the year away had upset their routines.
- I really don't think it made any difference. Most doing the "B" course did 2 University subjects (B.A.) as well as a full College course and at the end of the year the results seemed the same.

Those who had done a University subject during their junior teacher year seemed to find very little difference in comparison with any direct entrants and some of them were proud to recall their achievements:

- I had passed Maths 1 by correspondence during the junior teacher year: otherwise I found no advantage or disadvantage in this area.
- Having University Maths 1 to my name when I entered College was a big advantage. But it wasn't really attributable to junior teaching.
- I did not feel much difference here. I already had a B.A. subject and had not lost the habit of study.
- I can only speak for myself - 3rd credit in Maths 11 – couldn't find my name on the pass list - thought I'd failed.

Even passing in an important Intermediate subject was considered to be an advantage for one junior teacher

- My Maths 11 Intermediate pass made me one of the few matriculants (in the "C" course).

Others took a wider view of the question of comparisons:

- I don't think it helped or hindered our academic progress. As "A" classes we could not do University subjects which I felt was unfair. We did not have parents with as much push as to insist we go where we wanted to - or who didn't know some-one up top - or we could have been "B" course - from experience I know many who got into "B" course for these reasons.
- I did pass Hygiene which was terribly difficult and I had the best needlework book in the class and very good charts. I went well in singing and needlework. But really junior teaching wasn't a help as far as Psychology (too technical) and Method A & B were concerned. So I came out without qualifying for my Teacher's Certificate but I honestly think a clever teacher is not often a good teacher.
- One of my best friends was very successful academically (at Uni) when I was not - I passed all Teachers College work satisfactorily. This did not change my resolve to continue.

It would seem that the system was certainly not in the interests of some of these respondents, especially those who were required to leave school before getting a chance to do Leaving Honours. On balance however, it would have to be said that in this section of the memoirs, the advantages seem to outway the disadvantages.

Was the system in the interests of the children?

As has been seen, the S.A. Public Schools Committees Association had told the Inquiry that the junior teachers system was 'grossly unfair' to the children and their parents. The S.A. Teachers' Union had argued that while the system was unfair from the point of view of the junior teachers, it was 'worse' from that of the children taught. It went on to question whether any parent would want a son or daughter taught for 12 months by an untrained young person straight from school. On the strength of such evidence, the Inquiry had branded the system as not in the interests of the children taught by junior teachers. The misgivings of some respondents about the treatment their pupils received has been noted above from time to time but Question 5(b) invited a more explicit comment on whether they recalled the system being in the interests of the children by asking whether there was any recollection of children having suffered under it. A small number (4%) did not answer, but of those who did 37% believed that children had suffered, 21% were either not sure about it or qualified their answers in some significant way and 42% were quite sure that they had not.

Those who believed children did suffer under the system

There were a few who simply wrote 'yes' while others chose such general terms as 'Obviously in a situation like mine'or 'I'm sure some did'. The majority, however, were generally highly self-critical and their comments were very much in line with evidence put to the Inquiry regarding the inexperience and lack of training of junior teachers:

- Yes - they simply had untrained teachers.
- Yes - we were too young.
- ... there was a lot of trial and error with junior teachers.
- I don't think they could help but suffer. Even when we did a reasonable job, we had no training to deal with handicapped children having difficulties, let alone the normal children.
- We could not have been effective as teachers the children deserved. It was a matter of muddling through if you had not been trained for the job.
- They would have missed out on all the extra things taught at College to make work more interesting.
- Obviously we were young, inexperienced in life generally as well as in teaching skills.
- Yes - the limited experiences of junior teachers didn't enable him/her to provide any breadth to teaching - children at either end suffered. Discipline was more often at the end of a stick rather than personality.

Some of those teaching the early grades echoed the concern put to the Inquiry by the Class V1 Heads' Association:

- Young children need an expert introduction to schooling from a well-trained and experienced teacher.
- In my case I believe the children were very disadvantaged because I was not shown how to get my teaching points across to the smaller children. [this one recalled earlier that she got very little help from her Head who regarded her as a qualified teacher]
- They probably did. Certainly the Grade 1 & 11 children at W... School did not have the benefit of the desired educational methods for children of their age.

Those in secondary schools recall children experiencing the kind of disadvantages suggested to the Inquiry by the S.A. Public Schools Association:

- Probably, as they learnt to exploit our weaknesses, and spent time thinking up diversionary tactics in the classroom rather than actually learning the subjects being taught. [a female aged 17 - teaching History to Intermediate level]

A male junior teacher aged 16.9, with Leaving only, teaching Maths and Science to Second Year and Arithmetic to Leaving at the same school he had attended, recalled junior teaching drawbacks from two points of view:

- When I was at R... High School (1941-1944) all my Maths and Science was taught to me by junior teachers and I think that was pretty rough on the students. I was conscious that I was an untrained teacher and felt that the students would have benefited from a trained teacher.

Some recognized the point raised at the Inquiry by witnesses who were concerned that the untrained could know only current methods:

- I think a lot must have failed to reach their potential by being taught by those who knew only the way that had been taught.
- I feel the children were disadvantaged. They were taught by methods which we had been taught in our primary school. The methods were very restrictive.

One pointed out the significant role that the Head played in this:

- Probably quite a few suffered under the scheme, especially if the Head did not give oversight to the teaching in that area.

As with most questions, there were some who only appreciated this problem in retrospect:

- Yes - I believe so. Looking back, I don't think I fully realized my limitations as a teacher.
- At the time I did not consider that they did. In retrospect I wonder. The children I taught in Grade 111 (I taught Grades 1-111) had had three years with junior teachers. It would be interesting to know the thoughts of the teacher who had them for Grade 1V.

In sharp contrast, one respondent who believed children did not suffer because of the system partly justified his claim by saying 'At most it was only for one year of their school years.'

In view of such differing opinions, it is not surprising that more than a quarter were rather confused about the issue of whether the system was really unfair to children.

The unsure

Some found the question too difficult for any appropriate kind of answer. For one it was 'too wide in its scope' while another expanded on the same theme:

- The question is so broad that I have difficulty with it. School children 'suffer' because of a wide range of teacher abilities; agendas & personalities.

Others had related difficulties with it:

- More could have been done to develop children but it would be exaggerating to say they suffered.
- I can't qualify this. I've seen plenty of first year exit students who perform just as badly as I did, although I doubt whether they were required to teach as much beyond their academic competence as I was.

There some who felt that while children may have suffered, this was alleviated in some way. In certain cases it was seen as being due to the youth and enthusiasm of the junior teachers:

- Children missed a lot on professional skills. However, as young and enthusiastic teachers are liked by children, they didn't lose too much if those junior teachers were performing well. They often learnt in spite of us.
- While training I often thought they might have done when I realized what I could have taught them - but they didn't suffer from lack of enthusiasm.
- Probably in some cases but most junior teachers wanted to become teachers and worked hard to give value for the opportunity.
- They may have done but with the optimism of youth I felt successful.
- Some may have been where the junior teacher was not as conscientious as I was...

Again the role of the Head Teacher was seen as particularly important in this matter:

- Some may have been where the junior teacher was not ... supervised as I was. Some of the students in my College year had been literally 'thrown in at the deep end' and had to do whatever they were able to do.
- I guess some children suffered but that would have been the fault of the Head Teacher who did not give proper support.
- In some schools this may have happened. From my observation much depended on the tone of the school, the quality of the HT and the desire of the junior teacher to teach.
- Some may have suffered in other schools. But I am sure that the children in my school did not suffer because the Head Teacher was conscientious, watchful and helpful.

There were only a few references to the cause of the increased use of the untrained during this time when, as Dr Fenner had tried to explain to the Union in 1942, some were being given rather more than the 'light duties' he normally expected of junior teachers:

- My students would no doubt have been better served by a competent, fully trained teacher but there was a severe shortage of teachers during the war years.
- At the time not really but in hindsight it is logical to assume that a trained teacher would have been more useful. There was an extreme shortage of teachers in 1944 and a junior teacher would have been better than no-one.

No doubt it would be logical to assume too that despite the 'fuss' about junior teachers from their Union, many overworked Heads of schools would have been extremely grateful to be allocated one!

Those who believed children did not suffer under the system

Of the rather larger group who were sure that children did not suffer under the system, some simply wrote 'no' or 'not really' but most were prepared to say why they felt this way. One believed that junior teaching was no different in this respect to any other level of teaching:

- I didn't think children suffered at all. After all there are good and poor teachers even when trained, so I cannot see the difference.

The majority, however, were able to put forward what they considered as factual proof that students had not suffered and practically all of them called on personal experiences to justify such claims. Some recalled being told of their success as teachers:

- No - the qualified teacher who took over the class in the following year said the children were 'better taught' than other classes she had taken on from qualified teachers.
- I don't think so. I still meet a few students who are grown up people as old as I am and they seem to remember the fun we had together.
- Many have told that they felt no loss and maybe some gain from the close relationship we had.
- Children I taught have told me since that they were not aware that I had just left school.

Others put it down to themselves - their ages; their attitudes to the job and to their enthusiasm:

- No - I doubt they suffered much even though we were raw and inexperienced because we were all highly motivated and fond of children with a real goal to reach (a vocation?).
- I don't think so as I was close to the students in age and experience. I had a good relationship (with them).
- No - I feel I was especially conscientious and gave the children a lot of personal attention and encouragement.
- No - to most students I was still 'old'and authoritarian at 17 years of age so they were subject to the same discipline and were taught the same amount of subject matter. I was young enough to remember the errors I had made and was able to guide students from these (academically).

- Not really - they probably benefited by the extra teaching.
- When one is young, one is keen and in those days mostly only folk who wanted to be teachers were called to be junior teachers.

Some believed that the results they were able to obtain were an indication of no disadvantage to their pupils:

- Not really - I taught my small class to read and they learned their numbers and tables, probably better than children with less personal attention.
- No - not where I was - with so few children, it was possible to give them a great deal of individual attention and I wanted to do well.
- Not very much. My kids seemed to develop individual acceptance of responsibility - probably despite rather than because of me.

In a complete contrast to those quoted earlier as having drawn on their own experiences of being taught by junior teachers to show disadvantage in the system, a few more were able to demonstrate quite the opposite:

- Doubt it. I remember we had one when I was a pupil at .L... school. We idolized her at primary school.
- During my six years at M... High School (as a student) I feel sure that no student suffered under the scheme. Many as I did, benefited from some private tuition from the junior teachers in subjects we wanted to do.

Just a few were able to move away from their personal experiences and draw attention to the nature of the education system of the time as not allowing for very much disadvantage to children:

- I'm sure in most cases they did not suffer, but education then was very simple and uncomplicated and children got sound basic knowledge.
- No - mainly due to the fact that in those times there was a set Course of Instruction and set text books. Many children would have learnt despite their teachers.
- I think the checks and controls; i.e. adherence to a programme of work ensured that children did not suffer in general.

Taking into account the generally ambivalent nature of the replies of those who were unsure, it would seem that respondents were fairly evenly divided in their opinions of whether the system was unfair to the students as the Inquiry had found. What is not apparent is any strong feeling that it was 'grossly' so, as the S.A. Public Schools Association had described it.

Exploitation?

The general tenor case against the junior teacher system was that the Education Department, instead of looking to training young candidates for teaching, was in fact taking advantage of them, utilizing them for its own purposes, profiting from the low rate it paid them and manipulating them to suit its needs. The S.A. Public Schools Association told the Inquiry that it wanted the system abolished because of its exploitative nature. The evidence of the Association, the Union and various other witnesses was generally highly emotional and very damning of a system that extracted such a heavy load - the same expected of a trained teacher in most cases - from young, inexperienced young people and paid them a pittance for it.

What then did these respondents recall of such alleged exploitation? In Question 5(a) respondents were asked whether from their experiences they would say that junior teachers were exploited or the Education Department got young teachers on the cheap through the scheme. They were expected to illustrate their answer by referring to the conditions under which they worked and the rewards they got.

Of those who answered the question, 55% indicated that they believed that they had been exploited but almost a quarter of them decided this in retrospect, that is to say, only when they had had time to reflect on it some fifty years later. In reality then, it would seem that at the time, just over 40% would have recalled feeling some degree of exploitation. This is in sharp contrast to the respondents of the previous decade, 70% of whom believed they had been exploited during the depression and its aftermath. It is interesting that at the very time when the Union and the Department were involved in such a 'fuss' about the system, only a minority of those involved in it felt exploited in some way. Something of the reasons for this comes through in the responses of those who thought about it in retrospect:

- In hindsight yes - but I did not think so at the time. In those days our expectations were not high and we were not really used to having money anyway.
- On reflection I guess we were, although I didn't think so at the time. I was being paid (I don't remember how much) for doing what I really wanted to do.
- No doubt 23/4d a week was a cheap science teacher but I did not see it that way at the time. They were war years, the science teachers had enlisted.
- In retrospect I can <u>now</u> see that there was some degree of exploitation but I did not see it at the time. I was gratified to be in a system which would reward me in the end with a University degree, which I could not have obtained, it seemed to me, at the time by any other means.
- Teaching conditions were as expected. Knowing nothing, I was content. No doubt the Education Department did take advantage of cheap labour.

The remuneration was the main focus of those who recalled feeling exploited at the time:

- We certainly were teaching on the cheap as the pay was not adequate to cover all expenses, and was lower than the regular [teacher] rates (which were quite low anyway as we found when we left College).
- Junior teachers were exploited and for a small monetary reward - just enough to pay board. Parents (my own - working people) had to help out for clothes.
- Yes - it was a refined form of slave labour. I worked as a full-time teacher for the princely sum of 19/6d per week. I was allowed 5/- a week for board which cost me 22/6d a week. My parents had to support me. [a female]
- Most certainly. 22/6d a week didn't go far when I was travelling 140 miles per week and paying board at home. No working compensation either when I had a crash on the way home one night - so still had to go to work. [a male]
- I was paid £4-3-4 per fortnight and out of this I had to pay £3 board. Weekend work often helped pay for clothes and entertainment.
- Of course they were. I think I received £100 a year with more than half spent on board. Buying clothes was out of the question.

Only a few went on to link in the teaching conditions and the responsibilities:

- Yes - in a sense junior teachers were exploited because (in my experience) they were given teaching responsibilities and control of several classes, with inadequate monetary reward.
- As a relieving teacher yes. 57 Grade 3 boys fresh from the Infant Dem School with knowledge of student teachers was a tough assignment as was (my second appointment for the year) of 50+ Grade V boys [for] - £70 + boarding allowance.
- Yes I would say from my experience the Department got a teacher on the cheap. If I remember rightly I received 25/- per week and for that I had the responsibility for three classes for the whole year.

Some who felt exploited sought to qualify it by mentioning as well the benefits they enjoyed:

- Yes of course, in terms of remuneration but it fostered resourcefulness (I learnt how to attend the cinema and dances free - legitimately) It was a marvellous way of allowing a pre-service assessment as a teacher - pedagogically, socially, psychologically and physically. It may have ensured fewer misfits.
- I suppose there was a degree of exploitation but I don't believe I was overworked. I could just pay my board and have a little over.
- Yes we received a very small amount of money but I accepted it as the way of becoming a teacher.
- Yes I guess we were exploited in a way but I had a very enjoyable year, made a lot of friends, met my future wife and it was a wonderful experience.
- We were certainly given responsibilities of a normal teacher and yes the pay was only enough

for board but it was a good experience.

- Yes - low pay and difficulties in coping financially and getting satisfactory board at minimum cost. However, it was rewarding for me.

It will be recalled that Dr Fenner tried to defend the overloading of junior teachers by referring to the exigencies of wartime. A few respondents were somewhat mollified on that score, too, despite the pay:

- It was wartime therefore we contributed to the war effort by undertaking teaching in country areas. Pay was pitiful!
- Yes junior teachers were exploited by being expected to act as fully trained teachers for very little money. Yet again I was a junior teacher at the end of WW2, obviously the Department was short of teachers. So I suppose it was acceptable as a stop gap.

Others accepted exploitation as a way of life regardless of the problems imposed by the war:

- The Education Department certainly got teachers cheaply - I was not employed until March for that reason - the Head coped alone until then. I was conditioned not to expect much financial reward until trained (nurses, apprentices, men at war, were paid little).
- We did earn 'peanuts' of course but other people around us were not earning fortunes.
- On looking back, I think the Department did get the services of junior teachers cheaply, but it was really an apprenticeship.
- In retrospect the answer is 'yes' but it was the way things were then.
- I don't think it entered my head that I was exploited, as I accepted this as part of the system.
- I doubt that 'exploitation' was considered in 1942.

It is clear from the attitudes noted above why the Union believed that it was necessary to mount such a strong awareness campaign prior to putting its case to the Inquiry. Several rather wry responses however, well illustrate the understanding that some respondents had of the reality of the times:

- Very exploited in a tight situation of severe teacher shortage - poorly paid.
- Oh yes! In most cases the Department got another teacher on the cheap to help fill a vacancy. This seemed more important to them than any kind of training or development that occurred.
- Yes - Department did exploit junior teachers. One could hardly say we ever made any money out of it!!! It gave the Head Teacher relief of teaching Grades 1 & 11 and he could blame the junior teacher if the Grade 111's were not up to scratch.

Those who did not feel exploited

The reasons for not feeling exploited were very similar to the qualifications so many put on their distinct feelings of exploitation. Not surprisingly the question of the pay and conditions came up in

many of these cases just as it had with those who felt exploited but these respondents were able to rationalize such problems. Some accepted the conditions because it was wartime:

- I don't believe we were 'exploited'. Some of my colleagues were certainly called upon to undertake duties for which they were not prepared e.g. teaching Leaving Science and Maths but this was due to the massive resignations of teachers to join the Armed Forces.
- Honestly I did not think junior teachers were exploited. I looked on it as part of my teacher training programme. The monetary reward was sufficient. It was Wartime.
- It would be easy to think junior teachers were exploited but I do not believe this was the case in the pre-war and war years when the economy was not buoyant (to say the least). Expectations were not as high as today.

Many more related their acceptance of the conditions to entry into teaching and being paid for it:

- No - I didn't feel exploited. I simply accepted that it was the first step to becoming a qualified teacher. The money was the first I'd earned and paid my board and living expenses.
- As a junior teacher I never felt exploited ...The period was seen as an apprenticeship only - I was happy with the it paid my board and there were always a few shillings over. It seemed we had little and expected little.
- I don't think as a rule we felt exploited. It was the system and we had to put up with it. As for the money it was very little but no-one got much more. Qualified teachers (in 1945) were earning £6 a week and we got £2. I was a bit unlucky to strike a bad Head but didn't really feel exploited.

There were others who were grateful to have a job, to have got into teaching and to have the opportunity to try out their vocation

- I never felt exploited but privileged to have a job.
- No my year was the happiest of the three years of training. It confirmed my ideal of teaching rather than any other occupation.
- I wasn't. I got far more out of the year than the meagre salary that came my way. It gave me a chance to see if I was suited to my chosen career. It gave me a place in the Training College which I probably wouldn't have got any other way. Conditions were fine. I did not feel exploited but privileged.
- The year as a junior teacher gave many young people a chance to assess their potential as teachers.
- I would not say that the Education Department exploited junior teachers. I think it was an excellent opportunity for them and for us to find out whether teaching was really the job we were suited to.
- No - a chance to try out my vocation.
- For the junior teachers it was a wonderful way to learn the trade. Of course the Department got

young teachers on the cheap but this was an apprenticeship system.

- I was paid £40 per year. It was a form of apprenticeship (in our eyes) - in some places apprentices paid for their training.
- No - I felt honoured to be accepted as a trainee teacher. Pay was very little but sufficient to cover board and travel with a little pocket money. My clothes were provided by my parents otherwise I was proud to be independent and in no way felt exploited. Money was scarce for everyone just out of depression and into a war.

There were a number of unusual answers in this section. Two respondents believed that low pay was justified:

- I believe I was not exploited (although I worked a full teacher's week for approximately 30/- a week -& paid 20/- board) as my value as a teacher was probably low especially at the beginning of the year.
- No - I was a supernumerary - my salary (£80) was an additional cost. While I eased the Head's teaching load, he was organized to teach Grades 4 -7, as he did in previous and subsequent years.

Should the system have been abolished?

The Education Inquiry Committee explained its decision to recommend the abolition of the junior teacher in very specific terms. The chief objection was that children were 'practised on' by adolescents fresh from their own schooling whose experience was limited, whose emotional development was incomplete and who had no training for the job. Question 5(c) asked respondents whether they would say that abolition was a good or a bad thing for teacher training. They were encouraged to say why they felt that way and to comment on the adequacy of Demonstration Schools for training young teachers. The results were by no means clear cut. Some 8% did not answer at all and of the rest, almost equal numbers (about 40% in each case) were in favour of abolition as were against it. The remainder either gave reasons both for and against or simply admitted to being undecided.

Those in favour of abolition

There were a few who simply indicated that abolition was 'a good thing' or that they did not believe it was a 'good system' but most gave details of what they saw as the major failings of the system. Some reflected significant aspects raised during the Inquiry:

- It was a good move. There was too much responsibility placed on young people.
- Most of us were too young, and we had no training.

- Good thing, as young people were being asked to take on responsibilities beyond their age.
- Overall it had to be abolished as it came to be seen as sweated labour and expectations became too complex.
- I suppose it was a good thing for teacher training, since many junior teachers were little more than children themselves.
- In general a good thing. Junior teacher experience depended so much on staff (in schools) support - especially of the Heads.
- It was a good thing it was abolished. The Head Teachers had insufficient time to give it much attention.

Some related their feelings to personal experience:

- In my opinion abolition was 'a good thing'. Perhaps it was better for junior teachers in primary schools but the experience [of teaching Sciences to Leaving level] did little for me by way of education as a teacher. I doubt whether the system in general accomplished what was hoped for in this respect.
- My ambition was to be a secondary teacher but my junior teaching was done in a primary school, mainly with Grades 1-3.
- I don't believe that the junior teacher scheme was a good method of initial training. The Head Masters were, on the whole, not equipped to train young teachers and I believe some bad habits were ingrained during that year. I know how surprised I was during the following year to watch Dem lessons and compare it with my Head Teacher (a one teacher school) the previous year.

A number used the opportunity to comment on and compare what happened in Demonstration Schools to further justify the abolition of the junior teacher system:

- It was a good thing to abolish junior teachers as theory - together with Dem schools - are necessary to develop the whole person of teachers.
- Demonstration schools gave students the opportunity to 'try things out' with high quality teachers as 'sounding boards'. - I believe I was a much better teacher after my practical experience in Dem schools and therefore, it was beneficial to the children of the State that the junior teacher system was abolished. I believe a system providing both theory and practice is necessary for educating students to be teachers.

Those who believed abolition was a bad thing

Many recalled the personal benefits they got from the experience including the two Dr Fenner believed the system gave - of helping decide on teaching as a career and of assistance in understanding educational theory:

- Personally it was a very happy time for me. I was constantly guided by qualified staff [as a supernumerary in an area school] who had sufficient time to share their expertise. To gain

confidence before a class and practical experience in imparting knowledge was tremendously valuable. I think the scheme was excellent.

- In a way I think it was a shame that the scheme was abolished. I know how I benefited from the year – maybe because I had the right Head to train under.
- Junior teaching had much to offer a trainee teacher in confidence and self-esteem, and in many ways it was a real advantage in understanding the teaching methodology, lesson planning, psychology and classroom control taught by the "A" course lecturers at ATC and Dem School.
- For teacher training it was possibly a bad thing because the practical experience certainly gave a base for understanding the theory at College. It also gave confidence for the traumatic experience of teaching in front of a Dem teacher. At least it wasn't our first attempt.
- I thought the system had great merit. I am convinced that those who served a year with a good Head Teacher were able to cope with College subjects more easily than those with no junior teacher year.
- I think it was a bad thing as it really made us aware of what was ahead and people could 'bow out' before College if necessary.
- Gave an understanding as to wanting to continue or not yet being young enough to undertake something else before being bonded.
- My feeling is that junior teaching could still have been a very essential part of teacher training because the experience would add maturity to their ultimate work.

One supporter of the system suggested an improvement similar to Dr Fenner's final plea to the Inquiry:

- I think it would have been desirable to continue the junior teacher system but under closer supervision.

A respondent who became a teacher trainer had this comment to offer:

- From my experience as a College lecturer, I think it certainly separated the sheep from the goats! I think the quality of student potential dropped off with the scheme's end.

Here, too, were comparisons with Demonstration Schools:

- The junior teacher year was certainly better training than we got in Dem schools.
- The year ... helped in teacher training as there wasn't much time for work at Dem school.
- I feel that junior teaching was a far better training ground than Demonstration schools. Each day you learnt a little which you could put into practice for an extended period. In Dem schools, all lessons seemed artificial, and the period was too short.
- Dem school students tried out one's authority. I think ... one was much more sure of discipline as a junior teacher as there was more respect from students.

Those unsure about abolition

A few merely indicated that they could not decide but a number of others made some interesting and some decidedly insightful comments, especially on the failings of the system and on why it had to go:

- The junior teacher year gave young people a chance to mature before entering a tertiary institution. But teachers became aware of the need to uphold their status in the community and to insist upon adequate preparation for their profession and adequate payment. As a result the junior teacher system became an anachronism.
- I think the scheme was OK but it wasn't administered properly due mainly to the acute teacher shortage at the time. Should have taught part time and been more adequately supervised.

Some drew on personal experiences as they tried to present even-handed comments about the system:

- Hard to answer. I was lucky - many were not. The year helped me enormously to mature a little, but I still feel I had been protected by both the parents and the school until the end of the junior teacher year.
- I would like to have seen some aspects continued - some discarded. Overall I suppose it had to go (good for those on a big staff - not so good for those sharing a room in the back blocks).
- At the time it was abolished the scheme had a number of failings (e.g. exploitation) During my time [1940 - in a high school] it had a number of advantages (a) we were not bonded so we were able to try out our suitability for the profession in the knowledge that we could resign at any time without penalty (b) the advice available from senior teachers.
- My year was a valuable one that influenced me in ways which would not appear for many years. As it was atypical [he was a supernumerary in a technical high school] I cannot argue from it that the system should have been abolished when it was. If everyone had been treated as I was, the system might still exist.
- Only bad thing about junior teaching was the cheap labour aspect. I thoroughly enjoyed my two years as a junior teacher.
- Probably a bad thing for teacher training but a good thing for student education. A combination of demonstration lessons plus some prepared lesson notes with practical junior teaching may have been a better system.
- It certainly made me decide that I really did want to be a teacher [but] some girls had dreadful schools and were not helped much - too much was expected of them.

Others expressed their unsureness by comparing their experiences with those of others:

- I benefited much more from the experience of my junior teacher year than I did from any theory or practical teaching my three and a half years at ATC. I think the junior teacher experience was better for the junior teachers than for their pupils. However, I knew some junior teachers whose lives must have been hell.

Some of the unsure compared junior teaching with Demonstration schools:

- If a junior teacher was capable of teaching consistently well, the experience would have been more valuable than Dem school, where a 'show pony' only had to stay for a week, or a shy person not to come out of his shell in that time.
- I always felt uncomfortable in Dem school and felt that good actors were likely to get better reports than people who would make good teachers out in the real world.

There were several other cases in this category where the junior teaching experience appears not to have helped much:

- Can't say whether abolition was good or not. I only know that Dem schools left me in awe of the skilled teachers, and terrified me when it was my turn to give lessons in front of people.
- I really haven't got an opinion on this except that I found Dem school teaching to be very artificial and a terrifying experience.

Readiness for teaching

It is clear that the Inquiry did not consider that untrained young people straight from high school were ready to undertake the responsibilities that were being given to junior teachers. Question 1(c) asked respondents if they recalled feeling ready to take on the role immediately after leaving school themselves. The great majority - 77% - felt that at the time they were in fact ready for the task or that they had not even considered such a question then. The other 23% felt varying degrees of doubt about their readiness.

Those who felt ready

The answers of those who believed they were ready reveal a strong feeling that it was not appropriate at that time to question such things. Nor is there any evidence that these respondents were aware that the S.A. Teachers' Union was prepared to challenge Departmental orthodoxy on the behalf of junior teachers or indeed that a 'fuss' was being created about what they were being asked to do. Of the 15 respondents from 1943, when awareness of the junior teacher system's problems was at its height, 11 definitely felt ready to take on the job. Of the 16 respondents who answered it in 1942 when the Union's survey was done, 14 felt ready, although a number of them expressed some reservations. For many, readiness was associated with acceptance of the role because one did not question such things and/or because it was the way into teaching:

- Having been brought up at a time when I was told what to do (that is - not to question) it did not occur to me to wonder whether I was ready or not.
- I did not have any feelings about readiness - many other high school students from the same school were doing like-wise. This made it feel normal.

- The question did not arise - one accepted the role as normal. - In the ethos of the time I suppose the answer is yes. It was part of the total preparation and I entered into the role and spirit of the role with considerable enthusiasm.
- I accepted willingly as I believe most of us did, as at the time it was what was required. In that sense I was psychologically ready.
- Yes at the time it was a necessity to beginning my career.
- Yes - only because it was the first step to beginning my career.

Others felt that they were ready because at the time they were unaware of what being a junior teacher involved:

- Yes - I never realized how ignorant I was.
- I really had no idea what this involved. I suspect my family was more apprehensive than I was.
- Don't think I had any idea what it entailed although I came from a teaching family and two older sisters had done junior teaching.

Sheer confidence played a big part for several:

- Yes - I was very confident at 16!!
- Yes - I was 18.
- I felt no threat.

For others confidence was more firmly based. Some felt ready because of academic success or on account of their experiences with teaching or with the world outside of school:

- I was reasonably confident. I had been a top student in a small country school and going to teach in a smaller country High School was not intimidating for me.
- What gave me confidence was that I had been a Sunday School teacher for two years in the infant department so I knew I could handle it.
- Yes I was a fairly confident person in those days and I had already experienced handling and instructing younger children at my primary school.
- Yes - I had often helped the infant teacher in my senior years in primary school.
- I had left school and had had two years in the RAAF. I don't believe I was as reticent as I would have been had I gone straight from school.
- By teaching only 1st Year, it wasn't so nerve wracking as those students didn't know me when I was at the same school.

Of particular interest were the responses of those who actually did know the work of junior teachers and who, as a result, were prepared for it and not put off as might well have been expected in light of some of the detail presented to the Inquiry:

- I accepted the challenge fairly philosophically - my sister had preceded me in that position and had survived.
- Yes- during Leaving/Leaving Honours some of my teachers were junior teachers.

- Yes - because in each of my four years at High School I had been taught by junior teachers (These were the war years and teachers were in short supply) and felt that I could do as well, if not better, than they did.
- I had been brought up in a system of which junior teachers were a part and I thought I could do as well as any I had seen.
- Being in a class of eight students three of whom intended to train as teachers we became familiar with the expectations of junior teachers. No doubt being so young and ambitious, I expected it to be the role of the Headmaster to prepare me for the task ahead.

Others were also very ready to get on with the job and find out what it was about:

- I didn't feel any reluctance - I felt capable and confident to tackle it. It was going to be a chance to find out what teaching was like and whether it would be as fascinating job as I hoped it would.
- I had wanted to teach since I was 9 years old. This was the start. I doubt I was concerned about readiness.

There were those who were so excited that they recall not being otherwise than able to feel ready:

- Yes oh yes - To be earning 'your keep', starting your chosen career out in the 'big world' amongst a group of caring adults and at the same time knowing that you were not expected to know it all was great.
- I had only one desire as for an occupation and that was to be a secondary teacher; so I considered myself ready - of course I wasn't.

It would appear that that final comment was a reflection on the actuality of the experience. Others, who felt ready, recalled having doubts at the same time:

- Proud, exultant, diffident, uncertain about the immediate future but dreaming of the freedom and intellectual excitement of College and University.
- Yes but had doubts.
- Yes - but with major limitations.
- I had already worked for a year. I did rather wonder how I would know what to teach.

Those who did not feel ready

Concerns raised at the Inquiry are well illustrated in the recollections of those who did not feel ready to take up teaching. For some the problem lay simply in not being old enough:

- At 17? No.

For others it was the lack of training or preparation for what was to happen or how or for what they were to teach:

- No - I didn't know what it would be like.
- No - no idea of what was to be endured or faced by me.
- No - I really had little idea of teaching little children, having gone to a one-teacher school myself and had been taught largely by the older children during my early years.
- Not really - especially for a full teaching load (of science subjects).
- No - I was almost totally unaware of what a teacher was, remembering only impressions of certain teachers in city high schools - J.P. Giles of Unley High School and Boxer Ward of Adelaide High School - who seemed hardly humans to me. I suppose they were kind of role models and pretty inappropriate ones too, in the rural community I was sent to in 1945.
- No - had little or no idea of what to expect - learned the hard way at K.... High School.

A few recalled that such reservations lasted only a short time:

- Not really - but after a week I had no doubts or fears about being able to do the job.

Others who felt they were not ready for the job qualified their reservations in some way. There were those who knew there was no alternative:

- No - but because that was the way to become a teacher - the vocation I longed for - it was easy to accept the rules.
- No - but I had to do it.
- I felt quite unprepared for the role, but was willing to explore the path that was open to one.

Several were able to call on some thread of assistance:

- Not really - very trepidative and 'alone', yet eager to accept the challenge. My efforts as a teacher in backyard games of 'school' and observations of my teachers were my main helps - my only helps really.
- No ... I received some help from my aunt - an experienced teacher.
- I was not confident but I did feel I could fulfill the role. I already had some sound basic training in Scouts and Y.M.C.A. and as a House Captain at school where I was accepted as a leader. Due to the Wartime shortages I had taken on other adult responsibilities too.
- Not entirely but I had a little bit of experience. My country Head had a daughter teaching in the nearby Infant School and sent me over to 'help' in my last two years of school - after exams at the end of the year.

One recollection supported the claim made by the Union that the Department was encouraging school staffs to use propaganda to attract junior teachers:

- Don't think I knew what I wanted to do at the age of 16 but I knew my father could not afford to send me to University. My teachers practically insisted that I became a teacher.

A further insight into readiness is provided by Question 1(d) which asked respondents to recall their feelings as they left home to take up their appointments. As has been seen, the S.A. Public Schools

Committees Association had told the Inquiry that mothers did not like their children, especially girls, going away at an early age to take up the type of board available on such limited allowances. Junior teachers and their parents would have known what to expect if appointed to a school where they would have to board away from home and the evidence put to the Inquiry suggested that a number would not be ready for such a change of life style. Something of what respondents found in the way of boarding conditions has already been explored in earlier sections and this question is concerned only with how they felt as they left home to board and to begin teaching. Of the nine female respondents from 1942 who answered this question, four saw no problems:

- Excited
- I felt excitement that I was beginning a new phase in my life.
- This was what I had always wanted.
- I was happy as I'd been looking forward to the experience.

The others expressed concerns but there were also some qualifications:

- Very nervous.
- I was a bit nervous as it was the first time I had been away from home on my own. My mother came with me to the bus which was strange as I was fairly independent but I was glad she came.
- Quite excited - but also a bit dubious as I was a shy person.
- As this was my first occasion to leave home for any length of time there was a deal of trepidation but also a sense of adventure - this was the first step up the ladder.
- Worry about leaving home with a mother who believed she had a heart problem (later in life set this in perspective).

Of the males, three were quite happy:

- Excitement.
- Excitement at leaving home - the sense of entering a great adventure.
- Feeling of anticipation and excitement as this was to be my first sojourn in the country.

Of the other four, one found it 'challenging', two felt 'some apprehension', and the other 'Apprehension but with interest'.

The responses from 1943 were very similar with eight of the females mentioning 'excitement' or 'anticipation', a few adding 'trepidation' and only one indicating a measure of parental concern:

- Some apprehension but stepmother accompanied me and stayed the night.

One of the males recalled that while he had been encouraged to be independent and so saw the experience as an adventure, there was parental worry too:

- My parents were probably more concerned about my departure than I was because of the moral effect on me.

As with the females, there were several other males who simply wrote 'excitement' or 'anticipation'

but one explained how he felt more fully:

- I felt confident about the prospect, and happy to be taking the first step in the direction of my chosen career.

One male, however, recalled a rather disconcerting beginning:

- Left Adelaide station at 7 p.m.. Arrived at 10.30 p.m. No-one met me. Had to sleep in a room with a Railway porter who took me under his wing.

The responses from other years were not dissimilar and overall it can be said that while some respondents certainly had concerns about moving into their new life styles, for most of them, feelings of excitement and anticipation predominated. There is little evidence of any grave parental doubts about allowing their daughters, or indeed their sons, to set of for a new life in a country boarding house.

A wider view

Respondents were asked to make two assessments about themselves. As has been seen, Question 3 looked at the type of help and support that had been available to respondents from the Head and other staff and at whether there had been any assessment of the junior teacher period. The final part of it asked respondents to assess their own level of success or failure in the role of junior teacher. Question 6 on the other hand, required respondents to consider how they remembered the time as a junior teacher in terms of happiness, usefulness, bearableness or frustration. These two sections are useful as reviews of aspects covered in earlier sections and as general overviews of the significance of the junior teacher experience in the lives of these respondents.

Levels of success

TABLE 12.7 **Respondents' Assessment of Levels of Success**

	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	Total	%
Very Successful	2	1	3	2	1	2	11	12 %
Moderately Successful	10	13	13	5	4	6	51	56 %
Successful (Qualified)	3	4	2	8	2	-	19	21 %
Failure	1	1	1	-	-	1	4	4 %
No Response	4	-	1	1	-	-	6	7 %
Total	20	19	20	16	7	9	91	100 %

While the majority rated themselves as moderately successful, it appears that for a few, the categories were inadequate. Some were unable to accept that they had been 'very' or 'moderately' successful and so simply crossed out those words to simply leave 'successful'. Others replaced the words with 'quite'. Taking into account the three categories of successful, almost 90% of all respondents recalled having

achieved something worthwhile as a junior teacher. This contrasts sharply with the case against the junior teacher system and with the findings of the Inquiry that it was in neither the interests of the trainee nor children taught by him [/her]. These respondents were able to find a good deal of success in the system, not just for themselves but for the students and in some cases for their colleagues and for the communities in which they were located. Some of this success has already been noted in other sections but the importance of this section is that it gave free rein to the respondents to evaluate themselves in the light of whatever criteria they considered important.

A large number took advantage of the space provided to say why they had or had not ticked a particular box. These comments make it possible to identify the factors which made for high, moderate or low estimates of success, or in some cases, what caused a small percentage to refrain from rating themselves at all.

The very successful

Some had feedback from their superiors, their colleagues, the children and parents:

- All the feedback from both Inspector and Head was positive.
- The remainder of the staff often stated that without my help their loads would have been impossible. The Head often came in to watch me and gave me good feedback.
- Responses from children and parents when I left in 1943 to join the RAAF. Had a sense of achievement – don't ask me why.

Others were led to the conclusion by the results they obtained from their teaching:

- Children responded very well and seemed to learn with a certain amount of ease.
- I had been able to lead the children through the year's work successfully, (due in a great part to the Head's help) and each was able to be promoted on his/her own effort.
- I had proved to myself that I could teach! And this ensured that I could enter Adelaide Teachers College with more confidence than I could have without the junior teacher year.
- I realised that I could do what I wanted to do - to help the children learn what they had to learn.
- One of my four Leaving students gained 2nd credit in Leaving German, two passed and failed. There were no German speaking students amongst them. I felt I had every reason to be satisfied with my efforts.

A number had a general sense of having done well for a variety of reasons:

- I had coped with three changes - including being away from home entirely for the first time. No complaints from anybody. Children seemed to accept me as a friend as well as a teacher. Head Teacher commented favourably on various aspects of my work. I took part in local activities - church, airplane spotting etc.

- I was happy with the students. I felt I got on well with the children and their parents. I had a couple of difficult learners and I spent a lot of time with them and felt I'd helped them even though they didn't learn much.
- Because I achieved entry to the "C" course and had a good report from the Head Teacher and Inspector and had also passed my University subject.

Moderately successful

As can be seen from the Table, a combination of the moderately and qualified successful responses account for over half of all responses. These responses are generally very similar to those who believed that they had been very successful but overall the language tended to rather more temperate. Words like 'reasonably' and 'moderately' were sometimes used to qualify what, in reality, would seem to have been very good efforts on the part of these inexperienced, untrained young people.

There were those who were made aware of their success directly and indirectly:

- HM never criticised me adversely ... The DI's school report referred to 'The children are in good hands'.
- Parents of one child told me she had improved.

Not surprisingly a few saw their success in terms of the results for them:

- The outcome for me was entrance to the Teachers College so I must have had some success even though I personally doubted it.
- ... and I was promoted to the Teachers College after only one year as a junior teacher. Others had to do more before being accepted.

The majority however, gauged their success from dealings with their pupils and with parents:

- I felt successful. I had tried hard, the students had passed the yearly exams ... discipline had not been a problem.
- My twelve students, eight of whom were Greek, all passed Grade V quite well.
- Moderately successful - perhaps a bit more so. The children made satisfactory progress. On the whole we all got along well and happily, even in a friendly, even affectionate way. The children, and quite a lot of the parents, were sincerely sorry that I had to leave at the end of the year, which indicated some sort of success.
- Established rapport with children, some of whom I still know and who still respect me.
- The fact that I liked it there and I liked the children and I think they liked me. I had only been there two terms and they gave me a farewell afternoon tea on the last day. I was presented with a lovely mulga powder bowl which I still have (it would have been quite expensive then).
- During my time at High School, the stories we heard of junior teachers and their problems were legendary (having ink thrown on them was a classic). As I managed without serious discipline

problems and I was very confident of my subject matter and enjoyed the sporting activities, I felt I did fairly well.

- As I developed some teaching skills and observed progress in my section of the classroom, I really did feel by the end of the year that I was more a teacher than a student Even the exhibition of needlework on Visiting Day was quite commended.

Even the female respondent quoted earlier as having a very difficult Head, regarded her year as moderately successful:

- I felt that though I had frustrations with the Head, the other teachers made up for it and I got on very well with the children and had no troubles with discipline.

Two who felt moderately successful in the teaching role regretted lack of success in another aspect:

- ... I felt I had gained in my ability to relate to young children and to hold their interest. I came to realise that I should have continued with my studies instead of wasting my time swimming, hiking, dancing etc.
- No complaints. Only wish I could have devoted more time to study. Being young I enjoyed a good time.

One longer reflection on success gives a deeper insight into wartime conditions:

- Considering I had only recently been a student myself at the same school and was in charge of children I was related to in the Grade 1V class, I feel I was accepted by parents and teachers ... It amazes me to think that I was so well accepted. I guess it was the time we lived in. The war was still on. I had lost a brother in October, 1943, in the war and every one was hanging on and putting their full priorities into the war effort and into making a living.

Several others felt that they had to add 'only' to their 'moderately successful' assessment:

- I guess I sensed what assessment my headmaster and his wife had made of my work. To be a good teacher one needs to be a naturally organized person and I had not been well disciplined at home.
- Only moderately as I felt that the Head and staff were rather pleased to see me leave ... looking back after many years of teaching, I believe I was more successful than I gave myself credit for at the time.[this respondent was quoted earlier as feeling that the students and staff were loathe to accept him and that the Head treated him as a student while giving him teacher responsibilities]

Those who qualified their success

The reasons some gave for not having rated themselves higher tend to support criticisms of the scheme while at the same time highlighting the good things about it:

- I don't think I saw myself as having been very successful although I was not told otherwise and

felt I had done as good a job as the junior teacher before me but I was conscious that I was an untrained teacher and felt that the students would have benefited from a trained one.

- Yes I think I was fairly successful, although looking back I shudder sometimes at the thought of some of my 'teaching ways'.
- Children made progress but clearly should have been in the care of a trained teacher. Times were tough in those days.
- Miss G... told me I had been very successful, that I was a born teacher but I knew of many things I could have done better and differently - particularly that troublesome discipline. I knew that there were times when I could have been more understanding of children.
- I'd say moderately as I felt I'd been able to teach the children adequately ... [but] I would not say it is easy to assess one's own work, especially when 'raw' and lacking in experience.
- I hadn't been eaten alive by the pupils yet I knew I had an awful lot to learn.
- I knew it was the job I wanted to do. I enjoyed working with the children. The year confirmed this but I was aware of how much I had to learn.

Several others found that none of the three 'success' categories in the questionnaire allowed them the scope they needed for this assessment and so they put in their own:

- If I may add another description, I saw myself as 'quite successful'.
- In all modesty I felt I had been perfectly successful, as I enjoyed it and gave it all I could and the children progressed well.
- Just 'successful'. In the assessment stakes, my classes' performance, student attitudes etc. seemed to compare well. Parent comment was always encouraging.
- I guess I had been fairly successful ... The HM seemed satisfied as did the Inspector. Maybe their expectations of a junior teacher were not high.
- I saw myself as a successful junior teacher ready for training.

Then there were those at pains to point out that while by no means over successful, they were certainly not failures either:

- ...I saw myself as 'quite successful' - certainly not a failure. Comparisons were often, made in my presence with an unfortunate experience from the year before. I also measure success from my acceptance, my own feelings of achievement and certainly from the farewell at the end of the year.
- I was happy enough with my work and had no reason to feel I'd failed. Certainly no-one had ever complained about the work I had done.

The failures

As the Table shows, there were very few who felt that they had failed absolutely. Several ticked both

'moderately successful' and 'failure' and explained this in various ways:

- A failure on some days!
- I got little support and I never knew if I was coping. At times I knew I wasn't. [this was the one who felt 'ostracized' by his Head and very lonely and isolated]
- Somewhere in between. I feel this very hard to answer except in relation to the children. I was successful with some and thought I had encouraged and even inspired them. But I saw myself as a failure with disruptive boys (the girls were more co-operative and a pleasure to teach. [this was the male who resigned]

Others marked themselves as failures only but for several even this cannot be seen to be totally so:

- A failure, because of disciplinary inadequacy, and a lack of opportunity to teach, which I took as an indication of lack of confidence in my ability to do so. Also I felt I was not in the right environment. [this was in her first appointment in a secondary school - in her second year in a primary school she regarded herself as moderately successful]
- The only objective measure were the P.E.B. results (about two-thirds passed I think) Oddly enough I think I was reasonably popular with most of the kids, who had few academic ambitions in any case (I continued to see a number of them for years afterwards). But class-room management was so obviously loose that I couldn't value my performance very highly.
- The Inspector's verdict that I was immature and should have a second year as a junior teacher. Until then I'd been reasonably successful in my own opinion. (He was right about immaturity but a bit brutal in telling me about it) - string-pulling avoided this.

Only one made a clear case of failure but even he had a slight excuse, and in any case he got into College in the following year:

- I felt I had been a failure. I simply could not relate to these students only two to four years my junior. Much of my troubles came from myself as the hero of running track and co-dux of Leaving Honours English. However, I simply did not have the humility or maturity to relate well. [this the one who was disliked by staff whom he felt regarded him as 'arrogant'.]

Finally there were those who could not make an assessment of their time and were able to explain why:

- We were not given to self-appraisal in those days. I did the job to the best of my ability. The parents of the children seemed satisfied with their progression.
- I don't think I made any such judgement. I had enjoyed the year. The Head seemed happy. The children liked me, as did the community. The concept of 'success' or not did not occur to me.

A further measure of success can be found in the responses to Question 6 which asked respondents to recall how they remembered the experience. They could express this by ticking a category from the four listed on the table below or they could choose some other appropriate label. They were not confined to one response and many ticked two of the categories. This is best illustrated by the two sets

of figures in the following table. The first figure shows the number who marked more than one category and the figure in brackets indicates the number - if any - who marked that category only.

TABLE 12.8 **How Respondents Remembered the Junior Teachership**

	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	Total	%
Happy generally	17(7)	16(4)	11(6)	13(8)	6(4)	8(3)	71(32)	53 %(84 %)
Frustrating	-	1(-)	4(1)	1(-)	1(-)	2(-)	9(1)	7 %(3 %)
Useful	13(3)	11(-)	10(-)	7(1)	2(-)	6(-)	49(4)	36 %(10 %)
Just bearable	-	-	1(-)	2(1)	-	-	3(1)	2 %(3 %)
Other	-	-	1(-)	2(-)	-	-	3(-)	2 % (-)

One respondent took a very wide view:

- It was a combination of all your adjectives, a variable time with good highs and deep lows, but after so many years, I can say it was a worthwhile experience for me - if not for my students.

As can be seen from the Table, however, most respondents were able to choose one or two categories that best suited their particular recollections of the time. Most remembered a happy time generally or a useful time with a large number ticking both answers. Most explained why they felt that way and the responses clearly show what made for a happy and useful junior teachership for the majority and what frustrated and made it just bearable for a very small number.

The 'generally happy' recollections

The majority of happy recollections were connected with having begun teaching, enjoying teaching, being successful at it, and realizing that the right career choice had been made:

- I found that I had an aptitude for teaching.
- I liked the Head Teacher and the children and it re-affirmed that I wanted to be a teacher and not a clerk.
- I also wanted even more to be a 'real' teacher.
- I enjoyed my teaching experience with gratitude to my very helpful Head Teacher. I was doing something I always wanted to do. The experience certainly helped my two years in College.
- I loved teaching. Everybody was happy in their little school. I was a bit of a bully but on the whole it was mainly a love affair. I learned more in that year than I have since (in one year).
- I enjoyed teaching and felt that I was generally respected as a teacher.
- I was doing a job I liked. I enjoyed helping students achieve for themselves.
- Yes - I was happy - the greatest reward was the affection which I won from my little pupils.

In one case this question helped the respondent review what had already been said:

- Even though what I have written previously (over stretched and too much expected) may belie this, my recollections are mainly happy ones. Though I will say that at the age I was [a 17.7

male from Leaving] a High School [large country one] was hardly the appropriate junior teacher post for me.

Although most regarded some aspect of teaching as the cause of their happiness, a number mentioned aspects outside the classroom. Some were happy because of their boarding arrangements or their social life or simply for the chance to grow up and mature:

- I had good accommodation with a kind couple, enjoyed many social events in the small community.
- I was accepted (very well!) by the community. Met people of many kinds. Took part in social activities. Many invitations to meals.
- I had fun with the young people in the area, and dances were held when 'the boys' came home on leave.
- Would like to think part of it (happiness) was participating in district activities and with people of my own age without reams of homework hanging over my head.
- I enjoyed the different life style - I loved the freedom of country life - I walked a lot, helped with the milking and joined in everything. It was a widening experience and I grew up.

One longer recollection gives a further insight into country life in wartime:

- I belonged to sporting and church groups and we had knitting for the soldiers and Red Cross and Comfort Funds. We rode our bikes to other towns for dances -motor transport was scarce and petrol rationed! I also took part in concerts performed as war efforts and rode around the district for miles for general knowledge. Never a dull moment!

The useful aspects

As the Table shows, very few found the experience just useful. Most who ticked the 'useful' box had already marked 'generally happy' as well:

- Because of the War (Darwin bombing etc.) it should have been a worrying time, but I was happy there. I didn't get homesick. I suppose I loved the children and felt useful, I was doing what I wanted (not playing at it).

Naturally enough, most others found aspects of schooling useful too:

- It was a useful time in gaining some teaching skills.
- I felt it was useful as it did give me some insight into teaching and some practical experience of it.
- Learnt about children, their backgrounds, learning rates, school organization

Others saw the usefulness lying in what they were able to assist with in difficult times:

- These were the war years. We were catapulted into a new way of life very quickly. We found we had to fill the gaps caused by other young people leaving their jobs to enlist.

- Useful in raising money for the war effort.
- Despite my 'ups and downs' I had a feeling of achievement ... and of course I knew I was needed.
- It was useful because I was able to help the Heads with their work. The one-teacher Head was overworked, I think.

For a number the most useful aspect was the opportunity to mature and broaden their outlook:

- I was conscious of maturing greatly during my junior teacher year and this was a great help in my College and University years.
- Yes it was useful by taking me into the wider world, having to live in a different community with folk who had different values and interests made me grow up.
- Because of the useful and happy personal, professional, social achievements and associations.
- Also that I could initiate activities and be accepted for that initiative.
- To me in growing up and development of self. I was rather self satisfied with what I was doing, novice that I was.

One other was not so satisfied;

- I thought that it was a useful time but not very satisfactory and I recall vaguely that I was glad to move on.

The frustrating aspects

Most frustrations were due to not being prepared for the job. Some comments well support the condemnations of the system by witnesses at the Inquiry:

- Because I felt lack of training. There was so much more I knew lacked both in the theory and practical method (to be teaching Grades 1-111 at 17.1 years of age).
- I had to prepare programmes and I didn't know what I was supposed to be doing.
- My abilities were so narrow and restricted - I taught from past experience.
- I feel a lot was expected of me in my first year for someone without training.
- My achievements fell so far short of my hopes. I was disappointed that I was unable to 'get through' to the unco-operative boys. [this was the male who resigned]
- Frustrating in the sense that I did not have the skill to help the students more. [but added 'useful because I knew what lay before me']

Some had to face up to difficult personal situations:

- It was frustrating that the Head did not seem to like me or try to help me and I am at a loss to know why but it was useful in that I learnt a lot from other teachers and generally was quite happy. The Head didn't know but his treatment made me all the more determined to succeed and I think I did.

- Not taken very seriously by any one - relationship with the staff was generally friendly and happy but I was not in my right niche. [this was the female at a secondary school who got a second year at a primary school where she 'gained in confidence and ability']

Just bearable

The comments of two of those who found the experience just bearable speak for themselves:

- I enjoyed teaching but home problems and poor and lonely boarding conditions made it an unhappy ten months.
- Personal development and education almost came to a full stop at a very vital time of my life. The last two years of high school had been very stimulating and this was a let down (had little idea of teaching little children, not ready, knew I was not capable of really doing justice to children without adequate training and did not feel organized)

The male who had been 'ostracised' by his Head and placed in a very isolated community simply indicated that the experience was just bearable but he must have gained something from it as he also ticked the 'useful' box.

The cultural facts, like the concrete, confirm a number of the faults identified in the system at the Inquiry. This further justifies the claim that a good deal of reliance can be placed on the authenticity of the data in these particular memoirs. As has been seen throughout this section, a variety of views contrary to those tendered at the Inquiry have emerged also. In the light of these, it would seem reasonable to claim that the memoirs allow for a much more balanced interpretation of what it was like to be a junior teacher than that provided by the S.A. Teachers' Union and other witnesses who were opposed to the system. The cultural facts most certainly contribute to a wider and deeper understanding of certain of the realities faced by junior teachers of that time and their existence would seem to justify a re-assessment of this particular aspect of the history of the junior teacher system.

Such a review would recognize more adequately the importance of the human element in assessing situations, something that was only partly present at the time of the Inquiry. Details of what junior teachers said they did in schools were presented together with some comments on how a few of them were affected by the roles imposed on them. What was not allowed was a holistic view of how junior teachers saw themselves and their work. The cultural data recalled by these respondents goes some way towards remedying this omission as it allows for a fuller, fairer and more adequate view of the major issues raised against the system in the lead up to, and during the Inquiry, and in its First Report. The value of such a view is further enhanced by the selection of vignettes from Question 7 in Appendix 3, where a number respondents wrote as freely as they felt was necessary in order to ensure that their time as a junior teacher was revealed as fully as possible through their eyes.

Chapter 13

MEMOIRS OF THE LAST OF THE JUNIOR TEACHERS

PART 1 1946 - 1950

As will be recalled from Chapter 9, the end of the junior teacher system came about in two distinct stages. While the Education Department was unable to act immediately on the recommendation of the Education Inquiry Committee to abolish junior teacherships, in 1946 it did began to implement strategies that were to greatly lessen the need for such positions and so lead towards that end. One such strategy was to increase the intake at the Teachers College. This allowed more candidates to avoid having to spend time as junior teachers and, in due course, provided trained teachers for the type of positions held by junior teachers since the early 1930s. Another strategy was the re-introduction of probationary studentships. At first these provided an alternative to junior teaching only for those recruits qualified to study at Leaving Honours level but when such studentships became available in 1950 for study at Leaving, an alternative was available for the bulk of recruits. As a result junior teachers became far less important in the recruiting process and the 41 appointed in 1950 - some 15% of all recruits - represented the last group of any real significance in this respect. From 1951 numbers fell to the lowest level since the early 1920s and over the final 15 years of the system junior teachers averaged a mere 5% of the recruits awaiting entry to the College. One other major structural concession to the forces for reform was the removal after 1948 of the requirement that a junior teacher should count for 30 pupils in the staffing allocation to a school.

The availability of memoirs of those who experienced the system between 1946 and 1950 is of particular interest because, apart from the structural changes noted above, there is very little to be learnt from contemporary sources about the way over 400 junior teachers were used in schools in this short period. This is in sharp contrast to the revelations about the system at the Education Inquiry Committee, details of which were supported and expanded upon in the recollections of respondents from the first part of the decade. It will be recalled from Chapter 9 that a good deal is known, too, about the changes that eventually came about in the later 1950s. A.W. Jones, in writing in 1966 about the end of the system under the heading 'Recent Trends', described a junior teacher system that differed greatly from the one portrayed at the Inquiry. According to him there was then a more liberal and generous appointment system in which no candidate was required to become a junior teacher and where the particular interests of the recruit were always considered first, with those of the Department always being of secondary importance

No such considered commentary is available about the immediate post-war years so it is unclear whether the Department was able at that stage to respond to any great extent to major criticisms of the system, i.e. that it was exploitative, that it placed too much responsibility on young people straight from school themselves and that it was in the interests of neither the trainee nor the pupils. There is little evidence indeed to suggest that the day-to-day role of junior teachers changed much at all in this period. One minor reform was the provision in 1948 of a more modern text "Teach Yourself To Teach", firstly as an alternative to the "Primer of Teaching" by Green and Birchenough, and then in 1950 as a replacement for the book that had been the official text since the 1920s. In 1948, too, there was some concern shown for the academic standing of junior teachers. Heads were told to ensure that all recruits were aware of matriculation requirements for Arts and Science and that, wherever possible, these were met before they entered the College. To the casual observer however, it might well have appeared that apart from a gradual decline in numbers and the provision of an alternative for some recruits, the system was operating very much as it had been for many years. Relatively large numbers of junior teachers were still being appointed to one-teacher, primary and secondary schools, rules were still being laid down about the studies that they had to undertake and Heads were still expected to supervise lesson notes for presentation to the Inspector.

The concrete and cultural facts as recalled by 53 respondents, who were junior teachers between 1946 and 1950 add considerably to what is really a very limited store of knowledge of the conditions of service in the years immediately following a demand for the abolition of the system. Details of both teaching duties and personal aspects help to fill in areas about which very little would otherwise be known of the reality of life as a junior teacher in a system that was steadily declining in both numbers and in importance as a recruiting measure. These memoirs represent almost 13% of the total number of junior teachers appointed in this time.

The Concrete Data

The concrete facts that illustrate significant aspects of the life and work of junior teachers following the Inquiry into the system have been taken from the responses of former junior teachers to the 26 aspects covered in Part A of the Memoir Document. These facts allow for insights into personal, family and social aspects; academic status; career aspirations and achievements as well as into what was required of the respondents in the way of teaching and how they were assisted with that role. They are best illustrated in the tabular form used in Chapters 10 and 11 together with the comments that respondents used to explain certain of the facts.

Personal Aspects

TABLE 13.1 Concrete Facts - Personal Aspects 1946 - 1950

	1946		1947		1948		1949		1950		Totals	
The Respondents	14		15		4		13		7		53	
Gender	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	8	6	7	8	3	1	5	8	4	3	27	26
Average age												
Male	17.2		17.4		17.8		17.5		17.4		17.4	
Female	17.3		17.7		16.5		16.8		17.0		16.11	
% all Junior Teachers	11.0%		14.7%		5.4%		21.9%		14.6%*			
Home												
City	2	1	3	3	1	-	2	3	-	-	8	7
Country	6	5	4	5	2	1	3	5	4	3	19	19
Appointment												
City	1	-	2	-	1	-	1	2	-	-	5	2
Country	7	6	5	8	2	1	4	6	4	3	22	24
Boarding	7	3	5	4	1	-	3	4	3	2	19	13
At home	1	3	2	4	2	1	2	4	1	1	8	13

(*South Australians only. One had served as a junior teacher in Victoria in 1950 and her memoir allows for some comparison to be made with the system operating in that State)

Gender

As with some of the earlier material, the proportion of male to female respondents does not truly reflect the appointments of junior teachers in this period. In 1946 there were 1.5 females for every male junior teacher appointed but by 1950 this had increased to 3 to 1. However, there are sufficient numbers of females to give a reasonable picture of the experiences of each gender in this period of the gradual decline of the system. Indeed the almost equal numbers of males and females helps to show how similar the treatment of the sexes was in most of the aspects in the above table except as regards boarding away from home.

Age

The total average ages suggest that the females were generally below the age for entry to the College and that some of the males were as well. Overall it would appear from the memoirs that 16 males and 7 females were old enough to have been student teachers rather than junior teachers. The oldest male was 19.1 years of age when he entered from a trade and the oldest female was 20.5 years of age as she began her second year as a junior teacher in 1947. However, as was seen in previous periods, other factors besides age determined the status allocated to candidates for teaching and this continued to be the case in the second half of the 1940s.

Contact with home

As the table shows, the great majority of respondents in this period were from the country and most of them, as well as most of those from the city, were required to serve in country schools. As can be seen though, a large number of them, particularly the females, were able to live at home and of those who had to board away, six females and four males were able to get home each weekend and five males and one female could manage this more frequently than the remaining nine males and six females who had to wait for vacations. Only one in the whole period did not go home at all during the year from an Eyre Peninsula school. He gave no reason for this in the concrete section but his comments in the cultural section about his particular situation would seem to indicate that there was, in fact, no immediate family in Adelaide to go home to.

It would appear from these figures that the Department was by now attempting to put in to practice the promise of the Director of Education in 1942 to avoid placing junior teachers away from home once the staffing of schools returned to normal after the war. This is shown in the decreasing numbers who now had to board and more particularly in the increase in those boarders who could at least get home every weekend. In 1950, of the five who had to board away, four were near enough to home to spend every weekend there if, as one of them put it, 'I wished to'. In contrast, in 1946, when the staffing needs of the Department were still paramount, of the ten boarding, six could get home only in vacations, four could manage it more regularly but none were near enough to get home at weekends. In 1946, two respondents, one male and one female, recalled being moved from their first appointments near home to fill vacancies much further away. The only other case of this occurring was in 1949 when a male respondent was moved at the end of Term 1 from a school to which he travelled daily to one from which he could only return in vacations. It will be recalled that a strong point was made to the Inquiry in 1943 by the S.A. Public Schools Committees Association about the problems of sending young female junior teachers away from home to board. Although the numbers are relatively small, they do tend to suggest that the Department was now attempting to avoid this wherever possible and females were more likely than males to be placed at home or at least near enough to get home on weekends.

Boarding away

Few of those who did have to board away recalled complaining about the board found for them even if they had to share a room with one of the family or live in a type of boarding house such as the one which a male recalled being '... essentially for railway workers - 2 persons per room.' One respondent explained why she [and very likely others] had not complained:

- You did not query the board found for you in those days - housing was short after the war.

However, a number did recall problems over board. The male who did not go home even during vacations responded to the question as to the type of board found for him in the isolated township:

- None - begged from a reluctant housewife for first term - 35/- per week out of 52/6d.

Another recalled that no board had been arranged for him when he arrived:

- At first none - Board soon found, on day of arrival - I was not expected and arrived at the station with no-one to meet me. I was 'shunted' about during that year.

One other male was moved about too, with a different boarding place each term, including one at the Head Teacher's house. As Head Teachers were normally forbidden to take in boarders in their Departmentally owned houses, this shows just how difficult it must have been in some places to arrange board for junior teachers. In at least one place there was none at all. One female had to travel daily by tram to the city and then take a 20 mile train trip to her school:

- Junior teachers usually boarded with one of the S... railway families but in my case no-one was willing to take a boarder, hence the daily train trip.

Two females were not particularly happy with the board found for them but they put up with it. One of them recalled the conditions:

- In a small weatherboard room attached to the kitchen - outside entrance - carried a lantern to bed - scared at first because of noisy possums in the trees.

The other had a vivid recollection of how her family reacted on just hearing about where she was to board:

- My mother and Gran took me by car. We stayed overnight at Naracoorte and both nearly had a fit and considered taking me home when they were told that my 'landlord' had been involved in a fatal accident while D.U.I. [Driving Under the Influence].

In one case a family did make their own arrangements for their 16.8 year old daughter:

- Private board with a family friend recently widowed - our own arrangement not that of the School Committee.

A 17 year old male was not happy with the board found for him and so made his own arrangements:

- An enclosed balcony at 'Wheatsheaf Bakery' [was] provided. After one week I sought other accommodation through Church contacts - a dairy farm 8 miles out of the town.

Those who had to board away generally responded more or less positively to the question relating to ease of contact with their home. Most recalled being able to contact home by telephone or telegram in an emergency. Those whose parents had no telephone could usually contact them through a neighbour and where there was no telephone at the boarding place, there was generally one in the township. Only a few, generally those who only got home during vacations, recalled not finding it easy to contact home or to be contacted by their parents:

- Not easily - letters only - 3 deliveries a week.
- No - family had no phone so letters had to suffice.

- No - communicated by infrequent letters.

Social life

Most of those who were at home or who got home each weekend recalled joining in their own local sporting and social activities. Those who had to spend all their time during school terms in a country town generally joined in the district social life. Males tended to mention football and cricket while females played basketball (which was described as being the modern 'netball') and both sexes were often involved in tennis. Local concerts and dances were mentioned by some but only one recalled local film nights. Rather less than a quarter of those boarding away mentioned church activities, ranging from regular attendance to involvement in Sunday school teaching and assisting with youth clubs. This recollection from a male boarding away in 1947 is typical of the range of activities available in small towns:

- Yes - Played cricket in the local team on Saturdays, and tennis on Sundays (when I could). Taught in Sunday School. Went to all the local 'dances' that I could. No cinema.

Some recalled rather more unusual activities. One female attended C.W.A. craft evenings and a male became 'Secretary to the Institute Committee'. The male who had rejected the board found for him above a bakery to move to a farm out of town also recalled a few leisure time activities that were rather different from those of most of the others:

- Helped with farm activities and turning cheeses at the factory - attended weekly church service - tended home vegetable garden (at farm boarding place).

Academic Aspects

TABLE 13.2 **Concrete Facts - Educational Aspects 1946 - 1950**

	1946		1947		1948		1949		1950		Totals	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Education level												
Intermediate	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	4
Leaving	8	3	7	7	3	1	5	7	4	2	27	20
Leaving Hons	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
Matriculated												
Yes	4	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	-	-	8	6
No	4	4	6	7	1	-	4	6	4	3	19	20
Own secondary Schooling												
City	3	1	5	2	1	1	2	1	-	-	11	5
Country	5	5	2	5	1	-	3	3	2	2	13	15
Non-Gov.	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	4	2	1	3	6
Studying												
Yes	5	4	5	5	2	1	3	6	4	-	19	16
No	3	2	2	3	1	-	2	2	-	3	8	10

Educational level

As the need for junior teachers decreased in this period, both the level of schooling reached and the results achieved came to be important factors in deciding whether a candidate for teaching became a junior teacher, a probationary student or a student teacher at the College. As the Table shows, practically all these respondents had reached the Leaving level of education but in sharp contrast to the previous five years, the number with Leaving Honours is greatly diminished. What is of greater significance, however, is that of the respondents who had reached Leaving level, a majority of both males and females had not qualified for matriculation. In the case of several who had attended technical high schools, this was because they had taken the Technical Leaving Certificate of the Education Department rather than the P.E.B. Leaving. In the other cases, it seems to have been because they simply could not, or had not, completed the matriculation requirement of five Leaving P.E.B. subjects including English and Latin for Arts or Mathematics 1, Intermediate English and another language for Science. For a number of these respondents, the Latin requirement posed a major problem as regards matriculation and details on this and other problems about matriculation show up more clearly in the responses to the later question on what studies were being undertaken during the junior teacher year. However, several did attempt to explain why they had not matriculated:

- No because I did not study Leaving Latin.
- No - I had to do a Supplementary in Leaving Latin.
- My country High School did not offer Leaving Latin.

It should not be supposed from that third answer that attending a country high or other kind of country secondary school was necessarily a bar to matriculation. Indeed, of the 14 who had matriculated, 8 had attended country secondary schools. However, of the 39 who had not matriculated, 20 had attended country secondary schools, 12, including 3 at technical high schools, were from city secondary schools and 7 came from private schools or colleges. It would seem that those attending a country secondary school were more likely not to have matriculated. The reasons for this are not clear apart from the inability of some schools to provide a language. However, the most significant factor about country secondary schools was that they did not provide for an education beyond the Leaving level and to do Leaving Honours meant boarding in the city. Some respondents recalled the effect of this lack of opportunity on their academic progress:

- Passed Leaving exam in 1945 and in 1946 - my mother thought I was too young (at 16) to go out into the big world so I went back to school (to repeat Leaving) and thoroughly enjoyed it.
- No Honours class so repeated Leaving doing some different subjects, attaining 7 or 8 ...
- No Leaving Honours at Naracoorte - I gained Leaving Certificate in 1944 and returned in 1945 to do Leaving Latin in order to matriculate.

Studies

Almost 65% of these respondents recalled studying during their time as a junior teacher and the details of what they were studying revealed a good deal more about the general level of education of junior teachers and in particular why so many had not matriculated. In the years immediately after the First Report of the Education Inquiry Committee, the role for many of these respondents, as they studied and taught, was still much like the 'light' one parodied by the S.A. Teachers' Union in its 1943 cartoon. It will be recalled that the Union had told the Inquiry that a further year at school would be a better option than being a junior teacher and it would seem that this could well have been the case for a number of these respondents. Most of those studying were attempting to matriculate or to improve their Leaving results. Some merely listed the Leaving subject(s) (generally Latin, History or Geography) but others gave more details:

- Yes - Correspondence Leaving English & Geography. Times were set aside for me to attend to these lessons. [this respondent with Intermediate only herself, was a supernumerary in a higher primary school that provided only up to Intermediate standard]

In contrast, a male supernumerary was placed in a technical high school where he recalls:

- The Head gave me the opportunity to study for P.E.B. Leaving [this respondent already had a Leaving Technical Certificate] and I spent a considerable time sitting in with the Leaving class.

Others had to cope with full class responsibilities while studying:

- I had passed Leaving Eng, Physics, Chem, and Geography and was repeating Maths 1, Maths 11 and Matriculation Maths by correspondence - Passed all three. In the last term I repeated Intermediate Latin & passed that too. All this while teaching 20 Grade 111 students full-time! [he did not explain what he meant by 'Matriculation Maths']
- I only passed 3 subjects in the Leaving exam so sat for Geography at the end of the J.T. year studying by correspondence. I passed this then did Maths during the Xmas holidays and sat for a supplementary and passed thus giving me my Leaving Certificate with 5 subjects.
- Leaving Maths 1 & began to study Latin for Matriculation (It took me 12 more years to do it!)
- I was studying Leaving subjects in order to matriculate. I passed - difficult as no electric light at school or where I boarded.
- An extra Leaving subject as I was told to complete 6 subjects if possible before College.
- I had an English Q in Leaving and wished to pass English. As a result of studies was successful.

However, not everyone was successful with his or her studies at Leaving:

- Repeating Leaving Maths to matriculate - Head Teacher was supposed to coach me [female aged just 17] & he did sometimes. I think I seemed very dumb to him. I never did pass Maths but got by on good Latin results.
- Attempted Leaving Latin and Maths - unsuccessful.

- Yes 'History' by H.G. Wells (and failed)

Only a few were able to begin on University subjects:

- I studied History 1. When I began College [in "C" group] I told Miss Wauchope I had passed and she said I couldn't have! It messed up her plans for students doing such and such University subjects to fill her timetable.
- Geog 1 by correspondence and passed. I also commenced Leaving Latin (a requirement for a Commerce degree) but was advised to discontinue and concentrate on Geog 1. It was all too much anyway. [she had sole responsibility for Intermediate & Leaving Commercial and Geography classes of 15 - 20 students at two different country high schools]
- Yes - studying parts of Physics 1 and Chem 1. [this male was teaching a full load of First and Second Year Mathematics & Geography together with Second Year Typing]

Again not all were successful:

- Did try University History 1 but needed to get to Adelaide for library facilities. This was not always easy. Did not finish the course. [this female was 15 miles from Adelaide]

A few others were doing different types of studies. Three females recalled Music studies - one was doing 'Pianoforte Music A' in addition to French 1, another was doing Grade V Piano as well as Leaving Honours French and the third was undertaking studies for an 'Associate Diploma in Singing & Theory'. Those wanting to be Art or Craft teachers were doing appropriate subjects:

- Art subjects that had not yet formed part of my secondary education - Plant, Object & Freehand Drawing and Design and Colour.
- A course for Drawing/Technology.
- Undertook a Technical Graphics Course by correspondence.

Only a few mentioned any sort of study in preparation for teaching and it was usually as an addition to other studies:

- Leaving English and reading books on teaching method - the 'Teach Yourself to Teach' text ...
- Leaving Geography...and on the advice of my Infant Teacher read books used at ATC at the time for ED. Psych. and Principles of Teaching.
- Completed Leaving Latin to matriculate & some study of Principles of Teaching provided by H.T.
- Yes - Applied Psychology course by correspondence.

Only one of those not studying gave any reason for not doing so and his comment is a trenchant one considering it was made about a situation four years after the Education Inquiry Committee had recommended abolition partly on the grounds that the system was not in the interests of the trainees themselves:

- No but should have been - I was given no guidance here - I was ignorant of a teacher's academic requirements. The Department used us as fodder and didn't seem to have a policy about educating J.T.s. A wasted year academically.

The cultural facts will of course, reveal further details about the extent to which other respondents saw themselves as classroom 'fodder'. The next set of concrete facts show the kinds of teachers that these respondents wanted to be, the teaching experiences that they were given and the direction their careers took after the junior teacher period.

Teaching Experience and Career Directions

TABLE 13.3 Concrete Facts - Teaching Experience and Career Directions 1946 - 1950

	1946		1947		1948		1949		1950		Totals	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Teaching wanted												
Infant	-	4	-	5	-	-	-	5	-	2	-	16
Primary	4	1	3	1	2	1	2	3	4	1	15	7
Secondary	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1
Craft	2	1	2	2	1	-	3	-	-	-	8	2
School experience												
One-teacher	4	3	3	5	2	-	3	4	4	2	16	14
Infant	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Primary	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	4	-	-	1	6
Area/HP	1	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	3	3
High	2	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	2
Technical	1	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	4	-
Career direction												
Repeat J.T.	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
College Course												
"A"	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	1
"B"	4	-	6	2	2	1	2	3	-	1	14	7
"B-D"	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1
"C"	-	3	-	4	-	-	-	4	-	1	-	12
"H"	1	-	1	1	1	-	3	-	-	-	6	1
Resigned	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1
Teach (T.U.A.*)	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

* Temporary Unclassified Assistant

Type of teaching wanted and experience given

In view of the academic status of most of these respondents, it is hardly surprising that the majority wanted to be infant or primary teachers and most of the rest were interested in craft teaching. The Department was generally able to give most of them an appropriate teaching experience but at the same time meet its staffing needs in much the same way as it had for its own purposes since the early 1930s. There was still a pressing need throughout the period to assist Heads of one-teacher schools and some 57% of the respondents gained experience with infant and/or primary classes in such schools. Another

26% taught similar classes or acted as supernumeraries assisting infant or primary teachers in primary, higher primary or area schools. There were fewer needs in high schools or other secondary schools as things began to settle down after the disruptions of the war years but useful places could still be found, particularly for those wanting to be art or craft teachers. One respondent recalled his usefulness to the Department in 1949:

- I was originally appointed to a local High School where because of my trade experience, I spent all my time in the Science workshop making apparatus or pin up boards, book cases etc. for the classrooms. I was transferred to a Tech High School after a term to take over from teacher transferred to the country. I then taught a full load (of Maths & Woodwork).

A potential art teacher was placed in a high school in 1948 where he undertook two main roles both of which can be seen to be in his and the Department's interests:

- (a) Team teaching with a permanent Art teacher - all year levels (1st to 4th Yr.) for about 60% of the time.
  (b) All levels (1st to 4th Yr.) on my own for about 40% of the week.

It was still not possible for every respondent to be placed where they could get the most appropriate experience and, as in the past, Departmental needs prevailed. A few who wanted to be craft teachers had to serve in one-teacher schools or in mainly primary classes and a few who wanted to be infant or primary teachers were seen to be needed in secondary schools. Such placements did not seem to be of great significance in determining future career patterns as most of these respondents entered the course of their choice at the Teachers College. In the few cases where this did not occur the reasons, as will be seen, lay elsewhere.

Career directions

Overall, about 90% of the respondents were put into the College course that gave them the opportunity to train for the kind of teaching that they wanted. Neither of the females who had reached Leaving Honours level wanted to be secondary teachers. One of them entered the "C" course of her choice and the other resigned due to her family transferring interstate and so did not enter the "B" course that would have been her choice. As was seen in Chapter 9, the dual courses, "B-D", "B-E" etc. were an important feature of the Teachers College in 1947 and three males who wanted to be secondary teachers got into "B-D" and a female was accepted into "B-E". In that year only one respondent did not get the course he wanted and he explained why in a related question in the cultural section:

- I really wanted to be an Art/Craft teacher in an Area School through the H (b) Course. I had great interest in this area and was very gifted using my hands. I was also very innovative. However, there was a surplus of applicants from Tech Schools with qualifications which squeezed me out, even after persistent letters of request.

A female in 1947 was in a similar position:

- I asked for Domestic Arts but was told I was not eligible because I had not attended a Technical or an Area School.

The male mentioned earlier as having the opportunity to study for the P.E.B. Leaving in a technical high school had been placed there because he had wanted to be a craft teacher. However, he entered the "B" course at College and it seems from his comment in the cultural section that he was not unhappy about this. Two other males, neither of whom had matriculated, would like to have been secondary teachers but they were put into the "B" course instead. One of them from 1947, who still needed several Leaving subjects, recalled 'At the time I soon came to realise that this would not be possible.' He must have still tried, however, because he added an interesting note about complications over College courses in 1948 for students hoping to be trained for secondary teaching:

- There was some discussion of a B-D course. I was issued with Prac. Secondary Ed.1 notes - after 2 weeks a small group of us were all "B" students. Several left, I couldn't.

As was seen in Chapter 9, "B-D" opportunities were heavily reduced in 1948 with the majority of those who did get this chance being probationary students rather than junior teachers. The list of students at the Teachers College in the Education Gazette for April, 1948, shows that the appointments of two male students in the "B" course and one in the "B-D"course were 'cancelled' and one from the latter course resigned. It would seem that these may well have been the ones referred to who preferred to leave, and who could afford to do so, rather than train as primary teachers. All the respondents from 1948 and 1949 were put into a course of their choice. The four males from 1950, none of whom had matriculated, all entered the "A" course rather than the "B" but only one of them commented:

- Not having matriculated (in 1949, due to my ineffectual efforts) I was lucky to be accepted into the "A" course.

One other postponed his entry to the College by resigning at the end of 1950:

- I didn't enter College straight away. Spent the next three yrs (almost) truck driving, in the Police Force and doing National Service. I then decided to resume teaching career – 'A respectable Govt, secure job' (quote parents)

He did not explain why he did not go directly to College but in the cultural section he did say why he eventually accepted the "A" course:

- No. I wanted to do a "B" Course but financially could not afford more than one year in College while boarding and I was older than most students.

The two females who repeated as junior teachers from 1946 and 1950 are particularly interesting cases. Both were older than most other female junior teachers (one was 18.9 when she began in 1946 and the other was just 18 in 1950), both had reached only Intermediate level and both became T.U.A.'s and so bypassed the Teachers College altogether. Neither explained in the concrete section why they had to

repeat as junior teachers nor did the one from 1947 say why she went directly to teaching instead of the College. She simply stated the fact:

- Never entered College at any time, but I continued to teach.

The final set of concrete facts explore the responsibilities given to the respondents and the degree of assistance that they received from their Heads or other staff.

Responsibilities, Duties and Assistance Given

TABLE 13.4 Concrete Facts – Responsibilities and Assistance Given. 1946 - 1950

	1946		1947		1948		1949		1950		Totals	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Teaching Responsibility												
Sole	5	4	3	4	2	-	3	4	3	1	16	13
Shared	2	1	3	3	-	1	1	4	-	-	7	10
Both	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	4	3
Other Duties												
Yes	7	6	6	6	2	1	5	6	4	1	24	20
No	1	-	1	2	1	-	-	2	-	2	3	6
Assistance												
Yes	6	4	6	6	1	1	4	5	3	2	20	18
No	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	3
Doubtful	-	2	1	-	2	-	1	2	1	1	5	5

Teaching responsibilities

As has been seen, over 80% of the respondents from the previous period believed that they had sole responsibility for classes or subjects. The figures above suggest that this is an aspect that was gradually changing. Overall, 55% of these respondents recalled having sole responsibility with the rest either fully or partly sharing any teaching required of them. This situation seems to have come about because a number of the respondents appointed to larger primary schools and primary sections were there in a supernumerary capacity. Those appointed to one-teacher schools and those teaching secondary subjects tended to be more likely to regard themselves as being fully responsible for grades or subjects.

Of those in one-teacher schools, only three males and one female saw their role in a different light. One male recalled sharing responsibilities with a 'very supportive head master' and the female believed that hers was a shared role as she taught:

- Under the guidance of the Principal who made me do example lessons as per Teachers College & then observed and criticised same.

Not everyone in a one-teacher school could recall the number of children that they were responsible for

but those who did it ranged from as low as 12 to as high as 28 to 30 with an overall average of about 20, usually for combined Grades 1 - 111. It will be recalled from Chapter 9 that in 1943 Dr. Fenner had issued a circular stating that in no case were junior teachers to have a permanent class of more than thirty pupils, and that where they have mixed classes the numbers should be even less. Generally this became so but as late as 1950, a male respondent recalled having sole responsibility for 30 Grades 1 - 111 students at the age of 16.8!

Of the comparative few in secondary schools, some had quite heavy teaching loads. This was particularly so in the early part of this period when there was still a shortage of secondary teachers. One male aged 17.3 and direct from Leaving himself had to teach 35 First Years for Maths 1 & 11 and Geography, 30 Second Years for Maths 1 and 12 for Typing at a country high school in 1946. In the same year another male had 38 First Years for English, Latin, Maths 1 & 11 and a female aged 16.6 direct from Leaving herself taught 'Commercial (Shorthand, Typing, Bookkeeping & Arithmetic) to 15-20 Intermediate and Leaving Classes and Geography to 25-30 at the same level.' The teaching roles of several respondents who were in high or technical high schools because they wanted to be art/craft teachers has been noted above. In 1947 a 17.6 year old male who wanted to be a primary teacher was placed in a technical high school with sole responsibility for 30 students for Maths 1 and Geography. As well, he assisted with Art & Technical Drawing classes (60 students) and also with 'a lot of' the Woodwork & Metalwork classes. In that year, too, a female aged 17.10 who wanted to be an infant teacher was appointed to her local high school where she taught:

- 1st year French (small class). 2nd year English (full class).
  1st, 2nd year Typing (full class) Also when the commercial teacher was absent for some weeks I seemed to have extra subjects with no assistance or guidance.

All of those respondents recalled having sole responsibility for their secondary classes but one male in a technical high school in 1946 interpreted the question about sole or shared responsibility in quite a different way to all the rest. He believed that he had a shared responsibility:

- Because a teacher left the school very early in the year his teaching load was divided [shared?] between the two junior teachers appointed to the school for that year. The Art & Drawing teacher assisted us in preparing lessons. We taught the full year .5 each. Also taught some Metalwork and Woodwork classes.

The one respondent in an infant school was a supernumerary and the role given to her illustrates well the type of junior teacher Dr Fenner was talking about when he told the Education Inquiry Committee in 1944 that the system he would like would be one in which the junior teachers, as supernumeraries, should be allowed to observe, study and teach under supervision:

- Mostly observing & assisting in all classes then a growing number of individual lessons and 'blocks' until given responsibility for a group of Upper 2 (about 10, I think) in the latter half of

the year.

The supernumeraries in other kinds of schools had a variety of roles most of which they regarded as shared but some did have sole responsibility for certain aspects of their work as well. One female in 1946 described her duties as 'just a general rouse-about to help students where needed, help teachers with marking etc.' and her teaching role in a higher primary school as a shared one:

- Any grade between Grd 1 & Grd 10. Sometimes whole grade between 5 and 15 children - sometimes only part of a grade e.g. 3 or 4 students for extra coaching in a subject.

A male supernumerary in an area school wanted to be a craft teacher and he was allowed to 'assist the Boys Craft Teacher with Woodwork and Metalwork' but his main teaching duties lay elsewhere:

- Social Studies Gr 4 & 5 (sole responsibility). Assisted Infant teacher with Reading and Arithmetic for Gr 1 & 11.

The supernumeraries in primary schools also had both 'rouse-about' and/or teaching roles. They recalled shared responsibilities:

- Helped Infant teacher in any way required - told stories - played piano - heard reading - helped with writing - sport - took them for runs. (female - 1949)
- Arithmetic & English Grades 4&5 (25 students) - Phys Ed Grades 1 - 7...Helped with hearing Gr 1, 2 & 3 read & with craftwork. (male - 1949)
- I taught Singing & Music to two classes of Grade 1 and 1 class of Grade 2. Assisted all lessons with Grade 1. In rotation I monitored all classes to give teachers a free period once a week. (female - 1949)

The male supernumerary in a technical high school in 1947 who was noted above as being able to complete the Leaving P.E.B. recalled having shared responsibilities that must have kept him very busy:

- (1) Library lessons to Year 8 students. (About 30 per class)
  (2) English to Year 8 (30 per class) - Selected topics.
  (3) Social Studies (Selected areas of the course)
  (4) Sport and Phys Education (I also assisted the Science Teacher with laboratory preparation.)

In view of the teaching duties of the majority of these respondents who had sole responsibility for a class or classes it could not be said that the junior teacher system had changed markedly in this regard in the five years following the criticism of it in the First Report of the Education Inquiry Committee. Certainly there are more respondents in this period who recalled having supernumerary duties than there were in the previous five years but with the one exception noted above in an Infant School, these junior teachers were heavily involved with assisting with teaching and other duties rather than in engaging in the type of training Fenner envisaged for a changed type of junior teacher system. The details supplied by most respondents regarding the extra duties and responsibilities that were expected of them besides teaching, tend to support the conclusion that the system was still more in the interests of the Department rather than those of the junior teachers.

Other duties

As in memoirs from earlier periods, yard duty featured as the main extra thing that these respondents recall being expected to undertake. Most simply listed it as 'yard duty' without commenting on it - most probably because they would have more or less agreed with one respondent who said:

- I was treated as an assistant (qualified) and did the usual duties ie. 50% of yard duty.

A few seem to have seen it in a rather different light and felt somewhat put upon by it:

- Yard - in sole charge mostly while the H.T. went next door for his lunch.
- Most of the yard duty.
- Yard - usually in the yard at playtime. In those days [1950] we even corrected speech in the yard.

As would be expected, too, assistance with sport and coaching was expected of many of these respondents and several mentioned that they had to organize and/or supervise school socials as well. A few were involved with parent activities:

- Attend card nights with parents.
- Attend parent meetings, particularly afternoon tea with mothers after Welfare Club.

The trend that had begun earlier of female junior teachers not being expected to teach sewing continued and only one respondent from this period mentioned it. A number of those in one-teacher schools did recall that they had to take the upper classes for certain other lessons and one response showed what a Head Teacher could be doing in these periods:

- I took the upper grades for some Craft, Art, Nature Science & Phys Ed. while the H.T. was testing 1-3.

The other duties were wide and varied and it is clear that just as in previous times, many Headmasters kept junior teachers busy with the kind of ancillary jobs that they, or other teachers, would have had to otherwise do themselves. A number, especially those in the secondary and larger primary schools, were expected to handle clerical tasks, generally in addition to a heavy teaching load:

- All the secretarial typing for the local Technical School [attached to this country high school]. [paid] 10/- per term. [male]
- School accounts - Banking - Changing teachers' cheques and distributing. [male – high school]
- Type exam papers and do library duty - library cards, cataloguing, book repairs. [female – high school]
- Given responsibility [in addition to sole responsibility for 20 Grade 111s] of library and was asked to classify the contents and make up a card system based on Dewey - long job was hampered by continued borrowing - unable to finish it. [male – primary school]
- Type HM's letters, file correspondence, put financial details in ledger. [male - primary school]

Special talents were put to good use:

- Piano for all school music and assisted in cooking classes for Grade V11 girls.

Others had more humdrum tasks, some of which were of a questionable professional nature:

- The worst were health inspections. We had some VERY poor children from the little township & wealthy people on surrounding farms. There was a constant problem with head lice.
- Toilet and craftroom supervision & stationery sales.
- Bus duty (supervising children queuing up for buses and crossing street)
- Tend school garden - using tank water clean wash bowls and fill them for kids to wash in. Occasionally sweep school floor.
- Prepare diagrams and charts, programmes etc. for duplicating on Gestetner.
- Milk distribution at recess time.

Only one respondent regarded a part of the extra duties required of him as rather unusual in view of his limited qualifications in that area:

- Shared responsibility with HM for Grade V1 & V11 Woodwork - had a primary Woodwork certificate (obtained when I was in Grade V11) This was considered to be suitable accreditation for me to teach Woodwork (same course as I had done) to these boys.

Assistance with teaching duties

Not a great deal of change is apparent in this regard. About the same proportion of respondents from both halves of the decade believed that they had been assisted in some way by the Head or the other staff. Respondents from the latter period were rather more likely to be unsure about this aspect with fewer recalling not being helped than those from 1940 - 1945.

Of the 28% of respondents, who recalled getting little or no help or being unsure about this aspect, three, all from one-teacher schools, simply wrote 'No', 'No help' or 'No assistance'. One female marked both 'Yes' and 'No' and added:

- I gave the lesson - (prepared it etc.) and he told me where I went wrong.

Others in small schools gave some kind of explanation as to why they felt hesitant about this important aspect of their Head's duty:

- Very little help really. It was his first Class V School.
- Very little instruction on how to teach subject matter. H.T. prepared programmes of work and told me the sections he wanted taught. We both shared a large room.
- Not at first. But later HT (at Escourt House) accepted me and my desire to do well at teaching and thereafter guided and encouraged me.
- Only to the extent of discussing lesson notes, tests, exams etc. Head Teacher was supposed to

give the JT weekly methodology instruction of one hour duration. Seldom took place especially after the Ordinary Inspection was finished.

The one female supernumerary in a higher primary school in 1946 recalled getting help only 'sometimes':

- When specific duties were given (eg. teach these children long division or Nouns) then the teacher sometimes gave suggestions, hints etc.

Another female supernumerary had mixed recollections on the topic of help from the teachers in a primary school:

- Most teachers gave me hints on how to handle children and discipline the class. Others treated me as an intruder on their space.

A female in another primary school was helped only after intervention by the Inspector and even then it appeared to be quite minimal:

- Head Teacher occasionally took the class or combined my class with his. The Grade V room was next to his. [this 16.8 year old had noted earlier 'At first sole [responsibility] but after the Inspector's visit some help given']

A male in a technical high school believed he did 'Not really' get any help:

- Until 3rd term when I was obliged to teach a series of lessons for evaluation. HM and two other teachers were involved in looking at lesson plans and evaluating lessons.

The male transferred to a technical school to fill a vacancy from Term 2 in 1949 recalled his introduction to his work:

- One of the male teachers came into the first class and found out what they were up to, put me on the right track and left me to it. I must have got help as needed because I can't recall any real problems.

A male in a larger primary school in 1946 did not mention the Head in this regard but recalled that the other staff were prepared to help:

- Only if I asked them about a particular point usually concerning an alternative way to present content.

He went on however, to give details of the Head's requirement for lesson notes:

- Head Teacher asked me to prepare lesson notes for three different lessons each day. After 4 weeks this was dropped as he considered I had mastered the process. He suggested I make a condensed recording mainly of content. This I did for about a term and that faded away also. It was left to me to do my own programming which I worked out from the very sketchy curriculum that existed in those days. The H.T. saw all programmes weekly. The documents were very sketchy and very little room was provided for detail. I often wondered about their worth - particularly when a week's work could be recorded in less than 10 minutes.

Respondents were asked whether or not they were expected to prepare lesson notes and some of the responses added to the picture of how Heads, seniors or supervising teachers used such notes to assist with teaching preparation. Those who received little or no help with teaching tended to have little demanded of them as well in the way of lesson notes or lesson preparation:

- Expected to do one prepared lesson notes per week - but rarely seen by Head.
- Not in great detail ... Prepared Blackboard for next day's work.
- Only a very broad outline - We had a syllabus and a pretty rudimentary format for planning a month at a time. Not very much importance attached to it.
- Old style programmes of scope, content, aims for year term and month was expected of me. Little in the way of detailed notes. I kept an exercise book to help prepare brief notes on aids to use, texts, topics to cover & observations on children.

The one at Escourt House, whose Head eventually decided she was worth helping, received the kind of lesson plan supervision that might well have been expected of all supervising Heads:

- Each week I had to submit plans of the lessons I would be giving that week. My Head would go through the lessons with me and make suggestions or correct wrong practicing methods or at time totally scrap particular activities.

A male interpreted the question on lesson notes quite differently to the others. He believed he was expected to do notes but not of lessons:

- Yes - 1901 book noted chapter per week. Initialled by Head prior to Inspector's visit with comment 'Good Effort'.

The kind of help given to the other 72% of respondents fell into several main categories. There were those who recalled getting every kind of help possible from the Head:

- Showed me how to keep acceptable records, gave demonstration lessons for my benefit. Checked testing and discussed standards I should expect. [male in a high school]
- Yes - he directed me in every way possible - instructed me in what each grade had to accomplish at the end of every term. [female in a one-teacher school]
- H.T. always available for above lectures [this male counted 'The HT's daily lectures of usually half an hour dealing with all aspects of teaching methods, controlling & organizing classes etc.' as his extra duties] and to offer advice. No assistance was given during lessons. [one-teacher school]
- Yes - excellent help - lesson preparation, aids, and advice but did not regulate me - gave me my head. [male in one-teacher school]
- I remember Head spending time with me planning the PROGRAMME, talking about the individual children and reviewing at the end of each week. [female in one-teacher school]
- Headmaster Mr. J. A..., was a wonderful helper and encouraged me to participate fully in giving lessons. [female in one-teacher school]

- Yes - Head would discuss my week's work with me and help with lesson preparation - usually after school. [male in a one-teacher school]
- Demonstrated procedures and normal routines and I followed. Shown how to follow Course of Instruction in the basics. [male in a one-teacher school]

Others recalled getting such help from other staff:

- Yes - Teachers were extremely helpful in both the High Schools. I am sure they realised the enormity of so much responsibility at that age. Assistance was given with class management, clerical duties, and lesson content and subject programmes. [female with responsibility for Intermediate & Leaving classes]
- Yes 1) Art teacher gave me encouraging instruction, subject hints & suggestions, teaching techniques etc.
  2) HM & other staff including Seniors offered help with general protocol, teaching techniques etc. [male in a high school as part supernumerary and part art/craft teacher]
- Teachers observed my lessons while they did marking at the back of the room and offered advice regarding teaching techniques. [male supernumerary in an area school]
- Infant teacher assisted by demonstration and instruction and by lending me her own lesson plans as models. [female supernumerary in an area school]
- Yes - all teachers were willing to assist with teaching methods... [male in a high school]
- Not a great deal on subject matter but much advice on behaviour of students, discipline etc. [female in a high school]
- All teachers were available at any time to give practical assistance or advice; were always encouraging and affirming. [female in infant school]

Very few mentioned getting help from the formal lessons that the Head was supposed to conduct. One, who simply had to note the text, has already been mentioned, as has the one who believed that his Head neglected this duty. A few seem to have received some assistance in this way:

- Yes mainly casual chats & some, but very little, study of the set text (whose name I forget). [male in a primary school]
- Yes during the Wed a.m. Religious Instruction lesson was given notes of a highly formal kind based out of an old One Year Instruction Course (A Course? eg. Aim, Method etc) at Adelaide T.C. [male in one-teacher school]
- H.T. was a delight [but] - limited sessions from a handbook. [male in one-teacher school]
- The Head attempted to give me a half hour of instruction a day. [female supernumerary in a primary school]

However at least two, both from 1950, do recall their Head more rigorously carrying out the type of duties that had been expected for so many years:

- H.T. read and explained book 'How To Teach' every Thursday morning 8.15 - 8.45 A.M. [male in one-teacher school]
- Once per week for approximately 1 hour, the Head Teacher would discuss a section of the book 'Teach Yourself to Teach'. He would also draw my attention to the Department's curriculum requirements set out very clearly. [female in a one-teacher school]

Of those who clearly remember being helped by their Head or other teachers, about a third either did not have to prepare notes or had forgotten whether or not notes were required. However, a number of them remembered the importance of some kind of preparation:

- Can't remember lesson notes being compulsory but I do remember that preparation was essential. The commercial convenor checked and vetted all my preparation on every lesson so much of the planning must have been sketchy & informal.
- Can't remember preparing any lesson notes - certainly not written plans. I noted the Blackboard preparation of the Head and copied him.

The kind of lesson notes required of the others varied, as did the supervision of them by the Heads. Some Heads clearly set high standards and set out to train their junior teachers well in lesson preparation. A male in a one-teacher school recalled the importance of lesson notes for him:

- H.T. was a young girl - pleasant, sympathetic. She would look at my lesson notes which she insisted were done. As well as lesson notes she asked me to keep a record of teaching tips & she used the Religious Instruction period to go through the notes with me.

Others recalled similar training:

- Infant Mistress showed me how to plan lessons and later the other teachers whose class I was to teach would advise on and check notes and aids. I.M 'sat in' on some lessons.
- Lesson notes yes - these followed the plan of the Head Teacher so she could keep up with the subject matter I was teaching.
- Art teacher encouraged me to prepare notes for 1st half of year and after that it seemed the natural thing to do.
- Yes the Infant teacher I was assigned to helped me plan my music lessons & also explained her lesson plans periodically.
- Yes - Submitted lessons for Social Studies under the headings - Matter, Method, and Aims.
- Yes - lesson plans under the Head Teacher's guidance.
- Yes - and the Head Teacher checked them.
- Initially in fine detail but as confidence grew less was required and supervision reduced.

Some were not required to keep notes in much detail at all:

- Daily lesson notes - one lesson per day otherwise I was on my own.
- Very sketchy way only.
- Yes lesson notes - sketchy plans only.

- Brief notes showing steps, methods etc.

Finally there were a few whose only lesson planning was the preparation of the formal programme and as has already been seen, the programme format did not encourage much more than sketchy detail:

- Yes - amplification of term programme into weekly assignments (not lesson notes in the accepted form).
- Think I merely worked from my program.

With an alternative available, the number of junior teachers gradually decreased but overall, the concrete data seems to suggest that while some aspects changed in response to the criticisms made by the Education Inquiry Committee, in the main the system continued on very much as it had in the past. While respondents were given the opportunity to remedy any lack of qualification for entry to the College, it would appear that generally the emphasis was still very much on what they could do for the school.

THE CULTURAL FACTS

As has been seen, the conclusion to be drawn from the concrete facts is that there was not a great deal of immediate change in the way the system was conducted in the five years following the First Report of the Education Inquiry Committee. Certainly there were some concessions. Junior teachers, especially the females, were rather more likely than in the past to be appointed to a local school or to one reasonably near home. Rather more candidates of either sex could now expect to be allocated to a school in a supernumerary position rather than as a stand-in for a trained teacher. Overall, however, it would seem that in the immediate post-war period the system remained more in the interests of the Department than those of the candidates for teaching who accepted this form of entry into the profession.

The responses in the cultural section allow for deeper insights into the realities of life as a junior teacher in this period in which the Education Department still needed to use many of those awaiting entry to the College as part of the teaching force. They also allow for an examination of how these respondents might have felt about being part of a system that had so recently and so publicly been labelled as exploitative and in the interests of neither the junior teachers nor the pupils. There is scope, too, for a closer examination of the effect of the concessions that were introduced and a consideration of the extent to which other faults in the system may have been remedied following the damning findings of 1945. This section begins with a review of why these respondents became junior teachers at a time when other opportunities may have been available and goes on to look at how they felt about various major aspects of the system. It concludes with an assessment of what the experience may have

meant at a time when the system had already partially broken with the past and was on the verge of entering into a final and quite different phase. The details are from the responses to Part B of the Memoir Document.

QU. 1 REASONS FOR BECOMING A JUNIOR TEACHER - READINESS FOR THE ROLE

Choice or circumstance?

As would be expected most of the respondents became junior teachers because they wanted to enter the teaching profession but a number of them found it difficult to say whether or not circumstances also played a part in the decision. A few were quite sure and simply wrote 'By choice' while others expanded on their interest in teaching:

- I really wanted to teach. I had been inspired to teach by the HM of a country High School I had attended for a few years during the War.
- Definitely choice. I had always wanted to be a teacher - in all my childhood games I taught dolls, the family pets, even empty chairs. I felt I was lucky when accepted by the Department as a JT.
- By choice - inspired by a kindly, efficient High School teacher who was senior Mistress for the last three years of my school life... it was my privilege to have the same lovely lady for numerous subjects during the years she spent at our school, and I suppose, I hoped to pattern my teaching on her as a model.
- By choice - several teachers in the family so interest was there.
- By choice - by application - because having been in office work from 16 - 19 years of age, I had, still, the unfulfilled desire to become a teacher.
- Liked kids, enjoyed youth work within the church, thought I'd rather teach woodwork than do it. Pay looked good, but no-one said anything about the training and study first! [the male respondent noted in the concrete section as entering at 19 from a trade]

Most others for whom choice was clearly a major factor also acknowledged that the circumstances of the times played an important part in their decision. For a number, becoming a junior teacher seemed the only way of fulfilling their ambition:

- By circumstances, as it seemed to be the only way to begin a teaching career - I don't recall there being a choice offered.
- I was not given a choice. Following my application to enter the Teachers College I was appointed as a JT.
- I was too young to go to ATC. I believed that it was the expected course of action. I was given no choice.

- I thought it was the accepted practice if we were under 17.
- As I recall it was the only choice open to me. I wanted to become a teacher.

Others did recall a choice but it was one determined by their own particular circumstances:

- Wanted to be a teacher - there were 2 ways - 1) Become a JT and be paid 2) Board in Adelaide to do Leaving Honours - beyond family means. Education Department was funding a scheme to help students do Leaving Honours. I think they paid about £50 - £80 allowance which had to be paid back or added to your bond if you went on. While it was a help it was not enough to go and board in Adelaide.
- Could not afford to go to the city to do Leaving Honours and was keen to teach rather than study.
- I did not want to go to Adelaide to do Leaving Honours partly because my aptitude test said I would not 'achieve' and partly because I was very much a country girl - and when this opportunity came, I accepted gratefully - also I was too young for ATC & this was a fill-in circumstance.
- By choice - I wanted to be free from intense study before going to ATC and Uni.

Some respondents recalled having the choice practically made for them:

- Mum's choice, plus my girl friend and the Head Master both encouraged me [a female] to become a teacher.
- By choice - I had not thought of teaching until the Principal of the High School came around with application forms, and asked 'Does anyone want to become a teacher?' I took one and sent it off.
- My father thought it would be a 'good safe job with plenty of time for sport'. My younger brother was diabetic & could not attend secondary school, so would need the farm.
- Essentially a compromise between my keenness to become a teacher and my parents' reluctance to let me leave home. They felt that I was far too young to go to Adelaide and that tertiary education was rather a waste of time for a girl anyhow. I think they hoped at the time that I would give away my 'silly ambitions' and settle down in our little country town.
- There was some pressure from my father to leave school and 'earn a living'. I really wanted to be a teacher and to do junior teaching (with some remuneration) was a viable way of fulfilling my ambition ... It was also a way of gaining some freedom from a fairly strict Italian home.

For others teaching may not have been a first choice but it was an attractive option considering the circumstances they found themselves in:

- Had commenced in Dentistry at Adelaide Uni – didn't like it at all. Considered a number of possibilities - including positions with the Commonwealth Railways. Had been offered positions as Apprentice Electrician or Water Analyst. However recent medical examinations suggested that eyesight was likely to deteriorate below 6/9. Railway positions could be in

jeopardy - Medical requirements for E.D. did not specify uncorrected vision - therefore I duly presented to Flinders St. to advise them of their impending good fortune.

- I completed my secondary education at the end of World War 11. I wanted to be a carpenter or builder. There were no openings as the industry was very depressed and there was a lack of finance to boost it. I enrolled to become a teacher in the last term at school with the hope of securing employment but I was not notified of my acceptance until the first week of March and I had one week to be ready to take up my position at K... Area School.
- Wanted to become an architect - could not get work in a drawing office. Sought advice from the Head of my former High School. He suggested teaching would prove a means of obtaining a tertiary education. Took this advice. Never regretted it.
- In 1946 I was employed as a laboratory assistant at the Waite Institute. This did not appeal to me so I decided to apply for teaching with the intention of becoming a Boys' Craft Teacher.
- My youngest sister and I were the only ones in our generation of family to have an opportunity to gain a secondary education. After 4 years at boarding school, I wanted to continue studying and the only way to achieve this was to become a teacher. As I was too young to go directly to ATC, a year as a JT seemed the answer.
- I went to a country technical high from which students went as apprentices or cadets to the local international company. In the year I completed the Leaving exam, the company decided not to recruit any cadets. I had to choose between 1) teaching 2) PMG 3) Bank. The Government was advertising for Primary Teacher trainees. I tried that.

Some respondents recalled choosing teaching mainly for reasons of security:

- A bit of each. (Choice & circumstance) I had the choice of being a laboratory assistant at I.C.I. Osborne or a JT. I chose teaching because (1) the I.C.I. offer came rather late and (2) I was brought up to value security. My parents, like many others, had suffered during the Depression and Government jobs were 'safe'.
- By choice. I sought secure, preferably Government employment in view of the number of returning servicemen and women from WW11 whom received priority placement in many occupations.
- My parents were very keen to have me take a respectable, secure Government position. I was not averse to the suggestion, as a position ... was available for me, close to home.

For others the choice was for more personal reasons:

- I had the opportunity to become a bank clerk in Adelaide or a junior teacher at C... (near my home town). I chose the JT position so that I could be close to home and play football and cricket for my home town.
- To begin earning & it was by choice as there was an option for further study or become a junior teacher.

- By choice - I was a very immature 17 year old - no confidence & zero self image - was overwhelmed having to leave Norwood High School to do Leaving Honours at Adelaide High School. Junior Teaching (in my confused logic) seemed the lesser of the two evils & I had taught Sunday School for some years!
- By choice - I had lived in a small country town until my last two years at a city high school - I did not like city life and saw this as a means of escape for a year before entering TC.
- My choice. For the duration of my secondary schooling I had travelled from the hills leaving at 7.00 am and returning at 6.30 PM with a 2 mile bike ride - I felt that junior teaching (at nearby Area School) lesser of a problem.
- I could not stand the sound of typewriters and I had a horror of blood. I was therefore left with a choice between teaching and shopwork. I chose teaching because I was quite happy to continue studying and I thought I would like teaching.
- I wished to return home after my period at boarding school and I was uncertain of a career path. I wished to study Music and French - I therefore thought I might become a teacher - It paid £3-16-4 a fortnight!

There was one rather special case - noted in the concrete section as not coming home at all during the year because he had no immediate family to come to:

- Circumstances - had to support myself entirely; given an introduction to Department by an old friend ('Mater' of a Boys' Home). Question of going straight to Teachers College didn't arise (don't think). Anyhow, only thing on offer - bare Matric (Leaving - modest results) apparently suggested limited ability (mine).

Preference for an alternative to junior teaching

As would be expected from the large number attracted into teaching by a choice of one kind or another, only about a third of the respondents indicated that they would have preferred to be doing something other than junior teaching. Some of those who did answer this question had entered the system because it was the only way that they could get into teaching but they would have preferred to either be at the Teachers College or to be furthering their own secondary education:

- Attending College.
- Initially I would have chosen to be a junior teacher for that had been my goal for years (to teach). Later during the JT year I would have preferred to be in College. [he was not getting help & guidance from the Head]
- While I happily accepted the chance to be a junior teacher, I still thought at that time that those few students who had gone to Adelaide for Leaving Honours were so much more privileged. [this was the female noted above who saw junior teaching as a compromise between her wishes and those of her parents]

- In hindsight I believe the interruption in study habits made University level study very difficult for an average student. I would have preferred to 'do' Leaving Honours.
- I was only 16 - I probably would have preferred to go to University the following year to do an Arts degree but in those days if one did not have a scholarship, it did not occur to one that there was even an option to be considered unless one's parents were really rich.

The male respondent who had chosen junior teaching instead of a city job at I.C.I. had some regrets for personal rather than professional reasons:

- There were moments when I wished I had preferred the comforts of city life.

Another male, who really wanted to be a teacher, used this section to emphasise the value of the junior teacher experience:

- I would <u>not</u> have preferred another option as the JT year gave me a sound insight to the profession and provided a base of experience on which to base Educational Psychology and teaching practice not available to those entering Teachers College from school.

One other who had been too young for College and who believed he was given no choice was equally enthusiastic in hindsight:

- On looking back now that junior teacher year was the most valuable for me - I know now that I wouldn't have wanted it any other way.

Another respondent gave a somewhat more cryptic evaluation of what he believed of his opportunity:

- I believed, and was led to believe, that to have gained a junior teachership was a 'golden opportunity'.

Others explained why they could not be what they would really have preferred:

- I had some vague idea that I'd like to be a dressmaker - but mum had other ideas - so as usual I did as I was told. It's a job you can always go back to after you are married if you need to - plus holidays at the same time as your children. How did she know that I needed to? As usual mum was right. [the female noted above as being led into junior teaching by her mum, her best friend and her Head master]
- I had hoped to become an industrial chemist but did not pass Chemistry.
- The only other idea I had was Chem at the Univ, but could have been a problem with money - it was only a fleeting thought
- I had no set career at the time - apart from becoming a pilot. I was actually turned down for pilot training by the RAAF interview board. Took up private flying instruction in 1954. [this male had been noted in the concrete section as deferring his entry to the College for some three years while he tried a variety of other jobs]
- At that time, other than farming, I had no idea what I wanted to do. [the one noted above, as having a sick brother whom needed the family farm]

The general impression from these responses is that although a number had other reasons for becoming junior teachers, unless a respondent was academically qualified for Leaving Honours or could afford to go to Adelaide to study at that level, junior teaching was still the main entry point.

Readiness for the role

As has been seen, a major finding of the Education Inquiry Committee was that young untrained people straight from school were not ready to undertake the responsibilities that had been given to junior teachers. The concrete facts indicated that in the five years after the handing down of the Inquiry's First Report such responsibilities continued to be given to the majority of these respondents. It was noted in Chapter 12 that the great majority - 77% - of respondents from the period 1940 to 1945 believed that they were ready for the task or had not even considered such a question then. In the period under review however, rather fewer respondents (about 64%) felt that way.

Those who felt ready

In the previous period it seemed that there were strong feelings amongst respondents that it was not appropriate to question whether one was ready or not but just to accept the job. This view does not come through anywhere nearly as strongly from the respondents from 1946 to 1950. What is similar to the previous period is the lack of any real awareness on the part of respondents of the recent controversy about the system or that they were entering a training that had just been labelled as not in their interests or those of the pupils and recommended for abolition. Of the 29 respondents from 1946 and 1947 when awareness of the First Report of the Education Inquiry Committee could have been expected to be at its height, 22 believed that they were ready to take on the task. It was not until 1949 when it must have become evident that the system was being wound up that a majority of the 13 respondents recalled not feeling ready for the job.

Over the whole period the most common cause for feeling ready to be a junior teacher was that of being confident. For some it was the confidence of youth or being ready for anything:

- Yes - I was going to be the best teacher ever.
- Yes – couldn't wait.
- I counted it a wonderful privilege and yes, at that stage I felt I was able and capable to take the position.
- Yes - I had wanted to be a teacher since I could remember (several of my female relatives were teachers) and was sure I was ready (What a surprise I had awaiting me!)
- I loved a challenge and prepared myself - not knowing what would be required of me at the school. I had never been in an Area School in my life. I had very vivid recollections of my

Primary School Teacher [from a one-teacher school] whom I admired for his versatility and I planned to follow his example & teaching style.

At least two had doubts about their own confidence in feeling ready at the time and both of them marked both 'Yes' and 'No' on their answers:

- What a step into the unknown. Tremendous trepidation but I was prepared to try anything so 'ready' in this sense - but not ready in a professional sense to bully and bewilder those poor little kids.
- I was game to take on almost anything in those days. Certainly I wasn't well prepared for the role but how could this have been achieved?

For others, confidence was somewhat more firmly based. Some felt confident because of certain experiences:

- In my naivety yes! I had experience as being a Sunday School Teacher and Christian Endeavour leader in my church.
- I suppose I had developed some confidence through a little experience of Sunday School teaching. Deep down I suppose I assumed that you just told the children what to do and they would do it.
- Yes - I felt quite confident as I had made up my mind to be a craft teacher. [his own Craft teacher had encouraged him in this.]
- Yes - I had been in a very caring Higher Primary School for 9 years where the older children had been encouraged and supported by the staff to help the younger children (unusual for those days). So I felt comfortable with the idea; although I did not quite expect to have sole responsibility for three classes.
- Yes - What presumption! I had been practising for years. I always observed my own teachers closely + often put myself in their shoes. I assumed that every teacher modelled herself on those who taught her - as we do in parenting.
- Yes - I drew on the experience of the methods which my teachers had used at high school.
- Yes - as a student leader in a small school that provided opportunities for individual initiatives and responsibilities, and recognized such attributes I was confident of myself in the presence of others.
- Had youth leader experience and was a couple of years older than those straight from school.
- Yes - after 2 years in the Prefect System at Boarding School where I was the oldest, most senior boarder, being a lowly junior teacher was a relief. [she was a supernumerary in an Infant class]
- Whilst at Primary School I had been used as a monitor while in Year 7 which I repeated as my parents could not afford to send me to boarding college (at that stage).

A few were confident because they were going into familiar surroundings:

- Because I was to be a JT at C... where I'd been during my High Schooling so I knew the teachers & children. I felt quite happy at being there.
- I knew most of the children and their parents. I feel I had their respect.

Even some who did not get the appointment they had expected retained their confidence:

- Yes - I expected to be appointed to a Primary School. Wherever I had attended as a primary student myself, I had always been used as an unofficial 'monitor' - especially in One Teacher Schools. I was somewhat nonplussed when the E.D. man [at an interview] said he was appointing me to a High School. When I expressed surprise he replied to the effect that if I was at least half as good as I had told him I was then I should have no difficulty. (I have often wondered if he was being sincere or sarcastic).
- Sunday School teaching I thought had been a plus, and also, I had hoped I would be an assistant to a class teacher. I was good at closing my mind to negative aspects. [she had sole responsibility for a Grade 111]

Other respondents were familiar with the work of junior teachers and this gave them confidence:

- Yes - I had friends who were junior teachers during my last year at high school & they found the task relatively easy even though they taught in the same school where they had been students. I was very confident of my own ability.
- ... Several junior teachers had been appointed to the school (including one of its own students) whilst I attended, and I believed I could do as well as they.
- Yes - I had known the girl who had preceded me as JT. We played basketball in the same team and I looked up to her, so I felt proud to follow in her footsteps.
- I felt confident if not competent. I had known a couple of junior teachers.

There were a few, too, who could not recall considering readiness:

- I really didn't think about it. If this was what I had to do to be a teacher then I had to do it.
- I don't think I gave this any thought, I could not do Leaving Honours (not available at the Adelaide Technical High School) so this was an alternative that appealed and gave some financial reward which I needed.
- I had no clear views about readiness or motivation. Clearly I had to find a job. It should be noted that few youngsters completed Leaving at the town [the country town noted earlier as serving an international company] at that stage. There was no Leaving Honours. No-one matriculated: it wasn't part of the course.
- Not knowing any better and from a very regimented family and school background I felt quite confident.

Those who did not feel ready

Apart from one 'No' and one 'Definitely not' those who did not feel ready were able to explain why. For some the problem lay simply in not being mature enough or experienced enough:

- Not entirely because I was somewhat immature though my age [17.8] belied that, but I was country educated entirely.
- No - I was shy, awkward with people of my own age and suffered a huge inferiority complex.

Some respondents recalled overcoming their reservations fairly quickly:

- Not at first, I believed that I had something worthwhile to offer however, and after the initial strangeness of being 'on the other side of the desk', learned some important lessons quickly.
- Not really, but I was rather adventurous and was always encouraged by my mother who had little formal education and who was quite a feminist for those days (especially for an Italian). She was of the firm belief that if you wanted something badly enough - you could do it.

For others any lack of readiness was tempered by the inevitability of it all:

- No - but as I had chosen teaching, the only alternative was to go to Adelaide and my parents could not afford that.
- Looking back probably not, but it was the accepted means and you tried to do your job - at least we were there because we wanted to teach and <u>not</u> for the <u>money</u>.

For the majority it was the lack of preparation for what was to happen that caused them to feel unready:

- I wasn't really sure what it entailed.
- Probably not, I had little knowledge of what it entailed or what was expected of a teacher.
- No I didn't feel confident, but hoped to improve with experience.
- Not really, particularly as I was anticipating appointment as a junior teacher in an infant school or with junior classes in a primary school. [she was appointed to her local high school]
- No thought of being ready - rather one of apprehension and inadequacy.

Further insights into readiness are provided by the responses to the final part of Question 1 where respondents were asked to recall how they felt on leaving home to take up their appointment and as they approached the school on the first day.

On leaving home to begin junior teaching

In a period when the Department was attempting to place as many junior teachers as possible either at or within easy reach of home, the question of how respondents recalled feeling as they left home tended to be a somewhat less significant than it had in the past. About 15% of the respondents left the space blank or simply wrote 'N/A' as they had not left home and one went further by adding 'Not relevant as

I remained in my family home'. Of those who did leave home, some explained why they had no difficulty about it:

- I'd been away from home for my three High School years.
- I left home when I was 12 and got home from school only at vacation time. Therefore the idea of 'leaving home' had become the pattern of life.

On the other hand, one female who had remained at home used the question to explain how she felt about taking up the new role:

- Yes excited but completely unaware of the importance of education for young children.

This suggests a measure of professional unreadiness for the job and the recollection of another female who had already experienced leaving home indicates that she may also well have been unready emotionally:

- Sick with the thought of beginning something new. Had gone through it all before when I started High School but it never improved.

Indeed almost 60% of the rest expressed some concerns - emotional, professional, or both - about setting off to be junior teachers that tended to support the view put to the Inquiry that generally young people direct from school were not ready to undertake a teaching role. For some of them taking on junior teaching presented difficulties ranging from the mild to the severe:

- It was a case of leaving at night on the ship 'Minnipa'. I think I remember feeling that I had made a mistake leaving the creature comforts of the city and the warmth of a close family. I had not been away from home for an extended period before.
- A feeling of uncertainty - particularly as I was going to a Secondary School in the Port Adelaide area. [he was boarding in the city]
- Rather alone & out in the big world with hardly a soul to turn to in a new setting. I guess I hoped the kids would respond in a respectful way.
- Absolutely terrified.
- Sheer panic.
- Trepidation, fear of failure.
- I was terrified.
- Quite stricken. Probably on the verge of tears as I was very shy and timid.
- A great uncertainty. I was going to a town which I had never been to. The board etc. was not arranged.
- It is laughable now but it was such a big step to pack up my belongings and move to the next town - 5 miles away.

For the rest there were mixed feelings:

- Keen but apprehensive.
- Excited but nervous.

- Sad, dubious but excited.
- Second school which was not in my home town - excited, frightened.
- Excited but apprehensive. Could I do the task? Would I be accepted by the staff?
- Yes - family support - while I was entering the unknown I felt I would cope.
- I was excited, not confident but family in the town of appointment gave me some sense of security. I was grateful to the Inspector in the Education Department who appointed me to that particular school.
- It was my first time away from home so there were doubts about boarding with another family. This was tempered with the excitement of a new adventure.
- A bit distraught. The Mallee seemed remote (it was, & still is). I felt confident but the fear of the unknown was definitely present.
- Not being a very outgoing person I was not ready to 'take on the world' but being the eldest of a fairly large family, and realising that my parents probably struggled financially to keep me at school for the 4th year, I was glad to be able to do something to support myself.

One male who did not have to leave home had certain reservations as he set out for the school:

- As my appointment was in the metropolitan area, I was able to live at home and this contributed to my sense of security for the immediate future. There was however, some apprehension as I was to join the staff of a High School. Being a Tech High School student, I wondered if I would be accepted, but overall my feelings were of achievement.

Of the smaller group for whom the move from home to teaching or from home to boarding held no fears, some expressed their feelings in such simple terms as 'Happy', 'Certainly excitement', 'Excitement - definite sense of pride' and 'Excitement and eager expectation'. Others explained in greater detail why they felt the way they did:

- I felt excited at the prospect of teaching as I felt confident of drawing on the experiences of my school days to do the job.
- Proud at last having the opportunity to fulfil my goal.
- Feeling of satisfaction in my heart that I was starting my first steps to becoming a teacher.
- Probably pride at starting a profession.
- A sense of adventure and a tremendous will to succeed.
- Pride in the fact that my years of hard work had got me this far.
- Exhilarated! I was to teach in my own home school.
- I felt important and excited.
- I was quite happy as I was in very familiar surroundings.

One male was in special circumstances:

- My situation was different from most; caretaker; parent/mater - as wonderful as she was - had others to tend to and so I was faced with the reality of self sufficiency and somehow did not

find this daunting (except trip on Karatta - sea-sick!).

On approaching the school

Only three respondents had forgotten how they felt as they approached the school on the first day and one other recalled that this event had 'made no lasting impression'. Two others who had forgotten the actual morning remembered another aspect of their arrival. One male recalled that:

- ... But I do remember the previous afternoon, arriving in rain in a strange environment. People were kind enough but were obviously only interested in me as a teacher, a 'hand' not as a person. I felt very much alone.

Another male who was not expected recalled having recovered some confidence by the time school began:

- Much better than when I arrived at an empty station, unknown and unwanted, to be rescued by the Station Master. Here was something solid. In short, I did feel rather confident.

Those who did recall their feelings as they approached the school fall into three general categories. The bulk of them - some 50% - felt apprehensive, another 30% felt quite good and the rest had mixed feelings. Overall then some 70% expressed either straight out doubts or had mixed feelings about taking up the role, as they actually were about to begin it. There were a variety of reasons why respondents felt apprehensive about beginning teaching and here, too, some indicated definite signs of unreadiness for such a role. Even some whom the Department had placed in their hometowns and familiar school surroundings had misgivings about what they were about to begin:

- Some trepidation as to whether the older students would accept my transition from the 'Head Prefect' of the year before to being a junior teacher on the staff.
- Certainly very apprehensive about my capabilities, uncertain about joining a staff of people who had been my teachers for 5 years and students who knew me as a fellow student and their acceptance of my new role.
- Anxious to find out who was in my class because I knew so many of the older brothers and sisters through secondary school and sporting contacts.
- The apprehension increased as I entered the staffroom. I had always had to knock before but now I could walk straight in.
- Nervous at presenting myself to a Headmaster as associate staff as he had been my Headmaster when I was a pupil at the same school.

Some felt that they had good reason to be worried:

- Apprehensive when I saw boys much bigger than me at the line- up. [a male at a technical high]
- Naturally I was a little nervous. The Senior Mistress from my former High School was on the school bus and she said to be firm right from the start.

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- This was the time of particularly heavy rainfall in the North West. (S.A.'s heaviest ever rainfall in 24 hours - 10" at Hesso!) Railway washaways delayed my arrival ... got there at 3 a.m. on the morning school began. I had missed all the preliminary meetings etc. I was tired, hungry and apprehensive.
- Absolutely terrifying and ghastly. There had to be a train strike that day didn't there but there was an extra early one which I had to catch to get to Grange Station. Then I walked to Escourt House alone. (I didn't even know where it was!) It couldn't have been a good day because I can't remember anything else but wanting to quit.
- I was terrified on the first day. When I arrived at the school I didn't know where to go. I can't remember whether it even occurred to me to report to the H.M.. He would have been too busy with Grade 1 enrolments to bother with me anyway. I ended up parking myself in the staffroom to be rescued sometime later by the Grade 7 teacher who sent me across to the shop to buy biscuits for morning tea. That was my first job as a JT!

Some simply recalled their feelings without giving reasons for feeling as they did:

- More than terrified - literally shaking. [she had been 'absolutely terrified' on leaving home]
- Scared stiff. [Interestingly enough, this male from the city had said earlier that he was quite confident of becoming a junior teacher 'especially going to a country school'.]
- Extremely nervous and self-conscious.
- I can remember being extremely nervous and shy and certainly feeling ill-at-ease. This persisted for several weeks.
- No doubt apprehension.
- Apprehension and uncertainty.

One male recalled details of the doubts in his mind at the time:

- Somewhat apprehensive. Would I get on with the kids (and the HT)? Would I do the right thing - would the kids take notice, was this the right job in life for me?

A female recalled the difficulty she faced through what she had earlier described as 'a huge inferiority complex':

- I had only to walk down the road but recall busying myself in my school room because I was too shy to face the assembled school. No doubt the HT was too busy to nurse-maid the junior teacher that morning.

For others feelings of apprehension were tempered in a variety of ways. For some there was anticipation:

- Some trepidation but looked forward to it. Very strange to be confronted by 30+ kids aged 5 - 13 all goggled-eyed.
- Full of expectation, joy, but a little apprehensive as to how the experience would turn out.

- The staff accepted me well - students in the secondary section seemed to think I was a new student as I seemed too young to be a teacher. However, they respected me and we established a fine relationship. I was positive. From that day on I was to be the helper instead of being helped (as a student).
- We [he had brought his niece on his bicycle] were greeted by my niece's friends in Grade 1 and by many boys who wanted me to get out the cricket equipment. No time for a faint heart!

Two respondents who were quite happy about beginning teaching were from 1948 when schools opened later than usual:

- It was the year of the Polio scare. I filled in at my local primary school - (2 teachers - no children) for two weeks.
- I knew that there were no children for two weeks due to the polio epidemic so I had a chance to get more organized.

Others were simply confident about beginning their chosen careers:

- No hint of trepidation - I was confident that this was my role in life.
- I looked forward to the new challenge as teachers were respected in the community.

One respondent was pleased to be beginning at a second school where he hoped [forlornly, as it turned out]:

- That this school would be different from my first as JT.

Another who had was noted earlier as having 'great uncertainty' on leaving home for a new town where board had not been arranged recalled approaching the school in a quite different frame of mind:

- No great worries (due to ignorance I think).

QU. 2 LEVELS OF SATISFACTION - DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

As has been seen, a major finding of the Education Inquiry Committee was that the junior teacher system was not in the interests of the trainees. There is evidence in Question 1, as respondents began in the new role, to suggest that the majority were not particularly aware that the system they were entering was likely to be unfair to them in terms of work loads and responsibilities, remuneration and supervision, or indeed of the general inappropriateness of putting untrained teenagers in front of classes. Question 2 asked them to explore the longer term aspects of the role. In addition to recalling what was very satisfactory, less satisfactory and unsatisfactory about their time as a junior teacher, respondents were asked to give details of any difficulties that they encountered and to say how they dealt with them. As in the previous period, there is not a great deal of evidence from the memoirs of those who served as junior teachers between 1946 and 1950 of many having experienced much dissatisfaction or having suffered any considerable disadvantage from the experience. While some certainly recalled bad experiences, the responses overall convey a picture of a group of young people who found much that was satisfying in the job, some aspects that were less satisfying and very little

that was unsatisfactory. In this period only three respondents indicated that they found nothing satisfactory. One left the space blank while the other two made these comments:

- It was a tough year. Teachers didn't really want to know you. Boys knew you were a rookie. [this male was facing an assault charge for having ejected a student from class]
- After 40 years I remember few. [this was the female who had admitted earlier to having 'a huge inferiority complex' and being unable to face the assembled school on the first day]

Very satisfying aspects

There was a similar response here to that of the previous period when the great majority also found at least one very satisfactory thing about the experience. About equal numbers found their satisfaction in the children, or in the way they were received and treated by significant others in the school and community. For the majority however, the greatest satisfaction came from 'The teaching itself' as one respondent put it. There were those for whom the experience proved that they had made the right choice of a career:

- It confirmed that teaching was for me and I felt good in front of the students.
- I discovered that I really enjoyed teaching. I was pleased to find I could keep discipline.

For others teaching was simply an enjoyable experience:

- I enjoyed teaching - every bit of it.
- Being able to be involved in all aspects of school teaching from Infant to more senior students. Greatest satisfaction was when I took my own Social Studies class of Grades 1V & V.
- I learnt what a great responsibility it was to have young children to teach the basics, and I loved it. It was fulfilling and most worthwhile.
- I loved being able to innovate my own ideas and to give variety to my work. A particular incentive scheme that I introduced had all the staff popping in to see how it worked.
- Teaching, total acceptance by the pupils, interaction with the pupils...

Some found the most satisfaction in seeing their students progress:

- I enjoyed observing these young children making progress under my guidance.
- Watching the children develop socially and academically and feeling that I was in some way helping them.
- Somehow 'getting through' with totally unsuitable methods and feeling a child's trusting hand in yours.
- When children responded favourably towards my efforts.
- When Grade 1 commenced reading - all eleven of them! (I was trained to Teach and Test). When children did well in testing thus proving that they understood my explanations (and entreaties??)
- The look of satisfaction in the eye when someone 'got it' or 'mastered' a process.

- Having students learn things from me and enjoy doing them.
- Having responsibility for the class.

Closely allied with enjoying teaching was just being with children:

- I loved all the children - kids were so nice - they wanted to please.
- Working with pleasant, unsophisticated young children. The love through their respect and response to my interaction as 'family'. The sweet simplicity of country games, their confidence and 'oneness' in the yard or classroom fireside in Winter.
- The country kids were well-behaved, appreciative, and (with the exception of one cretinous family - [with a child] aged 11 in Yr 3 for example) reasonably able to learn.
- Being with children of that age group. [Infants]
- Working with young children in a small country community.
- Working with First Years, particularly in languages.
- The wonderful rapport with all the children in the school...
- Working and 'playing' with the students. I never felt I was above them.
- I enjoyed the little children, in hindsight they were the losers because of my inexperience - mainly lacking ideas for making lessons more appealing.
- General friendly response by children and others involved. Sense of doing something worthwhile.
- My association with the children and the fact that they were 'my class' and not shared.

Another source of satisfaction was being well treated by the staff and community. A number mentioned the Head of course in this context and while more details on the role of Heads is available in the next section it is clear that for a few, the Head was of particular importance in their feeling of satisfaction:

- ... Most importantly the help and encouragement given me by the headmaster.
- ... The Headmaster who was so considerate, respectful and helpful to me.
- Probably the most satisfying part of it all was that the Head seemed to sum up early that I was satisfactory and could do the job reasonably and then left me alone.

Some from bigger schools recalled the way the other staff treated them as a source of satisfaction:

- My acceptance by staff and students as a 'teacher'. I do not recall any time being made to feel like a novice or an inferior staff member. I gained confidence and experience that helped me at Teachers College and in later life.
- I eventually found the staff to be very friendly, helpful and supportive.
- The genuine acceptance by the staff of the school including the Headmaster (although the latter was not obvious until the end of the year - when it seemed a report was being prepared).
- The other teachers treated me as an equal staff member and did everything possible to assist my initiation into teaching. They offered advice and direction in classroom procedures - student

teacher relationships and effective methods for class recording.

- The ready acceptance by those who the year before had been my enemies - sorry - teachers.

For others acceptance by the parents was a matter of satisfaction:

- Being treated as an adult with an important responsibility and respect not only from the children but also community elders. Acceptance within the community and invitations to many functions.
- Parents known to my family - their support freely given.
- Interacting with parents, and being treated as an adult and gaining experience from dealing with different types of children - realizing that there were different reactions from anything I had encountered in my family or school life as a student.
- Establishing a close relationship with both students and parents and having your efforts appreciated.

While one respondent simply recalled that 'all' was satisfactory, others could not contain themselves to just one or even two sources of satisfaction but had to list numbers of them:

- Kids, sport, teaching, parents.
- The support and friendship of staff, the co-operation of students and a sense of achievement in teaching children. Support from parents.
- Interaction with young children - taking responsibility for various areas of school organization, and later my 'own' class - being part of the staff 'family' - finding I had chosen the 'right' career.
- Teaching the subjects that interested me. The children. The townspeople. The assurance that I had embarked on a worthwhile (and admired) career.

There were a few who had quite different sources of satisfaction to the rest:

- ... Opportunities to extend my knowledge and Art experiences through additional subjects encouraged by the Art teacher.
- As I had limited teaching responsibilities I had the opportunity for further study. For this I was grateful.
- Warm words of appreciation and encouragement from the District Inspector - but he didn't come until late in the year.
- The sick children becoming well, their trust of & love of myself. Learning despite [their] illness gave me confidence and experience.
- I liked the pleasant jobs with no responsibility that I was given (playing for singing, playing with the kindies etc.) I liked the two Infant teachers I had during that year.

Less satisfying aspects

In the previous period close to a third of the respondents had found nothing less satisfying about their experience or had left the space blank. In the period under review, a rather smaller number - just over a quarter - of the respondents felt this way. The majority of them left the space blank but some used it to re-emphasise their satisfaction:

- It was all very satisfactory. [this male who in the country for the first time, had noted earlier that what he found as very satisfactory was 'Mixing with peer groups and playing sport. Learning about trapping rats and rabbits']
- Quite happy with it all.
- Don't remember any.

Three respondents who initially indicated a less that satisfactory aspect went on to qualify that feeling:

- The remoteness, but really I had no deeply felt complaints about the nature of the work. Looking back our generation had an enormously developed sense of the work ethic, and I think my attitude was that if the job was expected of you, you just got stuck into it.
- When a Grade 1 girl peed on my lap when hearing her read - that's a joke! Can't think of any bad instances.
- Teaching number, Phys Ed, and what on earth was 'Nature Study' supposed to be? We just went on weekly 'Nature Walks' ie. strolls in the countryside. Nothing really worried me.

Of the 73% or so who did recall an ongoing less than satisfactory aspect of the role, the majority found it in conditions at the school or at their boarding place. Some found certain physical aspects, including loneliness, difficult:

- Getting a thump on the wall at 6am each morning to be at the breakfast table by 6.15. Cutting lunches and harnessing the horse in Winter when ice was solid on the drinking trough. I don't remember anything I didn't like about the school hours except the cold in the unheated old building.
- The remoteness and loneliness of living in such a desolate area. [The Mallee] I was soon 'homesick' and longing for the green and cool of my Adelaide Hills town. It was like living in a foreign country as the people lived completely foreign life styles. Food was scarce, and what little there was almost inedible. By the end of the year, I was 8st.0lbs (my weight before was 10st4lbs) [a male respondent]
- Having no other JT or young teacher to talk to.
- Marking lots of English essays.
- The marking out of hours work.
- I did not enjoy teaching those subjects for which I had to provide my own resources. I had so little and the school was not particularly well equipped.

- Supervising sport, particularly sports of which I had little interest.
- Supervising yard and toilets.
- Coping with urine under the seats. Coping with two children who frightened the hell out of me when one or the other had epileptic fits.

For others the less satisfactory aspects lay in their relationships with the students. One respondent who was appointed to his home town recalls the adjustments he had to make:

- Because I had been a student at the same school for the 4 years previously the relationship with students who had been my mates the year before. They had to adjust too.

For some there were disciplinary problems:

- Initially I had some disciplinary problems with Year 8 boys. This eventually improved. [a male in a technical high school]
- Disciplinary problems. There were several 'big bully' types in the school who rather terrified me. [a female in a smaller primary school]
- Taking individual lessons spread through the week with Grade V11. [a female in an area school]
- 3rd & 4th Years. [a female who wanted to be an Infant teacher]
- I found it difficult to keep order if given the Grade 111 boys to mind - e.g. when taking reading outside, one climbed a tree and I was unable to persuade him to come down! [a female supernumerary]

Others recalled simply not being ready for what they had to face:

- When teachers left me with a class without any guidelines or expected result then criticized the outcome of my efforts.
- I was given responsibility for a class too soon.
- Lack of knowledge re expectations of curriculum etc.

Some found the attitude or actions of their Heads less than satisfying:

- A Head master who left almost all the concert arrangements to me, who took afternoon tea without ever offering me the same, despite my distance from home compared with his on site.
- Having lectures from the Head after school each evening.
- Feeling insecure at first and intimidated by a spinster who belonged to the Establishment...and whose whole life was educated to teaching.
- Being made 'small' by the Headmaster (In hindsight he probably needed to bring me down from 'Cloud 9'). I hated the 'petty' criticism when having to prepare lessons in great detail and then rewrite them several times because of grammatical details.
- Head teachers, Inspectors, lack of assistance.

One respondent recalled the effect of a change of Heads at his school:

- During the latter part (change of Principal) being left very much to my own devices and feeling

being 'used up' in overall supervision of the whole school - especially yard duties and not having the required tuition in methodology or the warm discussions previously given.

A rather smaller group had self doubts and worries about what they were achieving:

- Knowing that there was so much I didn't know and that my inexperience must have repercussions on the children's progress.
- Knowing that when you lose your temper at a child's incomprehension, you are at fault. More children were damaged by the Junior Teacher System than I like to think (if my experience was multiplied). Yet I tried many things to create interest - played games etc. - but the psychological guide was absent. Found listening to the kids read a real bore.
- Self conscious feeling working in front of a class and others. Repetition and some boring methods used in teaching.
- Less satisfying at the time, was the inability to really help children with learning difficulties. I thought it was all a matter of discipline - a bit like breaking in a horse - that I could force children to learn by my superior will.

Interestingly enough only four of these respondents found the remuneration a cause of less satisfaction. Three of them were males from 1946:

- Coping on 30/- a week including board.
- The remuneration wasn't particularly good. I collected £4-3-4d Per fortnight. This meant I was 4d down the drain each week. I was forced to seek 'illegal' part-time employment to make pocket money e.g. house wiring, garage erection etc.
- In those days teachers provided all their teaching aids. As my salary was very low I was often envious of the other staff who could afford to buy what I could not.

The other was a male from 1947:

- Lack of remuneration for the amount of effort and assistance which I imparted to the life of the school.

One respondent - a male from 1949 - made a list of what was less satisfactory for him:

- 1) Extending observation time, making notes of what I thought I saw happening, 'studying' the 'crusty' books on principles of teaching & educational psychology.
  2) The cold atmosphere of my boarding place where I had the feeling of 'being put up with'.
  3) A sense of loneliness in being away from home.

Finally there were a few unusual less satisfying aspects:

- The realisation that I'd have many subjects to get. [this male had come in from the woodworking trade at age 19]

- I remember going with the Head to special days [inservice?] during the year and this was really overwhelming to be with so many staff and other junior teachers. [female from a one-teacher school in 1949]
- I didn't like it when there was not too much to do. [the respondent from the Victorian junior teacher service]

Unsatisfactory aspects

In the previous period almost 60% of respondents found nothing unsatisfactory about their experience as junior teachers. There is a noticeable change in this regard in the responses from those from the period under review with 53% of them recalling one or more unsatisfactory aspects. Most of those who found nothing unsatisfactory were content to leave the space blank or simply write 'Nil', 'Nothing in particular' or 'None that I recall'. Only one went into detail about it:

- None - I suppose I was lucky having an ex Demonstration teacher as my Head Teacher. I was determined to do as well as the rest of the staff - as a result I enjoyed my time.

Of those who found something unsatisfactory, only four were concerned about the remuneration and for three of them it was the only concern:

- The allowance.
- Trying to live on £2-13-5d per week.
- The fortnightly pay for the assistance given to staff members to whom I was attached.

One other linked the low pay with the responsibility:

- (In retrospect mainly) the salary was a pittance for the time spent £5-5-4d per fortnight & being 'thrown' into a so-called teaching position with no training at all from the first day.

About a third of the others also found the responsibility that they had to accept - particularly without any preparation - as the unsatisfactory aspect of the job:

- It was one thing - advantage - to be treated as a staff equal but this became an expectation to 'perform' at the same standard as trained staff but at least it made me measure up!
- Due to teacher shortage [1946] I had to teach one subject (to a very small class) in which I did not have the understanding or knowledge required and I remember feeling very inadequate. I did not do well in this area.
- I was not happy that, as an untrained 16 year old, I was entrusted with almost sole responsibility for those 24 young children.
- Having to accept responsibility for the learning programme of quite a large group of children. Discipline was often seen as some form of corporal punishment.
- The soul-less nature of the Department that would send a 16 year old kid hundreds of miles away without any form of induction or counselling. Even then I felt myself just a de-humanised cog in a bureaucratic machine. However, I thought that this was a normal circumstance in the

work force.

- The responsibility of being 'the' class teacher and not just a helper to an experienced person with opportunities to observe.
- While I learnt from example and some reading, I believe that I should have had more direction in being required to follow/study a 'Head Office Prepared' course on teaching.
- I know I found it was hard to conduct Phys Ed & Singing lessons.

Some found the attitude of the Head or other teachers as unsatisfactory:

- Lack of people who cared about what I was doing - someone who was critical about lesson plans, lesson performance.
- Lack of direction and assistance from Head Teacher.
- Being on yard duty when Head Teacher went home to a hot lunch every day!
- Hostile attitude shown by some teachers who saw me as an intruder into their space.
- As a member of staff I felt rather lonely.
- Once a week I had to take some slow readers while the Infant teacher took the rest of the children (Grades 1 -11) for a Nature Walk.

For others it was the attitude of the students that was unsatisfactory:

- The (some) students in upper classes took great delight in causing situations to embarrass me. [the female noted earlier as being 'rather terrified' of several 'big bully' types]
- Taking my rostered yard duty and having to use secondary boys to empty bins. [this female had also found having to teach Grade V11 for individual lessons as less satisfactory]
- The way that much good timber was butchered so quickly and feeling helpless to stop it (without doing it for them). [the male respondent who had come in from the trade]
- 2nd Years. [this female who wanted to be an Infant teacher was noted earlier as finding the 3rd & 4th Yrs in the high school where she had to serve her junior teachership as less satisfactory and the only satisfactory aspect being her work in languages with the 1st Years]

A few found sheer loneliness as the most unsatisfactory thing that they had to deal with:

- Being left to fend for one's self in an unfamiliar environment.
- The social customs - the whole social fabric was alien to me. Mon - Fri. O.K. - school. The weekends, apart from sport, were dreadful. One excellent family helped me however. [this was the male who found the Mallee a remote and desolate place to have to live in]

Interestingly enough only one respondent found her unsatisfactoriness in the plight of the children rather than in her own situation:

- I didn't realise until I went to the city just how deprived of equipment country kids were. Even difficult to get books except for one box each term from the city.

Difficulties faced

In this section in Chapter 12, it was noted that the responses from 1940 to 1945 presented a rather different picture to the one put forward by the S.A. Teachers' Union in the lead up to the Inquiry and in the evidence it, and other opponents of the system, presented in 1943. In that period almost 50% of the respondents indicated that they had no difficulties or were unaware of any at the time. In the period under review even more respondents - 55% - recalled having no real problems. About a third of them simply left the space blank or wrote brief responses such as 'None that I recall', 'None at all' or 'No problems other than superficial'. The others expanded on why they felt that they had had no problems by specifying the particular group or groups involved and identifying one or more reasons why this was so. For some success lay mainly in their sporting ability:

- Can't remember any difficulties with kids, parents or the HT. I played all major sports - that is the ticket to entry to most small towns.
- Initial peer group acceptance took some time. City slicker and after standing up to a bully type I was accepted. Sport helped with the older people and the children.
- Not applicable. I enjoyed working with the children and staff. I entered sporting activities at the school and some social life in the town (Mon - Fri). At my second school (after 8 weeks) where I lived full time I thrived on the sport, social life and all school personnel.
- Only challenge was that I played football/cricket for P... [his home town] and not C... [school town]. But all was forgiven because C... Primary School's football, cricket, netball and sports (Inter school) teams (of which I was in charge) were usually successful!

Others recalled being accepted because of the position they now held:

- I cannot recall any such difficulties - I think that I was accepted for what I was.
- No difficulties as I was treated with the same respect as other staff.
- Children respected me as one of the staff. Staff members did likewise - I think this was because I was putting in such a big effort and the results were obvious. This caused them to show a real interest in what I was doing. All staff, including me, were respected and appreciated by the townspeople. We joined in their activities, held positions on committees and physically supported their interest groups.
- No problems. Children much better behaved in those days, and if someone was in authority (even a junior teacher whom they'd known as a student) they respected that authority.

One male recalled surviving a potentially difficult situation due to the status of his own parents:

- It was rather surprising to find that 4 members of the Leaving class were older than I was. In addition to that I was well known at P... so there was no 'unknown' factor working to my advantage. However, it was fortunate that my parents were held in high regard there so the locals extended the same good will towards me.

Others drew on aspects of their natural ability or their previous experience:

- No real problems apart from lack of training - I was given task of teaching Grade 1's mainly and used the abacus and very basic spelling techniques for formal numeracy/literacy - but I could tell a story well and this helped.
- I had no difficulties relating to children. Apart from my family, and Sunday School teaching, I had also had the experience of attending a small country school myself. Sometimes we had two teachers for Grades 1 - 7, sometimes only one, and then the older students taught Grades 1 - 3 for a large part of the day. I loved that, as a Grade 6-7 child, but of course it horrifies me now.

For one male the lack of problems was due to the children:

- Children - poor and limited in everything yet eager to learn. Wonderful material to learn one's craft on.

A male from 1948, living in his home town, summed up what clearly made for a lack of problems for a junior teacher:

- The children were well behaved. There were no irate parents. The Head was a friend. We played cricket and golf together.

The other 45% of respondents did have problems, some of which, like those in the previous period, reflected questions about the system raised in the lead up to, and at the Inquiry. More than half of these problems related to dealing with children and again it is easy to see from them why lack of training and understanding of child psychology were seen by expert witnesses at the Inquiry as being likely causes of difficulty for junior teachers. As has been seen already, the Departmental policy of putting junior teachers in their home schools, while excellent for some, caused problems for others:

- Relations with the other students - through being at same school.
- Found 2nd Year children less sympathetic to my position (transition from student to staff) - some inclined to be cheeky. Some were anticipating leaving school within a year, & had little interest in study.
- Secondary - difficult - many were acquaintances & some were cousins & not willing to accept me as a staff member. [she taught in the primary section of an area school but met up with these problems on yard duty]
- Being a local person my High School achievements of Head Prefect and 'Sands of Time' Award made me high profile and I felt people expected a very high standard from me but their expectations carried me through. Young brothers of friends, cousins & family friends gave me a hard time in the yard but I explained my double role in their lives and my expectations.

One female had a quite different type of problem about being in her home school:

- Only with some doubt as to my own nephew/pupil being always 'top of the class'! - But then this, in later years was known to be unfounded, since he always gained distinctions and became a senior educationist. Small-town folk had to be sure of no favouritism & all children had to take

part - with or without ability!

Others simply lacked the knowledge of how to begin dealing with children and especially how to discipline them. Some respondents simply stated the problem (and in some cases were merely restating an aspect found unsatisfactory) but others gave details of how they coped with it:

- Discipline - Grade 3 boys.
- Relating to the children & discipline were always a problem.
- Occasionally the children set out to 'bait' me to see my reaction In the early stages this was a matter of concern. I was only 3-4 years older than some of the students.
- Main difficulty was the age difference. I was only three years older than the Grade Sevens.
- In the early stages I made the mistake of being too friendly towards the students, and the senior students tended to take advantage of this fact. [this was compounded by the fact that he was in the school he had attended but he went on to point to the advantage this gave him in developing an 'excellent working relationships with the other teachers' as he had been associated with the school for all his senior school days]
- I felt self conscious and inadequate but mostly hid my feelings.
- Children! In wanting to be liked I was at first too close, too chummy & slack. This led to some taking advantage. I learnt to step back and keep some distance.
- The main problem was with the younger students. Yard duty was not an easy task in this Tech H.S. and I did not look forward to this duty.
- Early on I felt somewhat unsure about discipline of the younger students, especially Second years. I was directly challenged on several occasions by a very large boy (a leader of a gang) who reminded me that I was not a <u>real</u> teacher. After reprimands and attempted impositions, I sent him to the HM's office. Fortunately the HM backed me up, but later gave me some significant advice about securing respect and positive control in the classroom. The older students seemed to accept me, possibly because of my artistic ability, but they also seemed to recognize that I could help them with their work.
- A couple of pesky children who sometimes caused trouble. I threatened them with the Head Master if they REALLY tried me too much and wouldn't settle down to <u>my</u> authority.
- Had difficulty the first few weeks with complete attention & teaching Grades 1 - 4 in 'Stories' & 'Social Studies' - adopting a language the younger children could comprehend without boring older ones - got over this by explaining in turn.

The male respondent who was noted earlier as being charged with assault raised the problem again:

- I was charged with assault when I threw a very troublesome boy out of an Art class I was conducting. [in his later comments on whether the Head did his duty by him he recalled that 'H/M most supportive as was the Crown Law Office. No charge recorded. Report in the News - late in the year I think.']

Only a few respondents had problems over the board found for them:

- The first two months I boarded with the local minister and his family. A son (not in my class) was at the school. Some tension developed.
- Boarding place lacked warmth. I sensed the need to be extra tidy, frugal, keep out of the way.

The female respondent who had mentioned in the concrete section that her 'landlord' had been involved in a fatal accident while D.U.I. [Driving Under the Influence] continued to have problems with drunks but it is not really clear whether she was recalling her boarding house or the town in general in this regard:

- I think my only problem was fear of the numerous drunks. A very extended family - Old brothers (5) their sons & grandsons - enormously hard workers, cutting wood for the milk factory & railway sleepers. Out in scrub on bread and jam for weeks, then a huge binge. (They'd pass out anywhere from road to teacher's toilet.)

Problems with the townspeople hardly rated a mention. Indeed for two females the problem was one of overfriendliness:

- Really can't remember having any difficulties except for being 'socially' overwhelmed and having to refuse so many invitations especially during the week. I had never really been a socially outgoing person.
- People's curiosity worried me - I was always conscious of being watched as I walked to the train etc. Sometimes I would go to the store after school for a chocolate bar or biscuit. They were overfriendly and always tried to find out as much as possible about <u>everything</u>.

Few respondents had problems with other staff either. One male recalled being somewhat disillusioned on returning to his home school:

- I returned to the Tech School I was a student at a couple of years before. Some teachers I admired as a student I found offhand or lazy and in other cases the reverse happened.

A female who had found loneliness on the staff as unsatisfactory also met up with a former teacher but this did not appear to help her problem:

- At first I found it strange that my old Grade 7 teacher and I were on the same staff. I never really felt as though I was part of the staff. I was very aware of my JT status.

The respondent from Estcourt House had a quite different kind of staff problem:

- Lack of confidence. Being so young myself. Most of the staff were very young nurses' aides besides Matron & Sister in Charge. In time I coped with the nurses.

Some of the problems were superficial but others were serious and most certainly reflect the concern of the Education Inquiry Committee that the system was not in the interests of the trainees. With so many of the respondents recalling a problem relating to their teaching role it is useful to see what they had to

say about the way their Head (and other staff where there were any) treated them, whether they felt he or she had done their duty by them and whether they were given any kind of feedback in the way of an assessment.

QU. 3 TREATMENT BY HEAD - HELP AND SUPPORT - DUTY - ASSESSMENT

As in the previous period, practically all respondents answered this question and a majority recalled their treatment by the Head as good. However, just as some of the earlier responses in this period seemed to indicate something of a heightened awareness of weaknesses in the system, the majority of 53% who recalled good treatment fell short of the 65% who had felt this way in the period immediately prior to the First Report of the Education Inquiry Committee. The proportion who believed that they had been badly treated and not helped remained much the same as the 10% who had felt this way in the previous period. What is different is that almost 40% of the respondents had doubts about whether they had been helped and supported well enough.

Those treated well

The responses of those who felt that they had been well treated ranged from simple statements such as 'Very kind & helpful', 'Very good & gave assistance when & where needed' or 'Really can't remember much about the H.T. so assume he must have treated me well' to detailed descriptions of how the Head behaved towards them. Some recalled the kindness of the Head:

- Treated me like a father - friendly - often took me to Adelaide when he went to complete his degree. Helped with my Latin studies - he was the type of natural person whom I sought to be like as a teacher.
- He was very kind and considerate and I am sure was aware of my efforts.
- He and his wife made me feel one of the 'family' inviting me into their home and family life often.
- Really nice guy. Gave me the benefit of his experiences. Allowed me to 'find myself'. Advised me to 'give it a go' if I'd done the background work and was sure that it was to the benefit of children's education.
- I can only describe my HT as one of the finest I had occasion to have dealings with throughout my teaching career.
- I think because he led by example all the staff, including me, had a very high regard for him and because we all tried hard, he had a similar regard for us.
- Very well. Our mutual interest in sport of all kinds and his ability as a teacher, made for harmony and a well run school.

- He was incredibly kind and courteous, very approachable, always helpful - He must have often despaired of having such an immature and unconfident 17 year old.

For others it was the helpfulness and supportiveness that had stayed in their memories:

- The HM, Mr..., was most helpful. Both the other JT and I had a desk in his office which we used for our other [than teaching] duties. He was most supportive of us both, going out of his way to show us as much about school organization as he could as well as overseeing our special duties.
- The Headmaster was responsible for arranging my study with the Leaving class & giving me a light teaching load. He had frequent talks with me and was always concerned with my welfare.
- The HT was a dedicated teacher who encouraged and helped me in any difficulty that arose. It was his help that made lesson plans easy.
- The Head Teacher was always ready to help, and arranged lessons so that I had periods for my own study.
- Every support possible. I wish he was still alive to tell him but then I showed my appreciation while he was there. He was an example I shall never forget.
- Head supported my authority as a teacher and he visited the classroom frequently to assess progress.
- She (the HT) treated me as a professional person offering a high level of support.
- Had a good relationship with the HM & he was very supportive and approachable.
- Every possible assistance was given by both Heads - particularly in ways of presenting lessons to make them more interesting and beneficial to the students.

Two respondents described what would seem to have been ideal training situations for that period:

- Infant Mistress always treated me as a responsible adult and I never felt I was being given odd jobs or dirty jobs just because I was the 'junior'. I often did odd jobs, but only because I liked to help. She helped me with such things as script printing, correct cursive, lesson planning, hints on class management and any advice I required, also provided constructive criticism of lessons given.
- The Head was (I came to learn) 'ahead of his time'. He refused to use me as a teacher. I did not teach a class until Term 3 and then it was only a very small class of Year 3's.

Some recall taking some time to appreciate their Head:

- Professionally directive at first (a bit annoying) - then gave me my head and showed his confidence - my blackboard work and woodwork skills were superior to his and he let me know it.
- The HT, of the old school, expected order attention and discipline. I found him very fair, supportive and loyal. He explained lesson steps to me, discussed lesson notes and portions of

the book 'Principles of Teaching'. I was never put down by him & certainly never criticized in the presence of children. I grew to like and respect him.

- I was treated fairly and given support but I admit I was 'frightened' by the power wielded by the 'Head'.

Fear of the Head may well have been the reason why one female respondent did not take advantage of the support available:

- He was supportive but sometimes (I realize now) I was too shy or embarrassed to seek help. Only after an irate parent upbraided me did he tell me I should have sent her to him.

One male respondent recalled having a Head who was unused to junior teachers but who quickly realized what was best for his new recruit:

- Head had never had a JT before. He reminded me of this rather regularly. However, he was always friendly and co-operative and an absolute mine of information. It was the belief of the staff that he could recall E.D. regulations verbatim with the correct insertion of all punctuation marks. He made me study the regulations every day & tested my appreciation of these whenever the mood took him. When I left he told me that whenever I was in trouble with officials or staff - to quote the Regulations at length. He said it would get me out of anything. I used his advice for the next 43 years and it never failed once!

A male aged just over 17 who had a female Head who was only 21, recalled her kindness to him and his reaction to town gossip about them:

- She was very kind - never a discouraging word, never a word of reprimand. Could discuss any kind of problem with her - wrote to each other regularly until 1972 (25 years) which says a lot. We were the best of friends and <u>certainly</u> no more than that! (I was shocked by local gossip)

A female aged 16.10 did not mention any gossip but made an equally interesting comment:

- Mr… was very caring for my welfare (but in no way showed any forwardness). He expected a high standard of teaching, dedication and behaviour on my part.

Those unsure about their treatment

Of the 37% of respondents, who were unsure of their Head's treatment of them, a few were prepared to excuse him or her for not doing more:

- He assisted with my preparation & generally supported me. The main problem was that he was committed fulltime to his Grades 4,5,6 & 7.
- He was a kindly man, but with teaching and office commitments (no ancillary staff in those days) he was a very busy man, so not a great deal of help was offered.
- I really did not see much of the Head. I had my class and he had his. Yard duties meant that contact times were limited.

Even one who was not at all well treated was prepared to excuse his Head on these grounds:

- The Head was an authoritarian pig who was adept at rubbing the townspeople up the wrong way. More than once he humiliated me in front of the children for mistakes that were due only to inexperience. He was unpromotable due to lack of academic qualifications, and I believe he enjoyed having an underling. As for helping, the poor fellow was up to his eyes in work with four classes and with no real help from the system. He did his best under the circumstances. Of course he wanted his pound of flesh from me to get his maximum skill marks & self esteem.

Some merely recalled a measure of neglect:

- Mr... was a great guy. Treated me like a son but the development of survival skills was neglected.
- Mr... was easy to get on with and accepted me as any other staff member but left any individual help to those class teachers that I worked with.
- After the first couple of weeks my memory of any help is hazy. I remember that he asked me to come early one morning each week to discuss some principles but apart from that I cannot remember any theoretical help. Generally I was left alone - I presume because he was satisfied with my efforts.
- She treated me with consideration but left me to my own devices a lot - she showed me the basics of what was expected and kept her eye on the general progress of the children.

The male respondent noted earlier as being disappointed with some of the teachers he had once admired in his technical high school crossed out 'Head' and indicated that it was not the Head but the teachers who were supposed to support him:

- Some wouldn't [support him] to my surprise but I was able to go to others who did. The administration treated me as a person there to do a job & expected just that, but in a reasonable way.

For others there was a mixture of good and poor treatment:

- The HM was a martinet! (a view held by the staff generally) He considered me a very Junior Teacher (on the bottom rung & very much on trial). He was sparing in his praise, maintained high expectations and generally distanced himself from everyone, yet I believe that he did take considerable interest in the progress of his students, and my own. He certainly made his expectations quite clear and offered advice (somewhat censorially) from time to time, but always backed up teachers in front of students.
- With some condescension and superiority. There was a considerable age difference and I was still a kid myself but with his A course background his own professional knowledge was limited - but he was well organised and the kids liked him. I did learn from him but his methods were largely chalkboard - question/answer oriented - probably stultifying to kids' development but I can't recall this well enough. If I showed any flare for something or sound knowledge of a

topic e.g. some history or art or model making, I was encouraged to take all seven classes if appropriate. I didn't consider AT THE TIME - that I was being denied the right advice. It was just that I didn't know any better. What was lacking was the magic (for kids) of exploring something for themselves - of the real educative processes that have evolved since.

- The Head Teacher was rather old fashioned & although he tried to 'instruct' me I didn't gain much from his efforts - I learnt several things about how not to communicate! His idea was good but he really didn't know how to carry it out.
- In hindsight he was very supportive but very particular with lesson preparation which ruffled my feathers a bit at the time. I benefited by his persistence to detail.
- I had two HT's during that year. The first was a warm, caring, and family man. The second spent a lot of time with his fiance in P... . Later on they married and lived in the school house but kept to themselves a lot.
- He was a kind friendly fellow, but an alcoholic who spent every weekend obliterating himself. Often on a Monday morning he would appear like death warmed up with blood shot eyes and unsteady gait. But he improved as the week went on and he was quite conscientious in his own way. Although he left me to my own devices in a sense, he kept an eye on proceedings as I taught in a converted porch outside his room.
- There was little support as far as teaching methodology was concerned but as we both taught in the same room, I guess he was an example that I no doubt followed to some degree. He would also have been able to assist with discipline problems.
- Mr... was always very correct, i.e., punctual, precise about Dept rules etc. but he was rather distant. He lived in the Residence next door with his family & I don't remember once setting foot inside. He sometimes helped me with Maths but his mind was on other things. He frequented the Hotel daily.

Those treated poorly

Some 10% of these respondents recalled generally being treated poorly by their Head. These responses speak for themselves:

- The Head treated me as if I were a Labourer who would relieve him of some tedious work with Grades 1,2,3. I suppose he helped by signing report cards.
- He repeatedly recalled sagas of his own 'far from home' cadetship and spoke of the 'miserable pittance paid'. He exhibited class consciousness and compared his monetary 'investments' with my financial state. He suffered migraines and left many duties to me. But the Inspector was kindly, social and made me feel that he understood.
- I felt I was someone he had to tolerate so that he didn't have to run a one-teacher school. Help and support were non existent.

- My ethnic name was probably anathema to her, the red hair and being an R.C. didn't help either. [this was the female respondent noted earlier as describing her Head as belonging to the 'Establishment' but who eventually came to accept her after a period of insecurity and intimidation]

The comments indicate that while it would be reasonable to say that a majority of the respondents were helped and supported with their teaching to some degree, it is not easy to decide how much of this could be regarded as training. Respondents also had to decide whether they believed that the Head had done his or her duty by them and this helps to clarify a little more how much training was possible in the system at the time.

Did Heads do their duty by the junior teachers and their classes?

Some 52% believed that their Head had had done his/her duty, 29% were doubtful about it and 19% were of the opinion that duty had not been done. As might be expected there is a close correlation between the proportion that believed that they were treated well, helped and supported by their Head and those who felt that duty had been done. However, almost 10% more believed that duty had not been done than had felt poorly treated. Some of them were prepared to excuse the Head and blame the System itself for the lack of duty:

- Given the circumstances, he did what anyone could reasonably ask. Any blame should be sheeted home to the system, which treated him and me, & the whole teaching workforce with scant respect.
- I think they (certainly the second one) were unsure of their responsibilities to the JT. Overall there was too much taken for granted in duties and expectations of the JT being able to cope as a trained teachers should.

One who recalled that his Head treated him 'as a father' went on to criticise the system:

- Cheap labour - too much responsibility for a 16 year old - regardless of support from Head - 20+ grade 1 - 111 was incorrect placement for a JT.

Another who believed that the Head had done his duty added:

- But [the Head] could have had greater guidance from the E.D. (per Inspector?) in developing me.

There was a realisation here, too, that Heads were very busy and sometimes overworked people themselves:

- I believe I felt at the time that there could have been more guidance but in fact the H.T. had five classes to teach and had no support herself so I expect she gave as much as she could.

One male respondent who believed he was treated like a 'Labourer' wrote 'No' regarding duty but then went on to qualify it by referring to some better aspects:

- At times he demonstrated a lesson. Tell me how to set out a lesson and watch me give a lesson. As I recall he was a pleasant person who'd infrequently talk to me about sport or deadlines.

Others were quite clear about lack of duty on behalf of the Head. One male simply wrote 'No' and referred to an earlier answer on the 'lack of direction and assistance' which he had found unsatisfactory. One female listed what she believed the Head had neglected:

- He could have

  1) Taken an interest in, and been more aware of what I was doing in my classroom - (he was the guardian of two children in my class).

  2) Made me aware of where help could be obtained.

  3) Helped me in preparation of a programme.

  4) Shown appreciation of what I did (or given constructive criticism)

Another described in some detail why she felt that there was lack of duty/care in the way the Head allocated her teaching duties when a staff vacancy forced him to divide a class:

- No, definitely not. I felt quite pleased (and honoured) to get my own class but he made no attempt to choose the children carefully for me. Because he simply removed the top from the roll, I had a wide spread of ability in my small class and I also had two behaviour problems. One was a boy intelligent enough to realize that I wasn't a proper teacher (I always felt that was the problem) and resentful of having been removed from what he deemed to be his proper class. The other was a girl from a difficult background. The boy waged a campaign of non co-operation. The girl often misbehaved and I often resorted to hitting her and felt very guilty & inadequate as a result. Although I received no help I must add that I requested none. It never occurred to me to ask the Headmaster to help me by removing the problem children. I never discussed my worries about the children with the Head or any members of staff.

Another female who believed that her Head left too many duties to her recalled how he imposed rules when it came to her personal interests. She needed to get to Adelaide from a small town in the Hills by 4pm each Friday for a singing lesson and had to ride over two miles to her home, collect her luggage and then run to the Railway Station. She recalled leaving the school:

- I was permitted to leave school not earlier than 3.30 provided I had the classroom tidied during afternoon recess. Of course I had to wear the frock all day in which I was to travel - no time to change! I don't know how I did it in half an hour, but know that I was puffing and panting as I boarded the train, and at least once, remember jumping on as the train moved off.

The next largest group had doubts about whether duty had been done but were not prepared to say that it had not been. Most were only mildly critical in their references to what might have been done:

- Maybe could have given more actual 'Teaching' lessons to do - as when we went to Sturt St. Practising School from College.

- In hindsight, more constructive criticism would have been beneficial, perhaps a round table with the other staff advising on teaching techniques & positive approaches, study techniques (preparatory to moving into tertiary studies).
- I probably should have got more support but at the time didn't know how much I should get so did not feel that I, or the class, were neglected.
- I think it would have been better to have been assigned exclusively to teachers of classes I intended to train for and gain an overall picture of class routine, discipline and children's development. [this female respondent had to teach music/singing across seven grades but she wanted to be an Infant teacher]
- The Head didn't proffer much advice and I felt at the time that it would have been an admission of failure or weakness to have asked for any. I felt terribly responsible for my little charges, and had no concept of a supportive framework either from the Head or the Inspector or the Department. Perhaps there wasn't any!
- The Head had been there for some years and he was there for many more after 1947. He was not ambitious, just competent enough. He expected the school to run itself. He must have thought I was doing all right, because he never interfered and he recommended me for the T.C. I have never felt I was let down - I had nothing to compare my situation with.
- Yes - he was sympathetic and aware of the responsibilities I had. In hindsight, and after many years of teaching and administering schools, I feel the load was too great but I appreciate that classes had to be taught, and a shortage of commercial teachers at the time, added to the HM's problems.
- I appreciated that I was given responsibility and guidance, but in hindsight, I feel children may have been deprived due to my lack of expertise.

Of the majority who felt that the Head had done his/her duty there were some who had no doubt about it at all:

- I surely must have been one of the lucky ones. I cannot ever recall being deprived of help and support.
- When I went to Teachers College in 1951 I knew more than most re teaching method and content for Yrs 1 - 7.
- Yes she did her duty. She was always available and ever willing to give advice. I could not have wished for better.
- He was a model to emulate, and encouraged me in every way in my stumbling, fumbling way. He showed what had to be accomplished in Grades 1 & 11 and helped with the plans and methods.
- He was excellent. Thinking back he talked me into going for Art/Craft teaching by pointing out my strengths.

- I was encouraged by the Head's assessment of my achievements. I met up with him at church & in his home.
- Yes - he regularly sat with us and talked about our classes which he visited regularly. We could not have got better support or grounding for preparation for a life of teaching.
- Yes definitely. He allowed me to make the transition from being a school student to a system. He protected the children from my untutored blunders. I learnt a lot about school management. I was allowed time for study.
- Yes always. I was allowed ample time for lesson preparation, research etc,
- Under the circumstances she was excellent. She taught Grades 1, 2, 6 & 7 ('The important classes' she said). She would check my class's bookwork, look at my blackboard work which she liked ... I feel I was lucky, as she was an immensely enthusiastic girl and talked consistently about the importance of our job. A very positive influence on my career.
- Yes - he always had time to discuss lessons and teaching progress, and he also arranged for other teachers to assist me in subject areas. He could not have done more for me & I had a high regard and respect for him.
- Yes. He was always ready with kindly constructive criticism. Forever supportive.
- Yes - I cannot remember any incident that showed he did not give me his support.

At least one respondent was aware of the Head looking beyond her to the class:

- Yes I feel that he assisted the class too, by taking some lessons, and I think that in so doing he was able to establish what areas needed attention, and advise me accordingly.

Another appreciated the way that his Head managed his supervision:

- The HT did not see me in my classroom because of teaching duties. He frequently spoke to me about what I was doing and each week called for all children's books in two subjects. From this he passed on advice if he had any. I realised that this was the best he could do & made the most of it.

A few were less enthusiastic. One who recalled being largely left alone simply wrote, 'I believe he did' and one whose Head left her individual help to the class teachers recalled 'Yes – generally'. Others went into greater detail:

- Yes, as much as she was capable of giving, because she was not a very giving person. [this was the respondent who had at first been intimidated by her 'Establishment' type Head]
- Yes! He did not think very highly of Art as a high school subject - viewing it rather as a necessity - a 'Fill up' subject - for those students who experienced difficulty with Latin or French (the prevailing H/S attitude then & perhaps for some years to come) - but he recognised talent and acknowledged it, albeit grudgingly. My practical supervision was left to the Art teacher, but H.M. made periodic visits to my classes and discussed my progress with me on several occasions each term.

Others from secondary schools recalled that while the Head almost entirely opted out of their supervision, duty was still done:

- Being a High School, the Head left most of my classroom training to the Senior Master... [who] had a delightful sense of humour and found something to laugh at no matter how serious the situation. He had excellent relationships with the students who worked their hearts out for him. He taught me so much in the field of teacher/student relationships that I always felt in his debt.
- The Head tended to feel that the staff members would give me all the support and help I needed, and when I think back over the time, I can only agree with him in this regard.

The male respondent who had crossed out the Head and indicated that only some of the staff of the technical high school were prepared to help him had a mixed response regarding how duty was done:

- A choice of support helped; but some senior staff were pleased to have an ex-student following in their footsteps, and were perhaps more supportive than usual?

Help from other staff

With the gradual reduction of the need for junior teachers in one-teacher schools, a higher proportion of these respondents did come in contact with other staff who could help them. However, a large percentage - 43% - either left the space blank because they were in schools with no other person but the Head Teacher or simply pointed out that fact. Several recalled regrets about this and not surprisingly they were all respondents who had had some degree of difficulty with their Head:

- No other staff. I think if there had been a larger staff I would have had at least some people who could have or would have been willing to assist - at least with the 'how' of the classroom.
- My school (hospital school) was not what is considered 'normal' which was a disadvantage, at least, for me because I couldn't compare any aspect of my tenure with anyone else who was a Junior Teacher.

Others expressed this feeling in rather different ways:

- Later in the year I had a letter from the girl who had been JT there the year before. She more or less welcomed me to the Teachers College ... I was very bucked - I must have been pretty lonely.
- There was no other staff but when the school inspector visited he took a personal interest in my welfare and I was duly prepared to be accepted into a permanent Teaching Position. [she was offered and accepted a T.U.A position instead of going to the Teachers College]
- No other staff until Term 3 when the Hundred of Brooker School closed and the female teacher in her mid twenties and her pupils transferred to the school. I enjoyed her cheerful company, especially as I could grizzle to someone about the Head Teacher [whom he had labelled earlier as an 'authoritarian pig'] without ethical barriers.

Only a few of those in other types of schools found the staff unhelpful:

- They were too busy. One who had been a junior teacher and had worked full time in that year, resented the 'easy time' that I was having. [male in a higher primary school]
- Mid primary teachers - pleasant to work with but gave no feedback or suggestions. [female in an area school who found the Infant teacher with whom she spent most time 'good to work with']
- Nobody, not even the Headmaster, helped with the work preparation or with any difficult children. [the female in a large primary school who had noted earlier that her Head had not done his duty in the way he had selected pupils for her class]
- Not a great deal of help offered as I felt reluctant to ask questions, and at times felt somewhat de trop. [female in a high school who had less than or unsatisfactory dealings with classes above First Year.]

Some respondents recalled receiving considerable help. Several of those in secondary schools recalled the assistance from Seniors:

- The SM, Howard B..., now in his 90s, was a great support & he reassured me when I sought his advice.
- Senior Fred..., was good value and gave me some good tips.
- The Seniors in English, Social Studies and Science all gave me considerable assistance with my studies [he was the one noted in the concrete section as being given the opportunity by the HM to complete the Leaving PEB in place of a Technical Leaving Certificate] and teaching in these areas.

The value of such assistance was emphasised by one respondent who was transferred to a school where there was no Senior:

- I was responsible to the Commercial Convenor who gave me valuable assistance and was very understanding. He helped me with programs and clerical duties (as did other staff). At school 2 the Commercial teacher was ill, hence my appointment. I was very much on my own there preparing students for external examinations but I recall much of the work was revision.

Others in secondary schools received their help from the ordinary teachers. One male respondent named four teachers who had assisted him in his Art/Craft teaching in a technical high school while others had more general recollections:

- The other staff members accepted me as one of their number, encouraged me, supported me and offered relevant advice and suggestions as occasions arose. I did not feel left out.
- They looked over test results for me, made suggestions for improvement of presentation and demand. Upon request, if they had time - often gave up their 'off' lessons (they didn't have many!) to come to my lessons - and then discuss them after school and offer their advice.

Some of those in larger primary schools or schools with primary sections recalled getting valuable assistance in teaching approaches:

- The Grade 1V & V teacher often showed me what he was doing if I visited him during lunchtime. Quite often if the idea appealed to me I'd try to use it.
- During my JT year [in the area school where he had been Head Prefect] I received more support and guidance from the staff than I did from some of the Demonstation Teachers during my Pract/Teaching at Teachers College. The helpful hints on class control, questioning techniques & student participation in my lessons were very valuable points I learnt from my JT days and from advice given by teachers to whom I was assigned.
- The other teachers, very competent also, were as helpful and supportive as the I.M. & there was a happy atmosphere throughout the school.

For some the personal support and friendship that was as important as learning about teaching:

- The Infant teacher supported me, as we shared some lessons, and she being recently trained was able to acquaint me with methods etc. She was also a very caring person, who sensed my need for friendship outside of school time.
- When Head's wife came in to give sewing lessons I remember feeling that I was just 'Lois' not 'Miss' to her.
- My infant teacher was always kind - made me feel as if I was a real help to her.

Assessment of time in schools

As in the previous period no clear picture emerges from these recollections about assessment procedures for junior teachers. It seems that in this regard things went on in the period immediately after the First Report of the Education Inquiry Committee in much the same way as they had since the 1930s. The general impression is still that the assessment of junior teachers was generally a low key affair but one with considerable variations depending on what the Head, and often the Inspector, wanted to do. Many could not recall details of any formal assessments or of any reports being written by their Head. However, many certainly recalled the visit of the Inspector and in this period, too, respondents tended to link that with any assessment that might have been done. Some also felt sure that there would have been some kind of reporting on their suitability for entry to the Teachers College.

A small number did recall actually seeing a report or being told about one while others had much fainter memories of such an aspect:

- The Head wrote a report but it read as if I'd undergone a comprehensive training course!
- ... also by the Head who had a pro-forma to complete at the end of the year. This was the basis for recommendation or otherwise for suitability to be accepted into the Teachers College.
- I recall being shown a report the Head prepared for the Inspector. I remember only one phrase

'Shows promise' - which seemed vague enough not to say anything.

- I have a feeling that the I.M. prepared a written report, which I was given to read, but don't know to whom it was written - possibly as a 'reference' to accompany my College application.
- I think there was an assessment in the form of a Report to the Department, which, I believe, was in my favour.
- I think the Head reported on me. If I remember correctly the comments were very favourable.
- I presume there would have been but I was never told about it and to be honest I never asked because I had the feeling it would not have been very good. [she believed that she was merely 'tolerated' by her Head]

More respondents had clear recollections about the actual visit of the Inspector but again details of any report or assessment, were generally hazy:

- Yes - An Inspector's report was given after his testing of all subjects. I still have an excerpt that reads 'Cheerful, energetic, industrious, co-operative, confident, respected'.
- The D.I. had a thorough look at my work, the children's books, discussed my philosophy re my incentive scheme, questioned the children, etc. He made a pleasing comment in his report on my effort with Grade 111.
- The DI came around. He spent some time but not a lot with me. He said that he was very pleased & would be writing a good report about my work. I don't ever remember seeing it,
- I recall being part of the school inspection with the Inspector observing lessons and class control but I can't answer the form the assessment took.

Some did not remember the Inspector's visit being pleasant or useful:

- The Inspector (a high school principal in a previous life) came in once, sat on the table, knocked down a vase of flowers, and talked to the kids in a language foreign to them and left. This could have been an assessment.
- Only the two visits from the District Inspector but I do not remember him asking to see me teach or discussing any problems that I may have had.
- I suppose! I remember a (threatening?) chat with The Inspector! but no other assessment.
- I seem to remember the Inspector's visit. I think he spent about two hours in my room. Can't recall anything he said to me i.e., criticism/encouragement. It was pretty perfunctory.
- I taught a few lessons in front of the Inspector and made a few faux pas but the kids had some fun (Inspector didn't crack a smile) but NO advice on what to do, what to read. Thus a purely pragmatic exercise with little understanding of the JT's future needs.
- To my knowledge no formal assessment was undertaken but I do recall having discussions with the DI who attempted to re-direct me into primary teaching. [this respondent was teaching in a one teacher school but wanted to be a craft teacher]

Some respondents linked the Head's report with the visit of the Inspector:

- The Head and the School Inspector made written reports of my work.
- I understand that the Head had to write a report on me, although I was not shown what was written. The DI treated me very benignly, and said some positive things about my work.
- I don't recall any formal assessment. I seem to remember lengthier discussions with the HT before the Inspector's visit, and a discussion about what I did and how I did it by the Inspector who advised me briefly during some PE with the Grade 4 & 5 class.

While a few did not answer or said 'No', 'Not as far as I know' or 'Can't recall any', most of the rest gave some kind of explanation for why they thought there may or may not have been an assessment. A few recalled general discussions and continuous types of assessment:

- Not in any formal way, but from time to time this was discussed with me.
- The Head would always (in private) point out any errors I made and would suggest ways of correcting these errors. He always checked my lesson plans and made helpful suggestions. I do not recall if he had to send assessments on my progress to the Education Department.
- Weekly lessons were appraised and commented on, some criticised. Miss... was very pedantic and often used the comment 'Don't you know this or don't you know that'! She didn't like my note-taking and other things but relented later in the year.
- Done verbally on the occasions we met with the Headmaster and other teachers during the year.
- The HT gave me verbal assessments - always positive, and encouraging almost daily but I can never remember anything being written. So in this regard I guess my assessment ... was an ongoing format, and because of it I acquired greater confidence as a junior teacher did.

As has been seen, at least two respondents recalled seeing a pro-forma or a report that was to go to the Teachers College. Others believed that it was very likely that such reports had to be written even though they did not see them:

- ... My Headmaster must have written some sort of report in regard to my Teachers College application.
- ... undoubtedly a report of my performance at the school was forwarded to the Ed Dept. The HM discussed my work and progress with me, and with the Art Teacher [his supervisor], from time to time, and probably sought observations/comments from the Senior Staff members.

One respondent from 1947 cast some doubts on whether any such report was of much importance at this time of teacher shortage. He believed that his Head had written a report and he recalled the Inspector being 'positive' but went on:

- However, good or bad it would not have affected my entry to the Teachers College as there was such an acute shortage of teachers - and in retrospect, no wonder, when conditions, compared with the general workforce, were so poor.

Self assessments

After having considered the way that they were treated, the help and support they got and whether they recalled any official or formal or informal assessment of their work, respondents were asked to assess their own level of success or failure in the role of junior teacher.

TABLE 13.5 **Respondents' Assessment of Levels of Success**

	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	Totals	%
Very Successful	5	5	1	3	2	16	30%
Successful (Qualified)	4	-	1	4	1	10	19%
Moderately Successful	4	5	1	2	3	15	28%
Failure	-	1	-	2	-	3	6%
Other Response	1	4	1	2	1	9	17%
Totals	14	15	4	13	7	53	100%

As in previous periods, the categories were inadequate for a small number of respondents. Some were unable to accept that they had been 'very' or even 'moderately' successful and so simply crossed out these words to leave 'successful' or merely added 'quite'. Others preferred to make a statement rather than tick one of the categories. Taking into account the three categories of successful, almost 80% of all respondents recalled having achieved something worthwhile as a junior teacher. While this is a lower percentage than for the period immediately prior to the First Report, it needs to be noted that some of those who made their own responses in the 'Other Response' section tended to refer to some success or to lack of failure. This brings the overall proportion who felt some success rather closer to the 90% found from respondents from 1940 - 1946. Not surprisingly, there tended to be some repetition of success noted in earlier sections but the importance of this section is that it gave free rein to the respondents to evaluate themselves in the light of whatever criteria they considered important.

A large number of those who did mark one of the criteria also took advantage of the space provided to say why they felt this way. These comments make it possible to identify the factors that made for high, moderate or low estimates of success.

The very successful

Some had positive feedback from their superiors, their colleagues, the children or the parents:

- I had this conclusion from the comments from the HT and some parents.
- I came to this conclusion as a result of the comments by the Head and other subject teachers at our assessment sessions, ... and by the comments of the Head on his report which accompanied my application to College.

- I felt that way because of the rapport with children, parents, the Head, and the community as a whole!
- I modestly assess this as v. successful for a Jnr. Teacher, since, though the Head never gave me a face to face personal compliment, he did say so at School Committee meetings.
- I was quite confident (perhaps over so) of my abilities as a teacher. This was possibly a reflection on comments passed by parents and the School Committee at the time of my farewell.
- I gauged my own assessment on the staff interest in me & their appreciation of my achievements.
- [from] the words and warmth of Jack Whitburn - fine educator & a great leader (The DI)

Others came to the conclusion from the results of their teaching:

- I saw myself as being very successful through my own self assessment from the children's exam results. Yes, terminal exams and weekly tests in Grade 1! At the time I knew nothing of the unreliability of raw scores and all the other variables that made exams for young children such a sick joke.
- Children had good exam results.
- I suppose the bottom line in making the judgement 'very successful' is that the kids liked school.
- I felt that the children had enjoyed their year as much as I had.

Some just had a feeling of having done well for a variety of reasons:

- Without help I'd completed the year without a major crisis.
- I felt confident that I had chosen the right profession - one in which I could use what talent I had and from which I could derive satisfaction. I was fortunate in the affirmation and positive attitude of my family and school staff.
- Very s. I had become experienced & confident in handling children, discipline & imparting knowledge.
- Very successful - pride? Yes - developed a few techniques independently without the benefit of professional reading etc. Main reasons - I loved 'teaching' (such as it was), it was what I wanted most to pursue - and so I spent much time in off hours pondering the problems of communicating what I knew - not always successful but apart from some psychological damage - particularly in those early months - most of the kids were better for my having 'taught' them. (is that arrogant?)

One other respondent listed six reasons why he had 'achieved considerable success during the year' and so summarized what could be seen as the best features of the junior teacher system:

- - I had enjoyed the experience and regretted leaving

- I felt comfortable with the teaching scene and looked forward to further training
- My students had succeeded in their Final examinations
- I felt I had made a contribution to the school and as a consequence had earned the respect of staff and students
- My own knowledge had been extended considerably and I had successfully completed 12 School of Arts subjects, prior to entering my training course
- I was confident of entering Teachers College, with a sound subject background in my chosen field and practical secondary school experience.

Most of those who qualified their success by crossing out 'very' had similar reasons to the very successful ones. Most had been told of their success or had gauged it from the responses of the children and parents. Several added a different dimension to it:

- Reasonably. I felt that I had a sound appreciation of the practical aspects of teaching & I believed that I could comfortably face a future of some 40 years in the teaching profession.
- Successful. By far the most satisfying year of teaching of my 35 years & the most vividly remembered. Can still tell you every name in the class and how they performed.
- I thought I had been successful. No one told me I was not ... So with the lack of negative feedback I assumed success.

The moderately successful

As might be expected most of these responses are generally very similar to those who believed that they had been very successful but overall the language tended to be more temperate. Words like 'reasonably' and 'moderately' were used to qualify what, in reality, can be seen to have been very good efforts on the part of inexperienced, untrained young people.

There were those who were made aware of their success:

- I feel that my time as a JT had been successful due to the reactions of students, staff and parents.
- Moderately successful from feedback from Head, children, parents, Inspector, and general lack of complaints.
- ... Head told Dad that he was pleased with me...

Others gauged their success from the results of their teaching:

- ... discipline with the younger ones gradually improved. I felt I was successful as a Hockey coach and with PE lessons.
- My students both in Maths and Woodwork performed as well as those of classes of other teachers.

- ... and my students could read and write and were numerate. Further - they were fond of me - I really felt I was a born teacher.
- Progress made by children during the year ... The children got on well and passed their exams.

Others simply felt that they had made successful progress in various ways:

- The whole year gave me great satisfaction - I had held a new job, made new friends, stood on my own two feet (I was terribly timid).
- A succession of learning experiences throughout the year enabled me to see situations differently from views I held before becoming a junior teacher.
- I sensed a good relationship with most of the children, and with the parents who were connected with the school through the School Committee & Welfare Club.
- I felt pretty successful - the children liked me - I liked them. The parents were very appreciative and accorded me a surprising amount of respect (It must be remembered that for a girl to have gained her Leaving Certificate, in this community, was to be well educated).

A few made it clear why they could not have considered themselves more than moderately successful:

- I felt that, apart from those children who had special learning difficulties, I helped most children - especially in the '3R's'. I recall being frustrated by my inability to help the retarded children.
- While others told me I was successful I felt a great need for study of psychology to understand and help children with problems caused by social and home problems I had not encountered before. Psychology proved to be my most interesting course.
- I felt that I did all that was expected of me by the staff but probably did not come up with any brilliant ideas in teaching.
- Perhaps 'very successful' with the little ones ... I felt quite confident in my ability to teach them. However, not so with the prospect of teaching Grades 1 - 111 alone. [she had earlier noted her problems with Grade 111 boys]
- With the smaller groups of 1st Years I established a good rapport, and with languages my favourite subject I felt comfortable. This compared positively with the other subjects I taught. [she had felt less satisfied with 3rd and 4th Years and had found the 2nd Years 'Unsatisfactory']

The failures

The proportion of those respondents who considered that they had been failures was lower than in the previous period. One who had good grounds for feeling this way was the male respondent who had been charged with assault after ejecting a troublesome student from class. His recollection of this was a

terse one:

- Being charged doesn't do much for one's self-esteem.

One female respondent had carried guilt ever since her junior teacher year:

- I felt I had failed because three of my little tribe failed and had to repeat Grade 11. These poor performers should never have been entrusted to me. I remember standing before the Head Master in his office on my last day, feeling, and no doubt sounding, very disheartened. I remember him saying that the failed children 'could not have had a better teacher'. I knew that was nonsense. I still feel guilty about those failures. [this respondent had noted earlier that her Head had not done his duty by her in the way he selected out her class]

One other female realised 'With the wisdom of hindsight' that she had been a failure and went on:

- I realise that I was something of a misfit as a teacher. Although a good scholar, I hadn't the skill to impart that knowledge. Conscientious, setting high standards for myself, I tended to criticise rather than encourage and failed to get the best out of the children. Other teachers in the school were tied to their classes so could give little help. [she had earlier acknowledged that although her Head 'probably' did his duty by her, she was generally too shy to ask for help]

Other responses

In contrast to the previous period there were more respondents who were not prepared to accept any of the listed categories. Some did not recall even thinking about the matter:

- I don't remember actually analysing my feelings at the time. In some ways I feel the time had been valuable and I had learnt a lot about myself (and life generally) but I also felt it was time wasted when I could have been at College.
- I never considered this before you asked. My only comment is that I was at the Post Office when the word came that I had passed History 1. Major Lawrie's wife asked how many subjects I had to pass, and when I said I would begin at College in the following year, she was amazed. She didn't have children at the school but certainly had her finger on the pulse, and couldn't believe that I was untrained.

Others remembered only how they had got through the year:

- I survived. It was a mixed bag of experiences. I had lived in a small village of farmers and fishermen. I was reasonably popular with the locals. I had no criteria for judging myself as a teacher but I wasn't downhearted.
- I certainly was not a failure - I survived! I really find it hard to say how successful my actual teaching was but I can remember improving in several fields, especially discipline.
- My Head Teacher often explained to me when I felt frustrated and 'down at heart' that there was no such thing as failure, only less success than expected.
- I did not think of myself as being brilliant, nor as a failure. I fancy I regarded myself as having

got on soundly, certainly not being 'turned off' teaching, and having gained some important experience. I looked forward to going to ATC.

At least one male respondent could possibly have been justified in ticking 'very successful' but he preferred this explanation:

- At the early stages of my JT training I felt I was moderately successful, but as the year progressed I acquired greater confidence in the presentation of my lessons and control of my class. By the end of the year teaching students came naturally to me, and other staff members commented how they felt I was born to be a teacher.

A female respondent could well have been justified in ticking failure:

- I felt I had been very fortunate in my H.M., but I had no illusions that I was a successful teacher. I was not confident as I have said & I knew that I was not innovative - felt I had poor blackboard skills & skills in making & using teaching aids.

QU. 4 AT THE TEACHERS COLLEGE - ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES

Following their own assessment of their time as junior teachers, respondents were asked to consider other aspects that could indicate measures of success or failure. The first of these was whether they entered the course of their choice at the Teachers College. As was seen in the concrete data all but four of these respondents entered the College and 90% of them were accepted into the course of their choice. It will be recalled that comments from the cultural section were used at that stage to further illustrate some of the cases where respondents had indicated concern at not being able to do the kind of teaching that they wanted. There were several who were unable to enter craft courses because they did not have the appropriate secondary background and a few whose secondary results were not good enough to get them into the "D" course. The great majority of those who entered the course of their choice did not feel the need to do more than indicate this fact but a few made comments that reflect on good and bad aspects of the junior teacher system. One respondent from 1948 believed that his success as a junior teacher had a lot to do with him entering the appropriate course:

- Yes. It seems that my JT year had earned a favourable report from the HM & my subject successes provided additional support. I was one of the two (only) male students chosen for the Art teacher training course, the other was a returned serviceman.

One who had studied several Leaving subjects during the junior teacher year and passed one, recalled how he only just managed to avoid the one year course through another:

- No - not at first because I did not have sufficient subjects passed at the Leaving examination. I was able to transfer to my choice [from "A" to "B"] after the Supplementary results were published.

Another realised too late that he had made a wrong choice:

- Yes - realised at the end of the course that I should have chosen Art not Craft (Woodwork etc.). I was too broke to apply for a 4th year and change over at 21, so went out and changed over the years.

One male doubted whether he really had had any choice:

- So 'bloody' ignorant about choice, took what was offered – 'B' course.

The second part of this question required respondents to reflect on whether the time had helped them in any way. Only a small group of some 13% believed that they had not been helped by the experience. Most of them simply wrote 'No' or 'Not really' but a few recalled more detail and some of them were prepared to even admit to some measure of advantage:

- Not really - (felt it was time wasted when I could have been at College) but it did give me a chance to see life outside school/college.
- I suppose it should have, but I can remember being just as terrified when involved in practice teaching, but I did cope, so maybe it did.
- No. My first Crit lesson was a disaster! My contemporaries, with no JT experience, could produce better results.

In a sharp contrast to the last two comments above, the largest group of those who felt that the experience had helped them were the ones who saw the benefit in terms of practical experience:

- Yes - great help when it came to taking classes at Dem/Pract School.
- Immensely as a teacher. My first report at Flinders St. Prac stated that Mr. D - was a mature teacher. Quite puzzled Group lecturer.
- Keeping discipline was no problem for me when prac teaching.
- ... I had some idea what teaching entailed.
- Knew the areas I had to work on at Prac School.
- Knowing how a school was run from a teacher's point of view - made me accustomed to being in charge of a class.

This kind of experience led to many comparing themselves with those without it. This particular aspect is dealt with separately in a later part of this question but a number of the comments at this stage add significantly to the overall view of the advantages of having been a junior teacher:

- Prac teaching was significantly easier for me than for those who had come to College straight from school.
- Yes - very much so. I was there with some experience in teaching methods, discipline, working relationships with students, staff & parents. I recall other College students being envious & lecturers well aware of the teaching experiences I had encountered.
- Time spent, as a junior teacher was now invaluable. I could handle lesson notes with ease & often had others from my group seeking some coaching.

Closely allied with this feeling of advantage in practical teaching was an appreciation of and understanding of the theory of teaching:

- Yes - in Principles etc, I could relate to practical examples.
- ... Extremely helpful, because during theory lectures on teaching methods I could relate to the theories.
- Having taught for a year from all subjects of the curriculum, I found Principles 1 & 11 Lectures much easier to comprehend.
- I think that the limited teaching experience made lectures more meaningful.
- Yes indeed. Junior Teaching had been real hands on experience. Most of our group (1947) had done it so Miss Wauchope (who was away ahead of her time) did not have to hammer in the elementals. She launched into quite advanced theory of education & methods of teaching & we felt confident enough to challenge her sometimes.
- ... Provided a base of experience for studies in Ed. Psychology ... not available to those entering direct from school.

The next largest group found the advantage of the experience had been in personal growth, especially with regard to a variety of aspects of maturity:

- I gained in maturity.
- Gave me a bit more age - hence maturity (I hope) to be a bit more 'ahead' of the children.
- Yes - I had matured considerably and become more independent. Made me more determined to become a caring teacher. Helped build up my confidence with a class.
- I think it gave me a more mature idea about teaching - showed situations that I hadn't realized, on becoming the 'teacher' rather than the 'taught'.
- I think it was essential - the JT year helped me to mature & gave me the insight I needed.
- Yes - my confidence had been boosted.
- Undoubtedly helped me to be more assured and confident in my dealings with students and teachers at Dem school and with my Lecturers.
- Only that I was another year older.

For one respondent however, the advantage was not sustained:

- It gave me confidence that I could stand in front of a class, but this assumption was soon dispelled in practical teaching experience. I found greater demands than I had anticipated.

Others found that the experience of teaching helped them decide that it was the right career for them:

- Yes - It had made me sure that this was what I wanted to do and it gave me a spur to my studies.
- ... I also had no doubts about my choice of course and my ability to teach.
- It helped to know that I was entering a course without any doubt to my calling.

- Yes Junior Teaching had helped me confirm my desire to become a teacher, as I seemed to be able to handle the children reasonably well.
- ... Above all I knew I wanted nothing else but to be a teacher.
- I knew I had chosen the right profession.

One respondent expressed the same feeling in a rather different way:

- It certainly didn't put me off teaching as a career.

Some found advantage in quite different ways to everyone else:

- Only in that I passed Leaving Maths and began to study Latin for matriculation. [he was the one noted earlier as taking another 12 years to pass Latin]
- It was invaluable. I could give all my attention to academic work while others struggled with the practical aspects of teaching.

In view of such generally enthusiastic comments on the advantages of junior teaching, it is not surprising that almost half of the respondents either indicated that they recalled no disadvantage or left the space blank. One who found no disadvantage went on to hint that the system could have been better:

- No - for many years I believed that everyone should do JT period - although not the way we did. More of a teacher aide situation would be valuable.

For most of the others the main disadvantage lay in a lack of academics. Some generalised about this:

- A lack of qualifications meant more study at a later date if one was to progress in the Department. This was due to a shorter College course. [this male respondent had done an "A" course]
- Had less academics for future career. Lack of continuity of study. Comparative disadvantage academically.

Others realised that they should have been doing Leaving Honours:

- Possibly academically. The course I had undertaken at secondary school was narrow and specialised and a Leaving Honours year may have been a better foundation for tertiary studies - these were never easy for me, and others who had the Leaving Honours year seemed to have an advantage.
- Academically yes. I would, overall have been better off doing another year of study i.e., a Leaving Honours year. I did Chemistry 1, and although I had got a credit (distinction in later days) in Leaving Chem, I was shattered by the enormous gulf between Leaving and Uni. English 1, similarly, was much different from Leaving English.
- Yes I found going from Leaving to University a big step & would have benefited by doing Leaving Honours.
- I often wish I had the opportunity to do Leaving Honours to have a better background for University work. Most of my colleagues were ahead of me in academics. I did not handle my

first year of tertiary well. Improved later.

- Yes! My academic 'status' & enthusiasm was very much lower than those who had done Honours!
- By not doing LH, my choices at University were limited e.g., I wasn't able to do French even though it had been my best subject at Leaving. I was enrolled at Uni as non-graduating student because I hadn't done Latin at Leaving level. Subsequently the rules changed. I graduated 20 years later after additional studies as a mature student.

For others it was the break away from studies that set them back:

- In the time away from study - but that was my choice, at the time, (typical 'head in the sand' syndrome!).
- Yes with regard to study. I had got out of the habit. Tough trying to do French 1 at Uni with a 12 month break. Other academic studies also affected.
- It was difficult to find the necessary time to study the subjects I wanted to pursue, formulating a study programme outside of what I had been accustomed to as a High School student. I never learnt to use my study time (provided by the Head) in the best way.

The female respondent who became a T.U.A. with neither academic nor professional qualifications was disadvantaged through not attending the College at all:

- My non-holding of a Certificate was in later years embarrassing when associating with qualified teachers, although I was willing to learn from their experience (+ my own) & did.

In this section she also explained why she accepted a T.U.A. position at the school where she had been a junior teacher for rather less than two years:

- Never went to Teachers College. I could not afford the fee plus board away from home, and I suffered from eczema and asthma. [the 'fee' is difficult to understand - unless she expected to be or wanted to be a private student!]

A small number of respondents found individual aspects that they believed had disadvantaged them. For two of them these were aspects that many others had considered an advantage. One male found that his experience of the real world of teaching had determined an adverse attitude towards educational theory:

- I suppose I was over critical of much of the theoretical approaches to teaching - In some cases contemptuous - knowing that the theoretical material presented was airy-fairy nonsense.

A female generalized about a particular difficulty she had encountered with practical teaching:

- Most junior teachers who had been in charge of a class found it nerve-racking having to teach in front of other teachers and fellow students.

Other types of disadvantage speak for themselves:

- My only regret was that I'd applied for a town posting where I might have had a chance to improve in art, music etc. K... was so tiny that I'd originally been terribly disappointed.
- The only disadvantage that I felt about my JT year arose from the attitude exhibited by some lecturers, and some direct entrant (Leaving Honours) students, towards JT entrants. This may have been because many of them had come from Tech H/S or Area Schools - seemingly considered as 'lesser beings', non- academic types, etc.
- Only in the 'time' spent.

Practical/academic comparisons

This question required the respondents to consider the advantages and disadvantages of being a junior teacher in terms of practical teaching and academic progress with those who had come to the Teachers College direct from school. It will be recalled from previous periods that many respondents had difficulty with this particular section simply because practically everyone that they knew had also been a junior teacher. In the period under review this was no longer the case and the junior teachers had to compete with students who had no experience of teaching but who generally had had access to a higher level of secondary education. As has been seen, many of these respondents had already drawn attention to these aspects in considering general advantage or disadvantage. Now they all had to consider how they felt they had compared with those who had not had their experience.

Practical aspects

As might be expected from what has already been noted, well over half felt advantaged in dealing with the demands of practical teaching. Naturally enough there was some repetition of what had been said in the section on general advantage but a number of the comments give a deeper insight into this particular question. For some the advantage was only rather mild but most were quite sure about it:

- It may have helped me unwittingly, as I have said.
- I feel I had the edge on them when it came to Dem/Prac School.
- I'm sure I had a considerable advantage over those who were not junior teachers.
- [They] were not in the same league.
- ... We felt superior having had the experience.
- Ex JTs were for the most part well ahead of others. In all my Pract teaching I gained top rating! (Even from Mr. Fife Smith)
- I felt that students who had been junior teachers handled the practical teaching better than those who came straight into College from school.

Others were prepared to go into details of what they saw as the major practical advantages a junior teacher had over direct entrants:

- In general we were way ahead in the area of classroom management, language level and some subject areas.
- I was at home in front of a class - I had been there before. I was able to relate to the Dem teacher straight off. This I believe was an important factor in most of the favourable reports I received from my pract teaching encounters. Yes junior teaching was a distinct advantage.
- I'm sure we benefited a great deal. We were not so tense when facing a class of unknown children, and relating to their teacher.
- Much better because of my contact with children and my ability to relate to them. Greater maturity.
- We had a definite advantage. The skills we had collected 'en route' were very obvious. We were able to engage more intelligently in tutorial type discussions with lecturers.
- Greatly advantaged. We didn't seem to be as worried about the possible success of our lessons as we had experience in this field.
- Greatly advantaged because we had already faced the fears and uncertainties of standing before a class.
- I felt I had an advantage over students without teaching experience because one sees the educative process from the opposite aspect.
- Way ahead on classroom experience - less apprehension about entering new classrooms and facing different classes, more confident about practical teaching; more critical of deficiencies of self, and others.
- More confident (less nervous) and settled into the task more quickly and easily.
- Found it easier preparing lessons - realized what young children could cope with. Accepted ability range of children better.
- The confidence extended for a considerable time. Teaching practice held no terrors for me - but it did for others

There were some however, who believed that any such advantage was transitory:

- Had an advantage in the beginning.
- Initially my confidence (to stand in front of a class) but actually those who were not junior teachers soon caught up. In fact it was false confidence because junior teacher methods and those required at practising school were poles apart.
- I think we had 'the edge' on the other students in the first practical sessions because we had 'been there, done that' and had experience to call on, but after that I don't think there could have been any great difference.

Others realised that some of those straight from school could do well too:

- I was better than some, not as good as others.
- Generally, far better, [but] I was not the only 'mature' teacher in the group. It depended of course, on the type of work done when a junior teacher.
- Those of us who had been junior teachers felt we had 'a break' on those who hadn't but it wasn't always the case.

Some recalled not noticing any difference or not considering the matter:

- Can't remember noticing any difference.
- No difference! I think I assumed that all (or almost all) had done junior teaching.
- I cannot recall having considered this situation.
- I don't recall making comparisons within our own group.
- I didn't compare myself with anybody. Some performed brilliantly at College and in the schools ... At College you were judged on your teaching – there's more to being a 'teacher' than teaching.

One female respondent did not recall making any comparisons but she knew the value of the experience for herself:

- I was a very shy girl and, without that year of junior teaching, I doubt if I would have survived my first week of practical teaching.

There were a few who felt that differences did not matter much. One believed that those in authority at the College took little note of experience while another saw little of value in practical teaching anyway:

- I felt we had some advantage in practical experience ... However, College lecturers seemed to completely ignore this.
- No significant difference - The practical experience in those days was so minimal and so unrelated to real teaching that it was practically useless anyway.

Another respondent took the opportunity to assess both the practical advantage of the system for students entering the College and the general disadvantage it had across the wider scene:

- The system helped the young teacher and offered a year to sort out whether or not it was the job for them. However, at the students' expense - remember we were not trained. I was taught by junior teachers all my junior years and there was one hopeless one - that's bad.

Academic aspects

Not surprisingly either, in the light of the answers on general advantage, more than half the respondents felt disadvantaged academically at Teachers College in comparison with students direct from school. Here, too, some tended to repeat what had already been said but the comments of others allowed for a much broader view of what had been raised as an important issue at the Inquiry which was told that most junior teachers would have been better off spending an extra year at school. The comments of

many of these respondents support such a view both directly and indirectly. In most cases the disadvantage had something to do with not having had access to Leaving Honours. As was seen from the concrete facts, only two of these respondents had reached that level and many obviously felt this lack very deeply, often both in the short and the long term:

- Left on the shelf. Came back to find my peers a full academic year ahead - but, more unfortunately, they had experienced (LHs) the necessary pre-tertiary training that I and others lacked.
- Personally much worse. They were Adelaide High School old scholars with many known peers, and the confidence of being city dwellers
- My academic 'status' & enthusiasm was much lower than those who had done Leaving Honours.
- Disadvantaged. No-one, except brilliant students perhaps, should have been allowed into a University course without first doing the Leaving Honours course. And of course the brightest, almost without exception, had complemented their superior intelligence with extra secondary schooling i.e. Leaving Honours. They were double winners. Conversely, many junior teachers were dual losers.

One respondent in commenting on the loss to junior teachers, mentioned the point that has been noted on a number of occasions earlier about junior teachers not being the best qualified in terms of Leaving results. Interestingly enough this was in 1946, just when Probationary studentships had been re-introduced:

- ... In the main I felt that those with better Leaving results were invited to continue on as Leaving Honours students while those with lesser results were offered a position as a junior teacher.

Others tended to comment on why they saw themselves as the losers in such situations:

- Disadvantaged in the country because of the broken study habits whereas those in or near the city could attend courses.
- I did not have the study background & study habits that Leaving Honours students had developed. They knew more, studied better, & caught on more quickly, especially in my first year. - Many of us found our Uni subjects much harder as we had not done LH. We had to get back into 'study' habits too.
- I'm sure those from Leaving Honours were at a big advantage when it came to University studies. I found the jump from Leaving to University very difficult. I really didn't know how to study.
- ... Behind those who came from school straight to College. For me I think it was [because of] the taste of freedom from study. The study in those days (before I discovered my learning pattern) was a grind and I would tend to defer doing assignments so that I could get on with

practical aspects.

- The year as a JT seemed to offer more 'freedom' from study than a MATRIC [There appears to be some confusion here about the old matriculation and current practices] year but being responsible for a class left little time for study, and for those like myself who didn't learn how to use the time for study, it was a disadvantage. Many junior teachers had only had 4 years at High School, so had not reached Matric level when entering College, so were not qualified to begin University studies as soon as those students who had come straight from school.
- We were disadvantaged when compared to entrants from Leaving Honours. They waltzed through the first year University courses and were in fact granted exemption from some courses e.g. Inorganic Chem, Maths etc.
- Not as good as those who did Leaving Hons. Generally the JTs did two years and left with a 111B certificate, while the LH students were offered a B3 [an additional year], and had a rapid, in fact meteoric - rise to the top.
- Those who had done Leaving Honours had a decided advantage in academics and this was reflected in their subsequent more rapid promotions particularly if they had done a B3 year.

Some who felt a measure of disadvantage were prepared to qualify it to some degree;

- I always assumed that those who came to College from school were smarter – they'd done LH. This implied that junior teaching would be a waste of time for them. I think we were much the same. Application is Life's test.
- I'm sure my initial choice should have been Leaving Honours because I would have coped much better with tertiary work. But possibly (for me) socially and emotionally I gained with the JT year.
- Possibly disadvantaged to a degree but I feel my maturity made up for this. Maturity in the sense of being able to cope & to decide things for myself - even though I was still 17 at the end of the year.
- Many direct entrants had higher qualifications (academic) and may have been better students in some ways but the years away from school gave ex-junior teachers a more mature outlook on study at times and they were more anxious to 'keep the head down' - I believe. They tended to question and evaluate better.
- Behind in 'academic' achievement. Since my course (Art) was predominantly practical, and my interest was centred on my chosen field, pure academic disciplines were wearisome, often considered irrelevant, sometimes difficult. I just was not interested at the time. Nevertheless, I felt a sense of not being 'up to' the others, of being a 'second-grade' person, [he was the one who generally felt those from technical or area Schools were 'lesser beings'] of having to constantly prove myself, especially during my first two years at Teachers College. In hindsight this may not have been a bad thing.

- Quite disadvantaged to begin with. It took some time to develop writing skills appropriate for tertiary essays. English History would have been infinitely easier from Leaving Honours. In terms of Teachers College subjects though, my year of junior teaching was no handicap. I think I topped our group in all subjects at ATC. But I feel keenly that with an opportunity to do Leaving Honours instead of teaching, and with a more realistic set of pre-requisites for the Arts degree at the University, [this female respondent had no Latin] I may have seen the value in completing a degree before I went out to teach. This could have saved me endless years of studying one subject at a time & may have led to a more satisfying career path if I had rounded out my academic achievements first. This has been a life long disappointment to me.
- Possibly disadvantaged, as in my case, by then entering College with less qualifications than those who had completed a fifth year at secondary school. This usually resulted in a one year College course which meant further study to become qualified. At the time, this did not appear to be a problem.

One male respondent who had to enter the one year course saw the same disadvantage but sheeted the blame home to himself rather than to the junior teacher system:

- We had disadvantaged ourselves by not passing the exams set. Now we had to do it the hard way - year by year. Unfortunately not many of us ["A" group] continued in teaching.

A small number felt that they had not been disadvantaged at all;

- Not disadvantaged - but in fact advantaged - saw experience more important.
- Teaching skills are more important than academic progress.
- My study record showed a vast improvement. I now had a goal and knew where I was going. At school I was just drifting.
- I think that the time spent outside of books and study prior to taking up teaching (or studying for this) gave me a bigger advantage. I found the ways and views of many others [direct entrants] too narrow and theoretical (Juvenile & impracticable!) I didn't feel an 'age' supremacy [he became a junior teacher at 19 from a trade] so much as sorry for them. I could see some suffering some hard knocks and shocks when they got out into the real world (not just teaching). They had to grow up a lot & fast.

A few others recalled no differences in academics. Some of them had not considered the matter, others had simply not noticed any differences and one or two simply asserted that being a junior teacher had made no difference to their academic progress. A few did comment further:

- No differences - not having matriculation [no Latin] was a disadvantage but that was not a matter of junior teaching.
- No noticeable difference. The only subject I failed during 3 years at ATC was Principles of Teaching 11 - and I had two attempts.

QU. 5 OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

- WAS THE SYSTEM EXPLOITATIVE?
- DID CHILDREN SUFFER UNDER IT?
- SHOULD IT HAVE BEEN ABOLISHED?

Members of the Education Inquiry Committee took considerable note of the evidence put to them about the exploitative nature of the junior teacher system and about its effect on the pupils taught by junior teachers. There is no doubt that their decision to recommend abolition was greatly influenced by these aspects. As has been seen, while a majority of respondents from the time of the Inquiry believed that they had been exploited, a number of them only came to this realisation in retrospect or qualified their response in some other way. A majority of respondents from that time either did not believe children suffered under the system or had doubts about it and opinions for and against abolition were almost equally divided. Responses from the period under review seem to support a view that generally little changed in the five years after the submission of the First Report of the Education Inquiry Committee.

Exploitation?

Some 63% of the respondents now believed that they had been exploited but well over half of them did not recall feeling that way at the time or were prepared to qualify their answer in some other way. Some of the 30% who felt that they had not been exploited also qualified their responses as did a number of those few who could not recall ever thinking about it at the time. Most of those who had no doubts about the exploitative nature of the system were prepared to explain why they felt that way. Some of them referred to the working conditions:

- Many junior teachers were exploited - given far too much responsibility for their age and lack of training.
- They must have been exploited - especially in those times of teacher shortages and high class numbers. [1950]
- I guess the answer is Yes, when judged by today's standard, because I worked all day, every day. My study was done at 'home'. I didn't have any time off - non contact was unheard of. All preparation was blackboarded, just as it was after I was trained.
- From my experience I would have to say 'yes' to the question. Soon after the year got under way a teacher disappeared from the scene (I can't remember why) and his teaching load was divided between two junior teachers. We taught for the whole year.
- Yes - ... it seemed to me that in the school to which I was appointed there were too many children for one teacher but not enough for two. For most of the year I shared a 24x 24ft classroom with the Head Teacher but we managed to keep out of each other's way somehow.

Of much greater significance for the rest however, was the question of monetary reward. Some simply referred to the inadequacy of the allowance while others commented on what was expected of them for so small a reward:

- Yes we were exploited, obtained on the cheap.
- In monetary consideration - yes we were given a raw deal. The wage we got was not in any way a 'living' allowance. - There was no doubt junior teachers were exploited and their contribution to the school during the year was never fully realized & rewarded in monetary terms by the Ed Dept.
- The Dept certainly did! As an untrained 16 year old I had more or less sole responsibility for 24 Grade 1, 2, 3, for which I received £4-3-4d per fortnight.
- The Ed Dept probably got a full time teacher for £110 per year. But it was the Head Teacher who benefited as I doubt that a trained teacher would have been appointed as a school of 40+ was not unusual for one teacher.
- I got 1,000 pence per fortnight. They got a baby sitter for 5 days/week for Grades 1, 2, 3.
- Yes - as explained [he was transferred to fill a sudden vacancy] I did the job of a teacher for half a year, but without any extra pay & was later discouraged from trying to earn extra out of school hours.
- There is no doubt JTs were exploited ... The E.D. in my opinion, used it as a cost cutting exercise. I think my salary was about £1 per week - staff members were getting about 5 times that amount, secondary staff and HT even more. I was expected to carry a full teaching load without direct supervision. If I had not been prepared to ask for help I would have had to battle for myself.
- Yes - definitely exploitation. In a school of 30+ kids, 7 grades, one HT, I would work hard from 8.30 - often to 6 PM (with preparation & cleaning etc) for a pittance.

One respondent summed up the situation as being 'probably both morally and financially' exploitative but another accepted that what he was paid was probably normal for the times:

- It would have been nice to have a higher income at that stage but most young people worked under similar conditions e.g. nurses.

A female respondent from that same year accepted this but pointed out the very different nature of the role given to most junior teachers:

- My pay was £4 per fortnight. I doubt whether, at 16, I would have got more at any other job in 1949. On the other hand, it's not likely that I would have been given control over an office or a shop at age 16.

Others, while acknowledging the poor pay and conditions, were prepared to qualify their claim of exploitation:

- Exploited? - Yes. On the cheap? - Yes. But it was the first year of what was to become a

combined practical teaching - academic 'apprenticeship'.

- I think 'exploited' is too strong. We were 'used' to fill gaps. My appointment slip shows my pay of about £90 (board was £52/18/- for the year) - so we had problems! Conditions away from the school were dreadful and we should not have been sent to isolated places (Peake, Ungarra etc.)
- I would not say junior teachers were exploited - they (& I) did not really have skills of teaching at our finger tips (picked up some as year progressed) & so would not bring children along well enough and could not be responsible. The allowance should have been more - I came from a poor home & could not expect help. More notice should have been taken of junior teachers e.g. a course. [of preparation?]
- To a degree on the cheap. 30/- a week [but] experience was helpful.
- Possibly - as I had sole responsibility of one class, hence releasing the Head of an overcrowded room & extra work. But it built my confidence for later on.
- To some extent we were exploited and I consider that greater allowances should have been made for travel, boarding.
- From memory I was paid about £4 for two weeks as a junior teacher & about £12 for two weeks when teaching. It gave us a taste of school life from teaching point of view and we could decide if we wanted to commit ourselves to 2 years in the College + 3 years teaching. Not many of us would have been able to pay back the bond we signed. [for College training]
- There's no doubt that junior teachers used as class teachers had to have been exploited financially [but] I don't think I was wise enough at the time to see the exploitation from the scheme & apart from financially, I don't believe I was exploited in any way.

Several others had come to accept a measure of exploitation after considering the matter so many years later:

- I never thought of this being the case but it may have been so. I accepted my JT year as being a choice within the system & I was grateful. However, I do know that the teaching load was heavy with very few free lessons for preparation etc. Salary would not have been commensurate with the duties, but again it was better than nothing in hard financial times for my family.
- I guess it was an exploitative system & no-one would stand for it in these days of RIGHTS for everyone (?) but I never felt exploited - quite the opposite - I was being paid for the first time in my life for doing something I really enjoyed.
- This never occurred to me at the time. I suppose it was a way of staffing schools where student numbers were not sufficient to warrant another fully trained, fully paid, staff member - I never felt exploited.

- I'm not sure that in my case the Dept was getting a teacher 'on the cheap' because numbers at the school probably didn't warrant a fulltime paid teacher but it certainly was a 'way out' for the Dept to help cater for the needs of one teacher schools at minimal costs.
- At the time I was pleased to get out and earn in spite of the fact that it was only really an allowance. In today's climate, this would be considered as teachers 'on the cheap' as junior teachers were classed as staff members.
- In hindsight yes, although I saw it as a sort of apprenticeship in terms of salary & conditions at the time. However, many country students would not have had the opportunity to come to Adelaide, and so the scheme provided an answer for that intervening year.

Most of those who believed that they were not exploited had no doubts at all:

- I did not feel exploited. I was glad of the opportunity to try my hand at teaching.
- No - not in my case. I had much spare time - supposedly for lesson notes and study.
- Not in my case. I loved my year. The Mothers' Club bought a little spirit stove - I could warm my lunch - the conditions at the school were generally good.
- No - not exploited - felt privileged to be there. I got 28/- per week but the head's was only £12. We worked harder than today's teachers with Religious Instruction the only off lesson and I had to mark and see corrections for everything done by every student every day.
- Junior teachers were not exploited but given an insight into a future profession. Monetary rewards were adequate for an unqualified 17 year old. It was good experience to co-operate with an employer and gain esteem from the school and community.
- I didn't feel exploited at all. It was an exciting year and earning money wasn't so important to me as it seems to be now. As I lived at home I had no worries.
- I do not think that the Dept was an exploiter. Junior Teaching was like a first year of an apprenticeship. Remember the system was evolving - Junior teaching was the next step on from monitoring (paid & unpaid). I was paid £150 for the JT year & for my 2 years at College.
- No. All young people then started on a little pay which was gradually increased. Apprentices were on about 27/6 per week out of which they would pay board to their mothers. Farmer's sons [he was] had the use of farm utility if they had one, their sporting subs paid, and enough to go to a dance once a week.
- I never felt exploited, neither did I feel impoverished. I know I had only two frocks, one of which I wore to school for two days and the other for three days, but it didn't worry me, although I envied a friend who had lovely clothes. I made friends, had fun - that was enough.

Some who did not feel exploited themselves were prepared to accept that other junior teachers might have been:

- From my experiences no, but from that of some others yes! It seems that at times, some were placed in positions that required more than they could give. Undoubtedly there was a feeling that teachers were obtained 'on the cheap' in this way, since there was no guarantee of future employment or even entry to the Teachers College through such an appointment. As junior teachers were not trained teachers they could be released at the end of their year by the Department & replaced by another junior teacher for the sum of £80 (later £100) per year, certainly much lower than a trained teacher.
- I have never considered myself or other junior teachers to have been exploited - but then I have happy memories. I worked under good conditions.
- As my experience went, junior teachers were not exploited. I did very little teaching. It was a year of transition for me. But other junior teachers took a full class (multiple) for a whole year!
- In my case NO. But junior teachers who were given sole responsibility of a class or even 2 Grades of children ... then yes, the Department could have been exploiting them.
- Where junior teachers were placed in one teacher schools there could have been exploitation and if not, at least teachers cheaply got. [this respondent was in a high school]

There were a few unusual cases. The male respondent who was charged with assault recalled:

- No not really. The scheme fell down due (in my case) to lack of nurturing in the school situation.

One who had considered that there was financial exploitation went on to consider other aspects:

- The word 'exploitation' is not applicable to the teaching aspects. - We were thoroughly tested in situ - and survived - We knew what to expect in classroom situations - apprentices did no more in industry.

In the light of the findings of the Inquiry, this comment from a respondent from 1948 is particularly interesting:

- In the late 40s I do not think there were many who felt junior teachers were exploited. It was looked upon as a type of apprenticeship. A friend of mine was a JT - did not get a B course and resigned and became famous and a millionaire. I received 38/2d per week - £100 per year. If you boarded at home you did not receive any allowance - away from home netted an extra £40. (I think) My conditions of work were very satisfactory for that period.

One female supernumerary who took classes for singing and music did not feel exploited by the system but felt that the staff may have taken advantage of her:

- ... some teachers saw it as a chance to have time off (for an extra coffee or cigarette, not to prepare lessons as was the idea.)

Did children suffer under the system?

Over a third of these respondents believed that children did suffer and most were prepared to go into details to support that opinion. Some generalised about a situation that they thought must have led to some neglect:

- You bet. The younger the child the more important is the teacher's role - for better or worse. We were untrained.
- Children suffered to a degree - teacher on his own (mainly) untrained with Grades 1 - 111.
- In many cases they must have. Not all junior teachers continued in teaching, after finding it was not appealing. Such people must have given 'luke warm' efforts resulting from despondency. I daresay some were 'unwanted' by staffs and consequently they gave sloppy performances. The children must have suffered.
- I have no evidence of course, but we were all so young, and completely untrained, that it is reasonable to assume many mistakes were made.
- Yes - many children had a different teacher each year - untrained.
- They must have been disadvantaged - the same as those who have an inexperienced teacher instead of an experienced one.
- If JTs' lack of experience caused children to 'miss out' it would not have been in the best interests of the children.
- Yes of course. Fully trained teachers could have extended the bright children and helped those with difficulties, far better than junior teachers did. Thankfully most average children learn in spite of teachers anyhow.
- ... They certainly would have been taught more effectively under an experienced and trained teacher.
- In some cases when the junior teachers were just out of school yes! I have heard of many cases from dissatisfied parents.
- Of course they did - even if it was not seen to be so (or admitted) at the time. Can you imagine today's outcry?

Others were prepared to recall their own shortcomings and/or particular cases where children had suffered:

- Yes - I was immature, inexperienced, uneducated!
- I feel that the standard of my teaching was pretty mediocre. Hence students would have suffered.
- Definitely. It could not have been otherwise ... I'm sure I inflicted psychological scars on one or two unfortunates who wet their pants or worse through nervousness.

- The children I taught would surely have benefited from more innovative, stimulating teaching - they would have been exploited in many ways in their educational development.
- I remember one (German) child to whom I tried to teach the word THE (to say it). He (Grade 2) newly arrived, persistently said T-VA! I failed. I rapped a few knuckles `cos some Grade 1 kids couldn't add 3+5. I shouted loudly and slammed desks on occasions - kids jumped - want more examples? But the kids seemed to like me.
- I would say that there were 3 students affected in one subject where I was not qualified to teach (Intermediate Arithmetic - in which I did not have the understanding or knowledge required).
- Yes I believe so. In my little class Terry the resentful one & Bernice, the disadvantaged child needed the careful handling that I could not give them. The slow ones needed remedial teaching that I could not provide. Even the two very bright ones would have gained more from not being in my class.

Another third or so were sure children had not suffered under the system. Some simply wrote 'No', 'I don't believe so' or 'Not as I saw it'. Others were prepared to cite their own particular experiences. Some recalled personal feelings of success while others felt that that the way the system operated in their particular school would have mitigated against disadvantage to the children:

- If you agree that one's attitude and enthusiasm are paramount then the answer is NO.
- I like to think that the students I 'taught' were not disadvantaged. I can't recall any disciplinary problems. What I had to teach was not new to me, as I had not long sat where they were sitting. [In a technical high school]
- Not from my experiences of what was available then. Everything was set - my Grade 111's ALL knew ALL tables & number analyses to 20.
- Certainly not the way I was used (as a supernumerary).
- No - not in my situation. The Head Teacher & other teachers transmitted a strong influence of high expectation, application & discipline.
- No - the HT in my case made sure of this. In fact they probably gained from 'one on one' experience.
- No! If my Head had not trusted me and checked up on the progress, then it would have been a different story.
- No - I think the children had more individual help because I was there. I was 'additional'.

One respondent was prepared to admit causing only minor disadvantage:

- No - not generally from my experience. There were minor cases of my ignorance causing me to mishandle a situation -e.g. asking a monotone not to sing rather than giving him exercises to develop a tuneful voice.

Others preferred to generalise about the success of junior teachers:

- I don't think so. Many junior teachers were as strong and demanding as some trained teachers and presented their work to students with sincerity & a developing flair. So anxious were they for their classes to do well that most (High School) students benefited from the experience.
- I knew of none but most of us wanted to do our best for the children.
- ... I think it could depend on the personality, ability & dedication of the junior teacher. Most young children liked the young fresh, unspoilt attitudes of a young teacher - perhaps because we were all learning together.
- No- if the junior teacher's work was monitored.

The rest were unsure about the question. A couple felt that things could possibly have been better under a trained teacher:

- Not to any great extent but they certainly would have been taught more effectively.

Others felt that it was likely that children had suffered despite the best intentions of the junior teachers or their supervisors:

- I'm sure that the children and the junior teachers did their best. But at times it must have seemed like 'the blind leading the blind'. But perhaps the basics were emphasized more at that time.
- They could have; mine would have had I not been supervised as and when necessary. Small primary and the one & two teacher schools especially, should personality clashes or home sickness been factors.
- It is easy to believe that children did suffer - being taught by a completely untrained person. Although I did not have the feeling, in memory, that the children under my care did suffer, I'm sure that the achievement etc. would have been greater if they had a fully trained infant teacher - although not all fully trained teachers were/are successful as teachers.
- Possibly, to some extent, as often junior teachers were given a fair amount of responsibility and schools were under staffed in some areas, children would have been disadvantaged to some degree.

Some believed that the extent of disadvantage depended on the circumstances:

- Yes - some children may have been handicapped for the first few weeks when the junior teacher was 'grass green'. However, you had to come to terms with teaching early in the year or you would not have survived.
- Children are remarkably flexible. Logically, they should have suffered, but in small schools there was a lot of cross-age tutoring before that term was invented, and without really realizing it. The cohesiveness of families in a close-knit community was valuable. However, this was the small school situation - larger schools may have a different story to tell.

- Perhaps some children were deprived of quality teaching in small schools where the Head Teacher taught full time. Supervision would have been difficult.
- Maybe students would have gained greater benefit from a fully trained teacher (if available). Certainly having a junior teacher working under the close supervision of a Head Teacher would have been preferable to the HT having a very large class to himself.
- Some, no doubt, did suffer, as not all junior teachers were as fortunate as I was in having other staff with the time & expertise to help them. And some junior teachers were not teacher material and left during or at the end of the year.
- It is possible that some children may have been disadvantaged by having to put up with an inappropriate person as JT, but this also applied to the fully trained teacher situation. The amount and quality of junior teacher supervision by the HM and other staff would considerably affect the situation.
- I sensed that some parents were not too happy to have their child in a junior teacher's class though others appeared not to be aware of the untrained nature of junior teachers.
- I feel that the average & bright children suffered less than those who required special attention.

One respondent who believed that children did not suffer under the system rightly pointed out that there would always be 'a percentage of bad cases' but went on to say:

- Your statistics will probably show that it was a good scheme.

Should the system have been abolished ?

The final part of this question gave all respondents the opportunity to voice an opinion on this matter by asking them whether or not they thought abolition was a good thing or a bad thing. In the discussion on this question in Chapter 12, it will be recalled that opinions on the subject were almost equally divided with some 40% saying abolition was a good thing, another 40% indicating that it was a good system worth retaining and the rest generally finding points for and against. In the period under review, a similar percentage (38%) were against abolition but fewer (30%) would like to have seen the system retained and a similar proportion wavered in their opinions. Very few failed to answer the question.

Those in favour of abolition.

Practically all these respondents indicated what they saw as significant failings in the system. For some it was the lack of training and general preparation for dealing with children:

- The scheme had to go. Teachers now require full-time training, both preservice and inservice.
- Looking back now, & after I was trained, I would question the wisdom of the scheme and take into consideration the lack of psychology in dealing with CHILDREN - their potential problems in learning etc.

- Abolition a good thing. the untrained person - particularly in psychology - is unaware of the (potential or actual) damage to kids he/she can inflict.
- I'm glad junior teaching was abolished ... [Dem] teachers showed how, what, where, who and why of education (or schooling) at the highest level.

For others the lack of maturity was a problem:

- I think probably a good thing - more emphasis on academic achievement first then teach when there is more maturity.
- On the whole a good thing. Now when teachers come into schools for block teaching they are older & more mature, hence better able to cope.

Some noted the failings in the system that deserved its abolition but were prepared to qualify their response to some degree:

- Overall it was a good thing to abolish - although I would never have become a teacher without it. (My parents could not have afforded my going to the city to do Leaving Honours).
- On the whole a good thing (despite there being some JT's who were trained quite well as they went, or were 'naturals'.
- Probably a good thing - but used as I was, and with the high standard of teachers at the time, it helped me to develop my whole approach and philosophy.
- Although I enjoyed my year I believe it was a good thing that it was abolished ... It delayed your entry to teaching by 12 months.
- The scheme would not work today. Children are not as well behaved and the modern forms of discipline -? - Would not have been instilled into a junior teacher.
- I believe that the JT Programme served its purpose at the time. It had to be replaced as times changed e.g. disappearance of the Technical High schools; increased student retention rates; more graduates available for teaching placements; alteration to tertiary entrance requirements; acceptance by tertiary institutions of subjects previously not considered acceptable.

Not surprisingly some who felt that they had bad experiences referred to them again in this context. The respondent who had been charged with assault and who felt that the system had neglected his 'survival skills' believed that abolition was:

- A good thing as I am certain my experience was the norm.

The female who believed her Head had given her some difficult children who should rather have been with an experienced teacher was equally adamant that abolition was a good thing:

- ... because the headmaster was given too free a hand in the management of junior teachers ... because it allowed headmasters like mine to make such decisions as he did it was possible for the scheme to produce more harm than good.

One other such respondent was prepared to suggest an improvement rather than abolition:

- The JT system as I experienced it was not good! (i.e. being completely untrained for class teaching) but a more refined scheme could perhaps have been an adjunct to the Demonstration Schools operation (- assistance to & observation of teachers for example).

Several who believed that the junior teacher system was rightly abolished were still prepared to contrast it favourably with the Demonstration Schools:

- The fact that the system was abolished was a step in the right direction but only because [eventually] a better system of pract teaching was introduced. In 1949-50-51, it was the only real teaching practice received. The system of doing Prac teaching at Demonstration School was in my opinion totally inadequate. It was impracticable & unrealistic and gave us no insight into what teaching was about. We left the College full of theory and enthusiasm and that's about all.
- The system had to go, but in fact I think it gave us a more realistic picture of what teaching entailed, than the artificiality of the Demonstration Schools. As a newly trained teacher I felt constant disappointment with myself in my first year that I couldn't achieve a 'Dem School model class' with my 30+ Grades 1 - 111 at M -.

One other made a less favourable comparison:

- I attended 3 Demonstration Schools while at the ATC - an anticlimax after my junior teacher year, and not an enjoyable or very useful experience.

Those who believed abolition was a bad thing

Some respondents recalled the personal benefits that they got from the experience. A few tended to generalise about such benefits:

- It was a good scheme.
- I would see the JT system as an excellent pre-training experience...
- For me it was beneficial, so I would say that it was a bad thing that it was abolished.
- Looking back I really think I learned more in the year out teaching than I did in College.
- If all JTs had as helpful a year as I had then I think the idea had a lot going for it. It gave us time to grapple with our own problems associated with the task.

Others were prepared to specify the benefits of the experience. Chief amongst these were seeing teaching from another view, getting appropriate experience and being helped to decide whether teaching was the right choice:

- I firmly believe that the scheme was 'a good thing'. I was given the opportunity of seeing the other side of education before going to College for training. While a junior teacher there was constant supervision & a regular assessment by the Head & subject teachers. I went to College knowing that teaching was my calling.

- I believe the scheme was excellent in that it gave the aspiring young person a chance to experience the real world of teaching, and allowed them the opportunity to decide and make an honest judgement as to whether they wished to further their career in the field of teaching, and be guided by Teachers as to whether they felt a person had the capabilities & qualities to make a success of teaching in the future.
- I would think that junior teaching was a good thing giving the junior teacher hands on experience & a greater maturity.
- It gave junior teachers time to look from the teacher's side of desk & think more as a teacher than a student.
- I firmly believe that the junior teacher system was a valuable form of work experience and a break from study. It also provided opportunity for 'hands on' practice.
- I think it [abolition] was rather unfortunate in view of the benefits ... like confidence, satisfaction, social progress ...The knowledge that you were in complete charge for a year was empowering.
- The year as a JT assisted many in sorting out their feelings about their future profession (a close friend of mine did not continue in the Department after a year as a junior teacher).
- I believe the system helped some students realise they were not cut out for teaching & so could get out before they signed their 3 year bond.
- I feel junior teaching gave you an opportunity to see if you felt comfortable in front of a class, whether this was the career you wanted. I guess it was similar to work experience but you had a whole year in which to decide.
- The year certainly gave prospective teachers an idea as to how they would cope & whether they would like teaching. The training would be more meaningful after it I think also. {She resigned due to a family interstate transfer]
- I still think that a year in the schools (as a Teacher Aide type situation) would be of great value. At the end of that year youngsters would have a much better idea if they wanted to pursue a teaching career.

One respondent looked at the same question from another angle:

- I think it (abolition) was a bad thing. Many of the entrants direct from school to Teachers College suffered from work stress after graduation, and there was a growing & recognizable group of career 'misfits'.

A number of those who felt that the system should have been retained were at pains to contrast it with what they saw as the failings of the practical teaching experience given in Demonstration Schools:

- Many who were junior teachers felt that pract teaching in Demonstration Schools was very artificial - the Dem teacher virtually had discipline & control - and directed lesson structure to suit their children.

- Dem Schools were an insignificant training compared to the full experience of a junior teacher. They were artificial and a hindrance through missed lectures. One was at the mercy of the teacher in charge of you. Some were not admirable.
- Periodic practice teaching in Dem Schools was better than nothing but rather 'fitful' when compared with the junior teacher experience.
- Demonstration Schools were artificial class situations & left some teachers still ignorant of their ability to control a classroom situation whereas a junior teacher knew.
- ... In my case the Demonstration Schools did not paint a true picture of the classroom in practice in 1950.

Those who were unsure about abolition

Some respondents drew on their personal experience as they tried to present what they saw as fair comments on the place of junior teaching in a training system. A good many took the opportunity to compare it both favourably and unfavourably with the Demonstration Schools. A few were not particularly enthusiastic about having been a junior teacher:

- I don't think the Junior Teacher Scheme was much better or worse than subsequent schemes. Dem schools were 'artificial'. Classes were so big in the 40s & 50s that survival was success.
- Don't know that my JT year was of particular use except to refresh my memory of what lower grades learnt. The Infant room was helpful on 'how' to teach things too far back for me to remember my own infant years. The best 'Teacher Training' was in the Dem Schools.
- As a former Dem School Assistant & for a year A/Master of Method, I feel that there are too many variables to talk about good or bad - some experience in the JT and Dem teaching could be termed good or bad.
- In principle, there is a lot to be said for acquainting would be teachers with practical experience in schools and the nature of the teaching vocation before formal training. They could get a reasonable idea of whether they are cut out for the rigours of what they might see beforehand as a soft, well paid job with plenty of holidays. A spot of JT work may make them think before committing themselves & taxpayers' money to a formal training course. Beyond that there isn't much to be said for the scheme. Looking back, I can see that what had been the germ of a good idea was terribly misused.

Others attempted to specify what they saw as the good and bad points of the system:

- My views are coloured of course by my own positive experiences as a JT and the old system would not work today, but I think an 'apprenticeship' has a lot going for it & could weed out a lot of the 'square pegs' at Stage 1. To make it work more experienced staff would be needed.
- I think the scheme may have enabled some people to realize their unsuitability for teaching and was good from this aspect. Generally I feel it was not a good plan to have untrained young

people with teaching responsibilities.

- It may have been reasonable to have junior teachers in large, urban schools were they could learn/observe - with teachers & a little under supervision. - in fact, much as a Dem School operated. But to staff schools in remote areas with junior teachers as part of a 'staffing formula' was bad - for the children & the junior teacher. It was no preparation for the academic world of teaching.
- If the Principal was keen to help the JT as mine was yes it was a good thing but if discipline could not be maintained in the school then both the students and the JT would have been disadvantaged.
- The scheme was probably acceptable for the time & method of teaching. Success or failure so often depended on the ability of the Head Teacher to support & encourage the junior teacher and the attitude of the junior teachers themselves.
- I think I should have at least been given some ideas BEFORE going out. Yet, it was trial by fire & I think those who passed the test were very worthwhile teachers later.

QU. 6 HOW THEY REMEMBERED THE EXPERIENCE

As a final appraisal of the experience, respondents were asked to recall how they now remember it. They were given a choice of the four categories shown in the table below or they could choose some other appropriate label. They were not confined to one response and many ticked at least two of the categories. This is best illustrated by the two sets of figures in the following table. The first figure indicates the number who marked more than one response and the figure in brackets indicates those who marked that category only.

TABLE 13. 6 How Respondents Remembered the Junior Teacher Experience

	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	Totals	%
Happy generally	13(7)	10(5)	4(2)	10(6)	5(3)	42(23)	54%(75%)
Frustrating	3(-)	3(1)	-	-	2(-)	8(1)	10%(3%)
Useful	5(-)	6(1)	2(-)	4(1)	3(-)	20(2)	26%(6%)
Just bearable	-	3(2)	-	1(1)	-	4(3)	5%(10%)
Other	-	-	-	2(1)	2(1)	4(2)	5%(6%)

As can be seen, most remembered the experience of being a junior teacher as a generally happy or useful time with most ticking both those categories. Most also explained why they felt that way and the responses clearly show what made for a happy or useful junior teachership and what frustrated some or made it just bearable for a very small number. The results here were very similar to those from the earlier part of the decade except that rather fewer found the experience happy and slightly more found it just bearable.

The 'Happy generally' recollections

The majority of happy recollections were connected with enjoying teaching; being successful at it and realizing that the right career choice had been made:

- I have such happy memories - keep in touch with so many of my old 'kids'.
- I enjoyed teaching.
- The challenge of teaching.
- I was doing what I wanted to do, I was in a familiar school and I knew many of the teachers personally.
- I enjoyed it, loved the kindy children and the lady I taught under ... with no responsibility & being given the easy, pleasant jobs (story telling, taking them for runs, music etc) it was fun.
- I guess it was because I was accepted, loved and respected [by children] and so in return I loved and gave all I had.
- ... The 'teaching' I did was minimal The HM was a generous and forward thinking man & a fine example.
- I had been a shy and somewhat lonely young girl. It made me feel a new confidence, gave me a chance to reveal some values, returned me warm affection, and made me sure that if one feels sure about a 'right' path - one should pursue it.
- ... I made many friends amongst the students and I entered the Teachers College convinced that I had made a sensible and practical decision to enter teaching.

Several explained how they worked at making the year a happy one:

- I made it such. I wanted to succeed. I accepted the system as it was without question. I felt that if I had any conflicting views, they should be kept for later in my profession when I had gained more experience.
- My enjoyment and success as a junior teacher was largely due to my attitude & willingness to help students to learn, co- operate with school policy, relate to other teachers and to develop skills.
- I was doing what I wanted to do ... and was able to tolerate the staff members who would have put a less determined person off! [this was the supernumerary who took classes for singing and music and who found some teachers treated her as an 'intruder' on their space]

One other seemed happy because she did not really have to work hard at the job:

- I seemed to have coasted through with no stressful times and no great responsibilities.

Others explained that reaching happiness took time as well as effort:

- Although I had a doubtful start I recall it as a generally happy and satisfying time...I think the staff helped me considerably, particularly in an informal way as we travelled to and from school by train.
- After the first months in which I learned what was required of me and I earned my Head's

approval and trust, we settled down to a reasonable, happy-enough relationship. [this was the respondent who found her Head Mistress was 'not a very giving person']

Although most regarded some aspect of teaching as the cause of their happiness, a number mentioned aspects outside the classroom. Some were happy because of their board, the social opportunities available or simply because they had a chance to grow up and mature:

- The friends, the sport, the new location.
- I had been raised in country towns (some very small) so was used to that way of life and enjoyed it. The people I boarded with made me feel one of the family but allowed me my freedom to come and go without question. There were several people both male and female about my own age [he was 17] in the town with whom I was friendly and there was ample opportunity for sporting activity.
- I just loved the year - living in a different town & being part of the district activities.
- I was not far from home & had gone to school (High) with the young people of the town so knew some people. I liked the Head & his wife & family, their house was next to the school - they were very friendly.
- Because I was able to go home most weekends - was not isolated, and being so immature, was not looking for a great social life - but particularly because the people were so friendly & I had such a wonderful HM (& his wife, too).
- I guess I was in a happy situation. I was home. I knew everybody - vice versa. I was fully engaged in town activities. Perhaps if I'd been elsewhere it could have been different - basically a very shy person!
- Being treated as an adult with responsibility & respect by children and community - also my first, real year of 'freedom' as an 'emancipated young person'.
- I turned 17 that year and felt excited at the idea of doing something with my life. No-one in my home town had trained as a teacher & no female had ever gone on to tertiary education. I felt like an explorer about to launch off into unexplored territory & junior teaching was the first step - heady stuff!

The 'Useful' aspects

As the Table shows, only two found the experience just useful. One of them was the male respondent with a slightly older female Head:

- I learnt much, thanks to my Head Teacher, but I was desperately lonely and alienated. I never regretted it however. Something like being in the army.

The other was also a male respondent who was lonely and who had found a 'cold atmosphere' and a sense of not really being wanted at his boarding place. After recalling that he had 'picked up some

valuable skills of teaching from a good practitioner' he went on to say:

- Learnt much about kids, teaching (and some people - HT & teacher, a few parents & a landlady)

The rest who marked 'useful' had already marked 'a happy generally' as well. One respondent simply noted that those two categories 'sum up my memories of my junior teacher year'. Another recalled:

- I probably felt very good at the time and can only remember the good times.

Others were prepared to go into details of what made it both happy and useful with most of them referring to school matters:

- Happy - because I felt I was managing O.K. & I had a friendly staff to work with. Useful - what I was doing was worthwhile & was appreciated by the students.
- I thoroughly enjoyed my JT year & it helped me in the practical side of teaching in the following years.
- The skills I had acquired stayed with me throughout my teaching career.
- My junior teaching days were a very useful period of my teaching career because that year enabled me to experience teaching in the real world & allowed me the chance to decide if it was all I hoped the life of a teacher would be. I always felt it was a rewarding and happy time.
- Staff were all interesting people who accepted me as one of them - I wasn't pressured. Useful experiences of teaching.
- I was where I wanted to be - a great background for College theory.

Some found the time useful from a point of view of maturity:

- I matured a great deal in that year and was prepared to start training for two years.
- It helped me in the transition from student to teacher - I had not yet signed the bond to serve the Education Department and if I was not cut out to be a teacher I could have opted out.
- I loved it! I met so many people and gained so much from my association with people older than me.
- My memories of it are so happy, so funny. I was lucky to have that year; it gave me marking time to grow up.
- Positive responses in the school and community gave me a feeling of belonging as a person and a 'professional' which in turn impacted on the way my family regarded me.
- The esteem to which one was held in a country town in those days was much higher than today.

The 'Frustrating' aspects

The one respondent who marked only the frustrating category was the one who had been charged with assault and who considered himself a failure as a junior teacher. He simply wrote that he had nothing

more to add to what he had already said about that incident and the 'pretty mediocre' teaching he had encountered. The rest linked their frustration with other aspects. One respondent who was both happy and frustrated simply put 'with the Headmaster' beside the latter category. [he was the Head had barely allowed her time to catch her train for city singing lessons on Fridays and also left many of his duties to her]. Some found the experience both frustrating and useful. One male noted that he was frustrated 'sometimes' because of his 'inability to help the retarded children'. Another tended to stress the useful aspect:

- It was difficult and sometimes frustrating but very useful for me to decide that I should continue to become a teacher. It was a challenge that I was prepared to meet.

One other marked three categories. After stating:

- I feel it was a useful time in some ways, and frustrating in others. For me it was a period of change from a child to a person with responsibilities. I no longer had parents and teachers to be 'there' all the time. It was a time of great interaction with a wider circle of different people. The class room experiences were useful.

she added beside the 'just bearable' category:

- Because of the attitude of <u>some</u> of the older children. [she had earlier indicated that what she found unsatisfactory was the 'great delight' some of the older students took in causing situations to 'embarrass' her.]

A male respondent found it necessary to cross out 'just bearable' and comment on each of the other categories. He was happy because he was 'where I wanted to be', frustrated 'when my lack of theory made practice ineffective', and the experience was useful as a 'great background for College Theory'. He then added his own opinion of the experience:

- Where else could a 16 year old be let loose on eager, fresh, inquiring minds with such loose supervision? Such gay abandon?

Just bearable

The comments of two of those who only found the experience just bearable speak for themselves:

- It was the total imperfect package. The times between vacations were terribly long. I tried not to be homesick but it was not to be. It was made bearable by my own feeling that I seemed to be teaching effectively, that the kids seemed to like me, and in return I enjoyed them as people and, as pupils who absorbed what I offered reasonably well. The overbearing nature of the HT got me down from time to time.[A male from 1947]
- I think I have always been too critical of myself & my inability to have a busy, quietly working class - like the HT's next door - was a constant worry. I expected to achieve results equal to a teacher of years of experience. It was usually a case of 'Friday, too far away'. [A female from 1949]

A female from 1947 qualified similar feelings just slightly:

- Interspersed with happy times. I felt very aware of deficiency and inadequacy without knowing how to correct the situation & lack of confidence, possibly pride, preventing my asking for assistance, kept me floundering in some areas.

Something else

As the Table shows, only two respondents decided that they could not use any of the categories provided. One was the female respondent who felt that her Head had been unfair in his allocation of students to her class:

- I can't find one adjective to serve as an answer. I think my happiest times as a junior teacher were the first couple of months when I was 'helping out' in Grades 1, 11, 11, gaining some confidence, developing a liking for teaching and beginning to feel useful as a member of staff. Although I liked having my own class, my awareness of my own inadequacies was a dampener.

A male from 1950 who wasn't at all sure of his teaching vocation simply wrote:

- I don't think I was unhappy.

Another male admitted to some aspects of happiness in that he 'grew up a little more, met a wider range of people' than he would have if he had been advised to stay at school for Leaving Honours added:

- But in retrospect - wasted for CAREER purposes.

Overall, the cultural data supports the findings in the concrete section that not a great deal changed in the way the junior teacher system was used by the Education Department between 1946 and 1950. In the main, too, the reaction of these respondents to the various questions was very similar to the responses from those from 1940 - 1945. The levels of satisfaction were much the same in each period as were the problems encountered. Little had changed either with regard to the questions of exploitation, harm to children and the desirability of abolition. The only significant difference was that there was a rather heightened awareness of not being treated well and a rather stronger view than in the previous section of the Head not having done his/her duty. Why this aspect should be different is difficult to explain. There is nothing in the responses to suggest that these respondents were any more aware of criticisms of the system than were those at the height of the campaign against the system. Appendix 4 contains a selection of vignettes from the free memoir section that further illustrate the spirit and tone of a junior teacher system which still catered mainly for the needs of the Department.

CHAPTER 14

MEMOIRS OF THE LAST OF THE JUNIOR TEACHERS

PART 2 1951 - 1964

As was seen in Chapter 9, the provision of preliminary probationary studentships (later to be re-named Leaving Teaching Scholarships) in 1950 completed the re-introduction of the alternatives to junior teaching that had been allowed to lapse during the Great Depression. The impact of this change is reflected in the number of junior teachers appointed and in the reduced status of the junior teacher system in the recruiting process. In 1951, 27 junior teachers were appointed and in the following year there were just 20, a number reminiscent of the state of the system following the McCoy reforms of 1921. Even when numbers increased to a record height of 127 in 1963 - the most junior teachers in one year since 1920 - they, alongside 1311 Leaving and 668 Honours Teaching Scholars, represented a mere 6% of all the recruits. Of more importance for the present study, however, are the changes that occurred in the appointment of junior teachers and in the way they were used in the schools during this period.

It will be recalled from previous chapters that a good deal is known in fairly general terms about the way the system changed in its final years. A.W. Jones, the then Superintendent of Recruiting and Training, writing on the end of the junior teacher system in a Supplement to the Education Gazette of March, 1966, noted that:

> Towards the end of its life, a Junior Teachership was awarded for personal reasons such as the desire to live at home, the opportunity to be associated with special interests, such as art and craft teaching, as a chance to develop maturity and for migrants so they could take a job immediately on their arrival in South Australia ... From the outset the Junior Teacher was given to understand that his main duty was to equip himself academically to enter Teachers College.

The memoirs represent former junior teachers for whom at least one or more of these factors were of particular significance. They are useful, therefore, in expanding in more specific terms on what is known about the system as well as for providing a great deal of information on aspects that are not available from contemporary sources. It is not clear for instance, how well junior teachers understood what their 'main duty' now was or how Departmental administrators ensured that other demands within the schools did not interfere with it. The memoirs also help to clarify when the changes actually came about, a point not particularly clear from the opening words in the above reference.

The existence of contemporary, and indeed official, documentation from this period is in itself of special value as it allows for a test of the authenticity of these particular memoirs as historical and sociological data in much the same way as memoirs and other material from the early 1940s were able to be used in Chapter 12.

Overall then, the concrete and cultural facts allow for deeper insights into a system that clearly changed radically over its final years from the one so harshly criticized by the Education Inquiry Committee in 1945. They allow, too, for a better understanding of the changes that, according to Jones, brought the system to a point where the needs of the junior teachers were always considered first, with those of the Department being always of only secondary importance.

The memoirs of 62 respondents, including one who served in both 1963 and 1964, represent just over 9% of the 664 junior teachers employed between 1951 and 1964. In addition there is one memoir from a person training as a teacher in 1953 for a Religious Order in what was the equivalent of a junior teachership. Her recollections provide an insight into what was happening in this aspect of teacher training outside the State system.

In view of the length of the period under review and the limited number of memoirs from certain years, the details have been arranged in three groups - 1951 to 1954, 1955 to 1959 and 1960 to 1964. Such a grouping is of value, too, in determining the pace and the depth of change in a system that was noted in Chapter 13 as having altered little by 1950 but which over its final years was said by the person in charge of recruiting and training to be distinctly different to the one recommended for abolition some 20 years earlier.

THE CONCRETE DATA

The concrete facts illustrate significant aspects of the life and work of junior teachers in a period in which the system moved to favour their interests rather than those of the Education Department. The details have been taken from responses to the 26 aspects covered in Part A of the Memoir Document. This information is best illustrated in the tabular form used in earlier chapters, supplemented by the comments used by many of the respondents to explain the facts they recalled from their time as junior teachers.

Personal Aspects

TABLE 14.1 **Concrete Facts - Personal Aspects 1951 - 1964**

	1951- 1954		1955-1959		1960-1964		Totals	
The Respondents	10		18		34		62	
% of all JTs	9%*		10.5%		8.6%		9.2%*	
Gender	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	5	5	12	6	20	14	37	25
Average Age	17.7	17.6	17.4	16.8	17.1	16.3	17.4	16.9
Home								
City	-	2	2	2	11	4	13	8
Country	5	3	10	4	9	10	24	17
Appointment								
City	-	-	5	2	11	4	16	6
Country	5	5	7	4	9	10	21	19
Boarding	3	2	3	2	1	1	7	5
At home	2	3	9	4	19	13	30	20

(* excluding the non-Departmental respondent)

Number and Gender

The number of memoirs as a percentage of the total number of junior teachers appointed in this period is rather smaller than for previous ones but it does vary considerably from year to year. While there are just 2% of those appointed in 1960, other years are better represented with some 14% of those in 1951, 1959 and 1961 together with 11% of the largest group, the 127 appointed in 1963. Overall, however, there would seem to be enough to give a reasonable picture of what being a junior teacher was like in this period of both decline and radical change. Of more concern is the fact that the proportion of male to female memoirs is even greater than in the previous period. In the 1950s there were actually more than ten female junior teachers appointed for every one male. By the 1960s more males were appointed with the proportion then being about four to one. While the table does not reflect the reality of the appointment pattern of junior teachers in this respect, there would seem to be sufficient numbers of each overall to give an adequate picture of what being a male or a female junior teacher was like in this final period of the system.

Age

One of the most noticeable changes over this period is the drop in the ages of respondents. In the first part of the 1950s four of the males and three of the female respondents could have been at College if age had been the only criterion. Of those from 1955 to 1959, 8 males and 4 females were under the age of 17, the pre-requisite for entry to the College, with the youngest being just 16 and most being only 5 or 6 months older than that. However, one male from 1958 became a junior teacher at the age of 21.6 after working for four years since leaving school and that, together with the few over 17, explains the higher average age on the table for that period. A similar distortion

occurs for the male average age in the final period where 13 of the respondents were up to 11 months too young to enter the College but one from overseas, who had already spent a year in a Teachers College, was 20.6 years of age. In that period, only six of the males and two of the females could have entered College on age alone. It can be said that overall, one major reason for most of these respondents being junior teachers was that they were simply too young for the College.

Recruitment and appointment

As the table shows, the majority of respondents, like those from the previous period, were recruited from the country and appointed to country schools. However, this trend had begun to alter in the final years and the change is most noticeable in the number of males from the city who were appointed to city schools in the 1960s. From the mid 1950s, respondents were generally appointed to schools which they could reach from home on a daily basis. As has been seen, the Department had been attempting to introduce such a policy for some years but it was not until early in the 1950s that it seems to have become standard practice. Over the whole period more than 80% of these respondents were able to live at home compared with 40% of those from the period 1946 - 1950. Of the four Departmental respondents who had to board away between 1951 and 1954 for Departmental staffing reasons, one male and one female were able to get home at weekends, one male had to wait for vacations and the other could manage it more often. The other female was from outside the system and she recalled her particular situation:

- I had joined a religious community and only came back to Adelaide in the September holidays because my sister was very ill.

The two females who had to board away between 1955 and 1959 were both in a situation where their families were out of South Australia on business transfers. One was appointed to a school reasonably close to where her grandparents lived and the other received Departmental consideration too:

- I boarded at the town where I had gone to school because my parents had moved interstate that year.

Some of the males from 1955 - 1959 seemed to have received similar consideration. One was appointed to a school in Adelaide and was able to board with his grandparents while awaiting the transfer of his family from the country. One other, whose home was on Eyre Peninsula, seems to have chosen to come to board in Adelaide in 1957. In the cultural section he explained that he had become a junior teacher as he had not yet matriculated and went on to say 'But it was really my choice to do this'. One other was appointed to the nearest high school to his home some 25 miles away in order to enable him to complete his Leaving Certificate. He had to board during the week but could get home at weekends. There was only one case over the whole period of a respondent being shifted from home in the city to a country appointment to suit Departmental needs. Even here

the circumstances were rather different to the cases where this had happened in earlier times as this respondent was the one mentioned earlier as being aged 21.6 and with four years of experience in the workforce. He explained the circumstances:

- At the beginning of the last term I was sent to P... High School to replace a teacher who had decided to leave at short notice.

The accommodation found for him was a share room but he made his own arrangements later:

- In the middle of the term moved to another family home where I had my own room.

He also made what would be the most unusual arrangements for getting home on a regular basis:

- Every other weekend - it was convenient to fly home on the DC3 aircraft leaving Friday night - return Monday.

The one male who had to board in 1963 was the migrant mentioned earlier who had already spent one year in a Teachers College. He was given a job immediately on reaching South Australia and he recalled:

- I was boarding in the town where the school was. My real home was in the U.S. so I didn't get home at all.

As a result of the changed policy on posting young junior teachers away from home, there is little to be learnt in this period about boarding conditions. Only one female found her boarding place less than satisfactory in 1956:

- With an elderly lady - a very determined person with a strong social strata view [teachers apparently ranked low] who had the room especially redecorated for her next boarder, a bank clerk. Conditions very basic - hot water once a week for a bath - old fashioned toilet - not good - it was not what I was used to.

One male in 1951 was at the same private home where his Head Teacher also boarded. One from 1953 had to board for most of the year in the home of his Head Teacher in a very small community where any other kind of board must have been very difficult to find.

With so many living at home there is not a great deal in the memoirs about social activities either. Most simply mentioned that they took part in local activities and, as in previous times, males generally listed football, cricket or tennis while females played and/or coached basketball (netball). Two males and seven females mentioned church ranging from teaching Sunday School to merely 'Church activities'. A few gave details that showed a fairly active social life:

- Football/cricket/ tennis. Local dances. School functions. Helped operate the local cinema in the Institute Hall. [male - living at home in country in 1952]
- Not for two terms at home in the city - too busy settling into teaching. In country (Term 3) was a member of the Jazz Club & Repertory Theatre Group - also did a good deal of photography as a social activity. [the male moved for Departmental purposes in 1958]

- Basketball - umpired. Young Liberals - Red Cross - Table Tennis - Tennis. [female at home in 1956]
- Netball, softball, teenage club, dances, made my debut with a highland band officiating. [female boarding in home town in 1963]

The U.S. immigrant - who was appointed at the beginning of second term - recalled not being involved in local sports:

- No - I wasn't in the area long enough - I was getting familiar with the new country. Attended local dances and movies.

The above concrete facts confirm the view of A.W. Jones that in the final years of the system, personal reasons played a major part in the award of a junior teachership. One of the most pressing personal needs of many of these respondents was to qualify themselves academically for the course that they wanted to enter at the Teachers College. The concrete facts about their academic status and what they were studying indicate that the year as a junior teacher allowed a majority of them to acquire further subjects, especially at the Leaving level, in order to matriculate or simply to equip themselves for the College.

Academic Aspects

Table 14.2 **Concrete Facts - Educational Aspects 1951 -1964**

	1951-1954		1955-1959		1960-1964		Totals	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Education level								
Intermediate	-	2	1	-	-	1	1	3
Leaving	4	3	11	6	18	13	33	22
Leaving Hons	1	-	-	-	2	-	3	-
Matriculated								
Yes	1	-	2	3	8	4	11	7
No	4	5	10	3	12	10	26	18
Own Secondary Schooling								
City	2	-	3	2	10	5	15	7
Country	3	2	9	3	8	8	20	13
Non-Govt.	-	3	-	1	2	1	2	5
Studying								
Yes	3	1	11	5	18	13	32	19
No	2	4	1	1	2	1	5	6

Educational levels

As was seen in Chapter 9, analyses of the Leaving PEB examination results of junior teachers from 1955 and from 1963 reflected a finding from a similar analysis in 1947 that candidates awarded a junior teachership were generally nowhere near as well qualified academically as those granted studentships to study at Leaving Honours. While the memoirs do not allow for any direct

comparison with the academic status of Honours Teaching Scholars, the concrete facts on educational aspects do support such a conclusion. As the Table shows, the bulk of these respondents were from the Leaving level and only about 30% of them had passed the subjects required for matriculation. The majority were studying and, as will be seen, the subjects that they were doing were generally repeat or additional Leaving ones required either for matriculation purposes or to qualify them for entry to the College course of their choice.

There was some minor confusion in this period about aspects of the educational level completed. Of the four who indicated that they had completed only Intermediate, it seems that two had in fact attempted Leaving. The one male who in this situation explained himself more clearly in the cultural section as he recalled that after having failed the Leaving twice:

- The Education Department offered me a position as a Junior Teacher in 1959 and also directed me to complete the Leaving Certificate in the same year.

A female from 1963 answered the question in the cultural section about what she would rather have been doing instead of being a junior teacher by simply writing 'Leaving Honours' which suggests that she, too, had in fact gone beyond Intermediate. The two from 1951-54 appear to be the last of the respondents who had not really progressed beyond Intermediate. One from 1951 who was repeating as a junior teacher and who entered teaching directly in 1952 as a T.U.A., crossed out the 'Yes' by the question about matriculation but did not seem quite certain as she added:

- -? passed Intermediate in 6 subjects.

The other respondent was from 1954, and in the cultural section she gave an insight into the recruiting methods still in vogue then as she recalled why she became a junior teacher:

- I was offered the position during my Inter year by Mr Jones who was then on recruiting staff, as an extra teacher was needed at the school. [the one-teacher school 2 miles from her home]

Two of the respondents who had reached Leaving Honours level had done so on teaching scholarships. The other one had served two years as a Leaving Teaching Scholar and it is not clear from the facts he supplied how many subjects he had completed at Leaving or Leaving Honours. All three were old enough to have entered the College but each had a personal reason for deferring entry and these will be examined further as part of the cultural facts.

Those who had marked Leaving as the level completed in their final year of schooling had had varying degrees of success at that examination. Some had just one subject to complete in order to matriculate or for the particular course they wanted to enter while others needed to pass up to four additional subjects. Most were content to simply answer 'Yes' or 'No' to the question on matriculation and details of what so many lacked in this regard can be found only if they listed the subjects they studied. The few who did comment provided some interesting insights into what

subjects they studied. The few who did comment provided some interesting insights into what matriculation meant to them. Like the one noted above who listed her Intermediate results at this juncture of the memoir, a few seemed unsure about matriculation. One male from 1959 may have been confusing the matriculation of his time with the Year 12 requirement at the time of writing his memoir. After indicating that he had not matriculated, he added 'No such thing' [then]. A female respondent from 1961 seemed to be unsure of the difference between passing the Leaving and matriculating as she marked 'No' but added 'Passed the Leaving'. Others were quite clear about what matriculation involved. A female respondent from 1955 added to her 'Yes' what was probably still a major problem for those who needed matriculation for an Arts degree:

- In those days it meant Latin, I think.

The male noted above as choosing to board in Adelaide in 1957 in order to matriculate, had explained that the subject he needed to repeat was Leaving Latin. For those hoping to enter an Art/Craft course, matriculation itself was not so important. One female respondent indicated this by the question on what kind of teaching she wanted:

- Art & Craft teacher - which did not require matriculation.

However, entry to the Art/craft courses did require passes in five Leaving subjects of which English had to be one, at either the Leaving PEB or the Leaving Technical Certificate awarded by the Education Department. The respondent recalled that she completed two extra Leaving subjects during that year at a Girls Technical High School. The migrant from the U.S.A. had a quite different problem to face as regards matriculation:

- Matriculation is not known in the U.S. My U.S. Teachers College grades were presented to the Adelaide Uni and on this basis they accepted that I was matriculated.

Just as in the previous period, attending a country secondary school was not necessarily a bar to matriculating. Of those who believed they had matriculated, 8 were from country secondary schools and the rest from city secondary schools. Interestingly enough, none of the respondents from non-government schools had matriculated in this period. Of the 36 non-matriculants from government schools, however, 25 - or almost 70% - had spent their last year of schooling at a country secondary school. In view of such a high percentage, attending a country secondary school could seem even more likely in this period to have disadvantaged some respondents. However, there is little direct evidence in the concrete section to substantiate this. The one male from 1957 who was noted earlier as having moved to Adelaide to complete his matriculation by repeating a subject which he had failed at a country High School did not say that he was dissatisfied with the teaching at that school. Nor did any respondent from the country offer any evidence in this section to suggest that their school had not provided appropriate subjects. Indeed most of them seem to have stayed on as junior teachers at the school they had attended as students in order to complete the Leaving passes that they still required.

Studies

As the Table shows, a very large number of respondents were studying - 81% across the whole period and 90% from 1955 to 1964. In the early part of the 1950s, most respondents were still teaching full time and it is not surprising those who were studying could manage only one Leaving subject by correspondence. The one female mentioned earlier as being recruited during her Intermediate year needed to pass Intermediate Geography in this way to make up the five subjects needed to enter the "A" course. Only one male - in a one-teacher school in 1953 - recalled getting any assistance with a subject necessary for the craft course he wanted to enter:

- Was trying to do a prerequisite Art subject that I had not been advised to do at High School but was doing this with the inexpert help of the Tech Studies teacher at K... [nearby area school] on some weekends.

Only one respondent across the whole period attempted a University subject. This was a male from 1952 who recalled:

- I studied History 1A as an external student but I did not complete it.

He gave no reason for having dropped the subject but his list of teaching and supernumerary tasks in an area school and the details of his sporting and social activities in his home town show that he had a very busy life.

As will be seen in the next section on teaching responsibilities and other duties, not only was less demanded in these aspects of respondents from about 1955 onwards, but most were by then located in secondary schools or schools with secondary sections where specialist subject help, class time and/or study time were usually available. This enabled them to fulfill what was noted earlier as A.W. Jones' view of what was by then the 'main duty' of a junior teacher in the final years of the system – 'to equip himself academically to enter Teachers College'. A male respondent from 1955 recalled the opportunity a junior teachership gave him to qualify for the "H (b)" (Craft Course for men):

- Additional Leaving subjects for College entry e.g. An Art subject that I had not done, an extra academic subject to add to my Matric grouping.

That emphasis was placed on academic success is clear not only from the study opportunities provided but from a comment from a male respondent from 1959 to the question about the help given to him with his teaching. He indicated that no teaching was required of him at all but 'only occasional supervision' and added:

- The head master was primarily concerned that I attended classes to complete my Leaving Certificate.

That respondent only needed to study Leaving Mathematics 1 & 11 but some others had a study load that practically made them full time school students. Some of them also had sole responsibility for one subject or class, usually at First Year level:

- I was studying Leaving subjects - 4 - at the same time. [this male was responsible in 1957 for one First Year teaching subject and had to assist with two others]
- Leaving English, Mathematics 1 & 11, and Chemistry. [The male from 1959 noted earlier as having failed Leaving twice. He also had responsibility for one First Year subject and had to help supervise other classes.]

Others had little expected of them in the way of teaching:

- I also attended classes in Leaving Human Biology and Home Economics - Dressmaking (as a student). [this female was expected only to assist the teacher of Year 8 & 9 Home Economics in 1958]
- I studied 4th Year Botany, 4th Year Art (Tech Drawing) and I attempted 4th Year Chem (2nd time round and bombed out 2nd time round). [this male had only to assist the Woodwork teacher in 1958]

Few of those in secondary schools in the 1960s had much in the way of teaching responsibilities either, and where they did, it was generally for one subject only and for one class, again usually at First Year level. Practically all of the respondents from the final few years required only two Leaving subjects and although few actually mentioned attending classes, it would seem that they were in these secondary schools to have the opportunity to do so. One female who did mention attending classes in 1963 was not particularly happy about it:

- Attended classes in Ancient History. I was not very motivated to study as I had passed my Leaving and did not require any extra subjects. [Interestingly enough she had indicated earlier that she had not matriculated!]

Most others were simply content to list the two, or in a very few cases three, subjects that they were studying across the arts, science or art/craft field. The few who did comment in this section usually revealed some interesting details about study needs as well as about the way the system was now operating:

- I had passed only 3 subjects and still required 1 more to qualify for the Teachers College. Hence I studied Physiology and Ancient History and passed one of them that year. [in the cultural section this female from 1961 added 'Also much of my time was spent in studying Physiology which I enjoyed and passed, also Ancient History which I hated and did not pass']
- Maths 1 - passed year before. Maths 2 – failed year before
  Economic History - not studied previously [a male supernumerary in an area school in 1963]

Only one respondent in a secondary school [an area school] recalled having to study a subject by correspondence in 1961 but she did not explain the circumstances that required her to do this instead of attending classes within the school:

- Yes I did one secondary subject but I can't remember much about that - a History but I think it dropped by the wayside.

A male who recalled his teaching in a high school as a shared 'very much subordinate role' in 1961 indicated that he was doing three additional subjects 'at night'. Unfortunately he too did not explain why he apparently did not attend classes in any of them.

It is understandable that the few respondents in primary schools might have needed to turn to correspondence to pass the Leaving subjects they required. One female respondent, a supernumerary in a primary school in 1961, recalled that she 'was given an hour or so each afternoon' to study Leaving History by correspondence. A male supernumerary in a primary school in the same year did two subjects by correspondence but made no mention of any time off for study. In two cases the Department appointed respondents to schools near the secondary schools that they had attended in order for them to actually go back for lessons in the subject that they needed. One female who was getting experience in an infant school in 1959 because she wanted to be an infant teacher recalled that she:

- Returned to Brighton High School for English class to complete Leaving English.

Another female in 1961 who was in a primary school to get appropriate experience was given a similar appointment:

- Although I had passed my Leaving Certificate, it was suggested that I return to Nailsworth Tech to do a Maths subject which I did that year. [she was mentioned earlier as having passed the Leaving but not matriculated. It would seem that it was felt that she needed that particular subject for matriculation but she gave no indication of having realised this]

Several males were able to study Leaving Honours subjects by being in an appropriate high school. One who had already completed a year at that level passed Biology but did not say whether he was repeating it or whether it was an additional subject. Another recalled having completed 'LH Botany' but the comment of one other male was not as clear. He recalled that he passed 'Biology, Maths, English (Leaving Honours)' but it is unclear if only English was at Leaving Honours level.

None of the very few who were not studying gave any reasons for their lack of activity in this area. As has been seen, some respondents did mention giving up their subjects or failing but most did not, so it has to be assumed that the majority did in fact pass the subjects that they were studying. Only one female mentioned the consequences of failing one of the three subjects she undertook at a high school in 1961. In the cultural section she recalled:

- I missed a Leaving subject so was put into the Ax course [one year] instead of B or C.

It is clear from much of the above that from 1955 onwards the Department did make every effort to consider the student's particular needs with, as Jones put it, 'the Department's always being secondary'. However, the experience of the one respondent from 1958 noted earlier as being

transferred during the year, indicates that this was not so 'always'. In a complete contrast to its other efforts, in 1958 the Department, after placing a male respondent where he could prepare for his College course, pulled him out of it to satisfy a staffing need. As he recalled:

- I was studying a number of subjects part time at the South Australian School of Art. The arrangement was that I remain in the city as a Junior Teacher and complete the subjects towards my college accreditation for the next year. I was shifted to P...High School at short notice - I was unable to complete my Art School subjects. In P... I attended Engineering drawing classes to help my tech drawing teaching skills - but I gained no formal qualifications in that year.

Even in this case though, there could be seen to be extenuating circumstances. This respondent was not a young, immature junior teacher but a 21.6 year old who had already worked as a draftsman for four years and it will be seen from what he recalled in the cultural section, that he was not unduly upset about the transfer.

In summary it could be said that across this period the opportunities given to so many of these respondents to improve what were generally limited academic standards should have enabled them to pursue the kind of teaching career they wanted. The actualities of this will now be considered.

Teaching Experience and Career Directions.

TABLE 14.3 **Concrete Facts - Teaching Experience and Career Directions**

	1951-1954		1955-1959		1960-1964		Totals	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Teaching wanted								
Infant	-	1	-	5	-	4	-	10
Primary	2	3	6	-	10	5	18	8
Secondary	1	1	1	-	3	1	5	2
Art/Craft	2	-	5	1	7	4	14	5
School Experience								
One-teacher	3	3	1	2	-	-	4	5
Infant	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Primary	1	-	-	1	2	3	3	4
Area	1	2	1	1	4	3	6	6
High	-	-	9	-	13	7	22	7
Technical	-	-	1	1	1	1	2	2
Career Direction								
Repeat JT	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	-
College "A"	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2
"B"	1	-	6	-	10	7	17	7
"C"	-	2*	-	5	-	2	-	9
"D"	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	-
"H"	3	-	5	1	7	3	15	4
Resigned	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1
Teaching – TUA	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1

* (and the one female respondent from a Religious Community entered the equivalent of the "C" course)

Type of teaching wanted and experience given

As in the previous period, the academic status of most of these respondents made it almost inevitable that they would want to pursue careers in the areas of infant, primary or craft teaching. Candidates for general secondary teaching were selected after consideration of recommendation by the Head Master and on results at the Leaving Honours examination. Only three of the male respondents who believed that they wanted to be secondary teachers had reached that level and one other had completed Leaving and passed one Leaving Honours subject during his junior teacher year. The other male had completed Leaving only and still needed to matriculate. Both the females were from Leaving and neither had matriculated. The one from 1953 was from the private sector and as has been seen, the decision about her teaching was made by her superiors. The other one has already been noted as failing a Leaving subject which she recalled she 'hated'. It is not surprising then, that only two of those who had completed Leaving Honours were admitted to the "D" course. [the third one resigned]

As is clear from the details on personal and educational aspects, the Education Department had to develop a new set of placement criteria in this period in order to allow respondents to be near home and to complete entry requirements for a Teachers College. At the same time consideration had to be given to their needs as regards the type of teaching career they wanted. The placement of junior teachers was now a rather more complicated affair than it had been in the days when it had been largely determined by Departmental needs. However, from the concrete facts supplied by these respondents it would seem that it was managed particularly well in some regards. As has been seen, most respondents were either living at home or within easy reach of it and a good many were allowed access to actual classes in secondary schools or assisted in some way with their studies. Getting them into schools where they could experience the type of teaching they wanted proved rather more difficult, especially for those who wanted infant or primary teaching but who lacked the necessary academic qualifications for entry to such courses.

Between 1951 and 1954, Departmental needs still prevailed to some degree and two males who wanted to be craft teachers had to serve in one-teacher schools. However, the male who wanted to be a secondary teacher was placed in an area school where he got some experience with secondary classes. Two males and four females who wanted infant/primary were placed in appropriate primary situations. The other female was the one from outside the system who was keen to be a secondary teacher. She was placed by her superiors in the private equivalent of a small area school with classes from Years 1 to 10 and she managed to get some experience in both primary and secondary.

From 1955 the situation regarding placement changed markedly. Although one male respondent who

wanted to be a craft teacher was placed in a one-teacher school - close to his home - in 1955, all the others were put in schools where they could either experience the type of teaching they wanted or have access to classes in the academic subjects they needed. In a number of cases, respondents were able to fulfill both of these career needs. Four male and one female candidates for craft teaching were placed in high or technical high schools where - with the exception of the one noted earlier as being transferred part way through the year to teach Art in a country high school - they were able to complete subjects and also observe and assist in craft/art teaching. Four females and one male were placed in schools where they could be involved in the infant and primary teaching that they wanted. However, for six males who wanted to be primary teachers, the appropriate placement was considered to be in a high school so that they could complete their matriculation and/or course entry requirements.

In the 1960s, 23 out of the 33 respondents - almost 70% of them - recalled being placed in the type of school where they could experience the kind of teaching that interested them. Of the males, six candidates for craft/art and three for general secondary teaching were located in high or technical schools. Only one of the four males for primary teaching was located in a primary school but the others were in area schools where they could gain experience in the primary sections. Ten of them were also able to take advantage of the study opportunities provided in the secondary schools. Of the females, the four wanting craft/art teaching were in appropriate secondary schools or schools with secondary sections as was the one who hoped to become a generalist secondary teacher. The five wanting primary or infant were in area or primary schools. Four female respondents were able to complete their Leaving subjects in the secondary schools and, as has been seen, study opportunities were given to two in primary schools - one to attend lessons at a nearby secondary school and the other to have time off for correspondence lessons.

Of the ten who could not experience the kind of teaching that they wanted, nine - six males and one female for primary and two females for infant teaching - were in high schools where they could complete their College entry requirements. One craft candidate was in a primary school in his home town but he had to complete two Leaving subjects by correspondence as, due to a dispute with the Head Master of the nearby high school, he could not be a junior teacher there or attend classes. His account of this dispute is documented in the cultural section.

So with the majority of the respondents in a position where they could engage in or observe and assist with the kind of teaching that they wanted and with most of them also able to complete study requirements as well, it would seem that the Department was fulfilling its aim of putting the interests of junior teachers first. The same can be said for those who could not experience the kind of teaching that they wanted but who were given special consideration as regards study requirements.

Career directions

It could rightly be expected that given the opportunities outlined above to prepare themselves academically to enter the Teachers College, almost all of these respondents could be expected to take up the teaching career of their choice. Indeed, of the 56 who did enter the College, only four went into a course that did not allow them to pursue the kind of teaching that they had thought they wanted when they accepted a junior teachership. As has been seen earlier, there is a closely related question in the cultural section and it is necessary from time to time to refer to the answer to it to check whether the respondent had changed his/her career ambition during or after the junior teacher experience. At least two respondents were unsure about the kind of teaching they really wanted as they began as junior teachers. One male from 1951 noted that he wanted to be a primary teacher but that he entered 'The Hg Course - Manual Training or Technical Studies (today's equivalent) - A Secondary Course' and explained in the cultural section why he was not concerned about getting this, his third choice:

- I applied for (1) Primary Teaching (2) Art Teaching (3) Manual Training. [I was] A good craftsman at Secondary School in Wood and Metal - to College as a Manual Trades teacher.

A female respondent from 1953 indicated that she was unsure what kind of teaching she wanted but when offered a place in the Cx course (which she described as a 'one year preparation for a rural school') added:

- I was given the opportunity to stay for a further year but declined as my parents had other children to support and I felt I should stand on my own financially.

The one male from 1958 who indicated that he wanted to be a secondary teacher [he did not say whether general or specialist craft/art and in any case he had not reached Leaving Honours and still needed Leaving Latin to matriculate] was put into the "B" course and in the cultural section he indicated that this was the course of his choice. Several others were not so inclined to agree that the course offered them was acceptable but with one exception they took what was offered. One male from 1961 did not get into the "D" course of his wish and in the cultural section he recalled:

- No - I wanted to teach secondary but was offered a "B" course with the option of a change after two years. [he did not say whether this eventuated]

However, a female respondent from the same year who was also offered a "B" course when what she really wanted was a secondary one, resigned before taking up the studentship. In the cultural section she explained that she had not been offered the course of her choice as she was 'not qualified enough in Art, Phys Ed and Science' [she was the respondent noted earlier as having failed Leaving Ancient History which she 'hated']. One other female from 1961 who entered the "B" course even though she wanted to be an infant teacher, appears to have made the decision herself. In the cultural section she wrote 'No' to the question on whether she had entered the course of her

choice but went on:

- I changed from Infant to Primary because I found I enjoyed working with primary age children in my junior teacher year.

A female respondent from 1964 who wanted to be a Girls Craft teacher, was put into the "B" course instead. She accepted this but explained how she eventually got her choice and what this meant for her:

- Did 1 year then transferred to Hg Special Course (Home Economics) for 1 year. This meant I then had to study while teaching to get my basic qualifications.

The one male who resigned gave no explanation but simply stated that he took up a S.A. Government trainee draftsman position instead of going to the Teachers College. The one female who entered teaching as a T.U.A. did not explain why either. She had completed Intermediate only, was 18 when she became a junior teacher and had done two years in that position. She simply recalled that she:

- Was ratified immediately for a temporary position of a Primary Class Teacher on the classification given me by my Principal and transferred to P... where I took a Grade 3/4.

The female respondent from outside the Department had wanted to be a secondary teacher but she recalled not having any say in the matter of what course she would pursue:

- No! We were allocated to courses! Thank goodness that has changed!

The final set of concrete facts explore the type of responsibilities given to respondents and the degree of assistance they received as the junior teacher system entered its final stage – a period in which, as has been seen, the interests of the junior teachers were to be a primary consideration.

Responsibilities, Duties and Assistance Given

TABLE 14. 4 **Concrete Facts – Responsibilities and Assistance Given 1951 - 1964**

	1951-1954		1955-1959		1960-1964		Totals	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
			Teaching					
Responsibility								
Sole	1	2	3	2	4	4	8	8
Shared	3	2	4	2	4	2	11	6
Both	1	1	2	1	3	3	6	5
None	-	-	3	1	9	5	12	6
Other Duties								
Yes	3	4	10	5	17	11	30	20
No	2	1	2	1	3	3	7	5
Assistance								
Yes	4	2	6	2	11	9	21	13
No	-	-	3	-	7	4	10	4
Doubtful	1	3	3	4	2	1	6	8

Teaching responsibilities

In this period, and particularly after 1954, respondents were no longer required to take on the type of full teaching roles that had been such a feature of the junior teacher system since its inception. Indeed a new category –'None' - had to be added to this section of the table. For the first time a significant number of respondents could give no details about grades, subjects or levels because they were no longer expected to teach to any great degree, even on a shared basis. In the past, a few supernumeraries had expressed feeling something like this but no one had come out with the type of statements to be found in memoirs from the late 1950s onwards such as:

- In actuality I did not do very much actual teaching.
- Actual teacher had full responsibility.

These comments of course, reflect the description Jones gave of 'very small teaching assignments' being a feature of the final years of the system. As the table shows though, a number of respondents from 1955 onwards still believed that they had sole responsibility for their teaching assignments. Comments made by some of them about the quantity of teaching required and the number of students involved indicate, too, that right up to the end of the system there were still teaching assignments that do not seem to match Jones' description very accurately. The majority of responses, however, show a situation so changed that any of the teaching assignments of the final years would probably have appeared very small in comparison with what had been expected of junior teachers prior to the changes that Jones was describing. On the other hand, such a discrepancy between a contemporary account and what those who experienced the situation recalled may cause some thought to be given to the possibility that details of what was happening in schools were not always fully and accurately reported to the proper authorities in the head office.

As would be expected from the details in TABLE 14.3, respondents from 1951 to 1954 were more likely than those from the later years to have teaching responsibilities as there were still six of them in one-teacher schools. Surprisingly, only two of those particular respondents felt that they had sole responsibility for the infant grades while another believed she had sole responsibility only for the subjects she taught across Grades 1 - 111, and not the classes themselves. Another female explained that her role was a shared one because she 'Taught under the guidance of the Principal' while a male who could not remember doing much preparation or marking added:

- H.T. must have done most of the lesson preparation, programming etc. & given me the clues about how to present it.

The other big difference between those in one-teacher schools in this period and those of the past was in the numbers taught. One male had 8 students in Grades 1 & 11, another 9 across 1 - 111 and one did not give such details. Of the females, one taught 15 and another 18 while a third had only 10

in Grade 1 plus 'Yrs 2/3 [no numbers given] for Health, Science, Social Studies, Poetry, Singing'. Two of those in larger schools recalled having some sole responsibilities and some shared. A male in an area school remembered his role as having sole responsibility for two students for Leaving Mathematics and shared responsibility for:

- Reading mainly in Primary classes (up to 20 students). Teacher-aide duties in Infant classes. Science and some Latin in junior secondary classes - (groups of 5 - 10).

The female respondent in a private school recalled a similar mix of subjects and grades for which she believed she had some sole and some shared responsibility:

- Term 1 - Grades 4 + 5 about 23
  Terms 2&3 - Preps, 1 + 2 30 - Continuous Intake
  (literally, children seemed to start nearly every week).
  Inter Geography - 1
  1st + 2nd Yr [Geography] - 6

One female supernumerary in a primary school recalled her shared responsibilities:

- The HM organized my timetable so that I could teach Gr 1 - Gr 7 classes. I took each grade for some lessons each week. The classes were always combined i.e. 1/2, 6/7 etc. Approx 30 chn.

A male supernumerary in a primary school had a similar shared role;

- All grades 1 - 7 - all subjects. - Helped teachers in rooms.

The most significant changes to the teaching roles of respondents came from 1955 onwards. As the table shows only a minority - slightly less than a quarter of them - recalled having sole responsibility for the grades or subjects that they taught and two of them were the last respondents from one-teacher schools. One other was the male noted earlier as being transferred to a country high school to take sole responsibility for Art from First Year to Leaving for Term 111:

- At P... I was the only art person so I took most of the responsibility. I had average sized classes, low twenties.

In contrast, his first appointment to a city high school had involved only a shared responsibility:

- In the city I assisted in teaching mainly first and second year students, these classes were in the high twenties.

Another male recalled having sole responsibility for 20+ students for '2nd Maths [and] Third Year Maths' and two others recalled some sole and some shared responsibilities:

- Ist Yr Bookkeeping (sole)
  Ist Yr Maths (shared)
  Read for Junior Shorthand class to practise.
- First Year Geography - 32 students in 1C (Sole total responsibility)
  Some supervision of 1A & 3C for other teachers.

Others recalled shared responsibilities only:

- Taught Woodwork or observed with regular teacher to Years 8 & 9 boys. [this male was noted earlier as adding that the 'actual teacher had full responsibility']
- Taught Woodwork only (1) Grade 7 from surrounding schools &
  (2) 1st Year and 2nd Year High School ... approx 80.
- First Year Maths - Term 1 only. Gardening.

The rest of those in secondary schools recalled having no real responsibility for teaching:

- I did no teaching, only the occasional class supervision. [the one noted earlier as having a Head Master whose main concern was that he should pass his Leaving]
- Mainly Years 8 & 9. Supervision - no real teaching.

Of the three female respondents in the larger primary schools, two recalled sharing responsibility with a class teacher but only one gave any details:

- I taught a great deal at Yr 1 -3 level. For 2nd six months much teaching Yr 6/7 because of a 'staffing' problem. [this 'staffing' problem is discussed in some detail in the cultural section]

One other had a shared role with some sole responsibility 'in a relieving situation' in a 'Grade 1 & 2 - approx 40+' and 'Also did relieving in Grades 3 & 4'.

In the 1960s, the most significant change is in the number of respondents who recalled having no teaching responsibilities at all. Two left the space blank, one wrote 'Nil' and another 'N/A' The others gave some indication of why they believed that they were not even in a shared teaching role. One female was in with a Year 3 Class of 30 or so students but 'Only in a student teacher context'. A male in a High School recalled that he 'Only participated in class never in teaching'. Three males recalled that they were mainly used as relievers:

- Classes when people were sick.
- Mostly relief lessons - I remember in particular Phys Ed, Maths + Geography.
- Year 8 - 12 on a relieving basis in Science/Maths ... I did not do very much teaching.

One female in a primary school gave what seems to be an apt description of what the junior teacher system had become for a number of respondents:

- I was like a teacher-Aide. Helped another teacher with a grade 3/4 class. I did not work with any other class or teachers, I took small groups of children.

Two others were moved about for similar purposes:

- I spent a week in each class 1 - 7 (repeatedly) and prepared and taught a couple of lessons a day. (female in an area school)
- Grades 1 - 7. Some time spent in each class room. (male in a primary school)

The male from the U.S.A. gave a detailed description of what was expected of him in an area school:

- All Grades - all subjects in Primary. Maths + Science in Secondary. Main responsibility was to gather information about teaching and finding the area of teaching I wanted to concentrate

on whether Infant, Primary or Secondary - observation was the key and my main task.

Practically all those who recalled a shared role simply listed the subjects that they shared in teaching and generally the numbers of students involved:

- Social Studies - Geography.
- Science - year 8 app. 30
  Maths 1 " " "
- Second Year (Yr 9) Maths and occasional First Year (Yr 8 English. Approximately 30 children in each class (about 60 altogether)
- Yrs 5 - 7 mental, spelling, English mainly - about 20 students.

A few threw a little more light on the nature of the shared role:

- 1st + 2nd year (28 per class) but very much a subordinate role.
- First Year - General Science - approx 28 - shared - [with] Headmaster taught Yr 10, 11 Sc.

Those who believed they had both a sole and shared role tended to simply list the grades or subjects that they must have felt some responsibility for:

- All year levels 1 - 9 but especially Year 6's & 7's. I worked mainly with one primary teacher and taught all subjects.
- Woodwork and Technical drawing. 5 classes - 100 students.
- Mainly mid to upper primary - in a range of academic classes and Art classes for a number of year levels as a result of my interests and study.

However, two female respondents gave details of the number of periods they taught that indicate more clearly the nature of the sole and shared aspects of their work:

- 1st Year High School - Maths (5 periods pr week) - 25 students
  3rd Yr " " - Typing (2 " ") - 10 students
  2nd Yr " " - Eng (2 " ") - 25 students
  Mixed [levels] - Choir (1 " ")
- I taught 1st Yr book-keeping - 5 lessons a week & there were approx 25 students. I also taught 3 lessons a week of 2nd Yr book-keeping to approx the same number of students. The other lessons were taught by the Commercial teacher - [sole] for 1st Yrs. Work set by teacher - [shared] for 2nd yrs with the Commercial teacher.

One other female respondent in an area school qualified her listing of 'Grades 1 – 7' by adding, 'sole... sometimes' and 'shared... mostly'.

While a somewhat larger proportion of the respondents from the 1960s recalled sole responsibility, with one exception these were in secondary schools and generally involved a single subject only. The exception was a female in an area school who, though wanting to be a Girls Craft teacher, was

confined to the primary section of the school and given a very limited sole responsibility:

- I was rostered to a different J.P. or primary class each week on rotation where I observed and assisted. Each week I was required to make lesson notes for a lesson and give that lesson to the class.

She added that she had sole responsibility 'for this one lesson a week'. The others tended merely to list the subject for which they felt solely responsible for teaching and, in some cases, the number of students involved.

- 1st Year Needlework - 30 students.
- Year 8 Drawing +?
- 1B Mathematics
- Year 8 Geography - 35 students
- First Year High Science - 35 students

One female respondent did not list the subject/s she had sole responsibility for in '1b. 1C, 2B, (Yr 8+9) Secondary with about 30 students per class' but added that the 'syllabus was set of course'. Even with a set syllabus, responsibility for a subject involving such numbers indicates that not all of the last junior teachers enjoyed the 'very small' teaching assignments that Jones believed had characterized the final years of the system.

Other duties

While the teaching duties expected of these respondents indicate that the exploitation of junior teachers in this regard would seem to be significantly lessened towards the end of the system, it remains to be seen what the effect of the other duties allocated to them might have been. In Chapter 9, it was suggested that the duties listed by Jones such as clerical work connected with school management, assistance in supervising books, blackboard work and laboratory preparation, might well have been merely a different form of exploitation of candidates for teaching on a very basic monetary allowance. What these respondents thought about exploitation will be explored in detail in the cultural section. The concrete data about other duties simply supplied details of what was expected now in place of a teaching role that had for so long been the main task of most of the respondents. Most of them simply listed the duties they were expected to perform but some went further and described their jobs in non-professional terms. One male from the 1960s, after indicating that he assisted in the office with clerical work went on:

- Suppose I was a school 'ancillary staff' type person.

A female from the same period merely wrote 'Teacher aide' in response to the question. A few left the space blank and a few others gave very brief answers such as 'Very little', 'None that I remember', 'Only my teaching', 'Very few duties ... apart from yard duty. I was treated well'. As might be expected traditional duties such as yard and sports featured in many replies. What is very

different about the responses from this period is that almost 50% of them referred to duties that could well be classified as of an 'ancillary' or 'teacher-aide' nature. One male from 1963/64 recalled that he was:

- Often asked to do general 'dogsbody' duties e.g. fix lockers, roneo etc.

Other males were expected to do a range of duties that could well be generally described in similar terms but which included from time to time other roles such as relief teaching and their own study time or attendance at lessons:

- General aide duties from duplicating to mowing oval, collecting the mail, taking relief lessons, laboratory assistant, operating film projector, assisting with staff timetable. [1952 - also teaching one Leaving subject and assisting in primary and secondary classes]
- Most time was spent in administrative tasks - serving in the book room, banking, sports equipment maintenance, attending lessons at Leaving level. [1959 - no teaching required]
- Assist in administrative services. [1959 - unspecified sole responsibility for some junior secondary teaching]
- Major time spent in clerical ('Go for') duties & duplicating + study time to do additional subjects. [1959 - sole responsibility for a 2nd & 3rd Maths]
- Assisted with Book Room sales; Chemistry laboratory maintenance; school musical and drama productions and staff room maintenance. [1959 - responsible for one Yr 8 subject and was attending classes in four Leaving subjects]
- School supplies, school books (Book room), school music, Servicing & Returns for 11 school buses, School book keeper. Relieving teacher as required, sports equipment. [1959/60 - no teaching responsibility]
- All duplicating, film showing & book room sales. [1961 - no teaching]
- Performed some clerical work. Carried out some support work for two Special Senior Masters. [1961 - some sole and shared teaching]
- Normal teaching duties eg, yard duty, bus duty. I was also given responsibility for maintenance and operation of school art & craft facilities & book room including limited ordering. [1964 - sole and shared primary teaching & two Leaving subjects by correspondence]
- In the city I [the respondent later transferred to the country] worked as an assistant to the Senior Art Master and was given marking etc. to do.

Female respondents tended to be more likely to get teacher-aide, clerical type or domestic duties:

- Prepared gear for teachers - made glue, named books, helped with sport for secondary girls, prepared concert items for primary and infant classes. [1953 - limited shared teaching responsibility]
- Make the tea at recess and lunch times. Supervise chn having lunch. [1959 - supernumerary

in infant school - time off to do one Leaving subject at nearby high school]

- I was expected to complete all the admin typing, do yard duty and umpire/supervise girls' sports. Was not allowed to leave school grounds without H.M. permission. [1961 - sole responsibility for one First Year subject plus others shared with Commercial teacher]
- Completed 2 extra Leaving subjects during this year & apart from that I was requested to take messages and generally assist with odd jobs around the school. [1962 - no teaching]
- Took relief lessons when required. Did secretarial work for H.M. (it was my job to balance the phone account with calls made both school & personal - I remember it was always a hassle accounting for personal calls). [1963 - sole responsibility for one First Year subject only]
- Clerical, typing, filing, distribution of books. [1963 - no teaching]
- Some typing was involved, particularly German Exam papers, filing, tidying and rearranging Science Storeroom, messages and errands. [1963 - sole responsibility for one Second year subjects plus shared with one at First Year & studying for two Leaving subjects]
- Was responsible for the Gestetner work for everyone. Helped in the book room. Responsible for staff morning tea. Helped with choir. [1964 - sole and shared teaching and one Leaving subject to study]

Assistance with teaching duties

In view of the reduced emphasis on teaching in the final years of the system, it is not surprising that some 45% of these respondents recalled getting no help in this aspect or were doubtful about it. Practically all those who ticked 'No' had indicated earlier that no teaching was expected of them. Very few of them felt the need therefore to add any details in the space provided for a description of the type of help given with teaching. As has already been noted, one male respondent from the late 1950s recalled that his Head's priority was not to assist him with teaching but to ensure that he attended classes to complete his Leaving Certificate. This was probably so for other respondents, too, but no one else was so explicit about it. A few who did have to teach indicated that they got no help from their Head or from other teachers. Their comments on what was expected of them in the way of lesson notes give an indication of how some of them managed under such circumstances:

- Basically followed the text book and course outline. [teaching Yr 8 Geography]
- No lesson notes - used text book. [teaching only a Maths subject]
- The Woodwork teaching team required me to prepare lesson notes for Technical Drawing. I was not required to prepare lesson notes for Woodwork.

A number were unsure about aspects of this question. Several who ticked both 'Yes' and 'No' explained why. The female respondent who was repeating as a junior teacher in 1951 was noted

earlier as marking both answers because her Head 'told me where I went wrong' in the lessons she prepared and gave. Another female who was a supernumerary in a Primary School recalled that she got no help 'at Primary Level' but 'to some extent at Junior Primary'. While she did not recall having to prepare lesson notes she added:

- I certainly prepared lessons. I had a great deal of responsibility given to me.

The respondent from the private system had doubts about the help she got at the school level:

- In Term 1- very little help. In May a new Head was appointed & she saw that I got some help in programming. A Sister in Adelaide sent me sample lesson notes - plans - ideas - during the Sept hols she spent some time helping me.

The rest of the doubtful ones ticked 'Yes' but their comments indicated the limited nature of the assistance they recalled receiving. In some cases, the comments they made about the lesson preparation required of them in the way of lesson notes add to the general picture of the type of assistance given to or withheld from them. Where such information is useful, it is added in brackets to the recollections about general assistance with teaching:

- Not very much - mostly informal instruction. No formal training. (No formal [lesson] plans but guidelines)
- Very little at all. (No notes) - [a male who had only one term of shared teaching]
- Small staff - very colleague. Head was pretty uninterested (was a general dead loss all round). Other staff most helpful. Still keep in contact with two. (Simply followed the syllabus - no need to prepare sequences in those days)
- The woodwork teacher did give some help and advice. (At the beginning I was given some lesson plans but I didn't prepare too many. I mainly helped the teacher with practical work)
- Occasionally - usually when it was obvious I had trouble keeping order. (Text book normally had procedures - I prepared the next day's lessons beforehand)
- Only minimal (Wrote basic notes [for one year 8 subject])
- A bit of general advice but I cannot remember specific instances. (Yes - These were checked by the supervising teachers on a rotational basis)

One female respondent who recalled that she 'rarely taught a lesson on her own' apart from practical cooking in Domestic Arts, gave a detailed description of lesson preparation that indicates what was expected by supervisors who appreciated that part of the reason the junior teachers were there was to learn to teach under supervision:

- Yes - I worked out and explained to my Senior what & how I planned to teach the subject matter that I was expected to cover in class.

The type of assistance recalled by the 55% or so who seemed sure that they had, in fact, been helped, fell into similar categories to the previous period. There were those who recalled being helped by their Head, those who recalled assistance from both the Head and supervising teachers and those

whose only form of assistance came from other staff. Over the whole period there were only a few who recalled formal instruction from their Head both in teaching and in preparation and again pertinent comments on lesson notes are in brackets:

- Weekly instruction on teaching method and Departmental procedures. (Yes - using lesson plans & including theoretical components from instruction given [by Head]) - 1951)
- The Principal of the school Mr. C... took the other J.T. and myself into his office last lesson on Friday afternoons for an informal session on the principles of teaching. I am sure that these assisted me greatly during my later teacher training as he gave me such a solid background on these matters - principles of teaching primary & secondary as college subjects just came second nature to me as I felt very competent in these areas because of my J.T training & experience. (We took notes on the principles of teaching from Mr C...'s sessions but I can't recall referring to them in college. It all seemed very logical at the time & I think there was no need to use them again.) - 1961

Others recalled more general and ongoing kind of assistance from their Head:

- I had to prepare lessons. Head was usually around whilst I took them. He also gave me general information re teaching. (I had to write down whatever I would be doing, even mental.)
- Gave demonstrations & constructive advice. (Had to tell Head Teacher how I was going to go about teaching that particular topic)
- Yes - HT helped prepare lessons daily & being in the same room gave advice during 1st Term. (I was expected to prepare lessons daily & to be responsible for all my own book work e.g. Roll Book, Bank, Exam Register, Reports (with supervision))
- In as far as he had time. We were in one large classroom - very supportive. He talked to me about the text book and would help & advise about lesson notes. (Yes & he checked them as did the Inspector)

Some recalled the help they received from both the Head and other teachers:

- Head - observation with discussions Class teacher - help in preparation, observation etc., but largely left to my own resources. (Notes not quite as detailed as what was expected later at College but programmes etc. all checked by H.T. & supervising teacher at times)
- HM was subject (Science) co-ordinate. (Basic notes for each 'theory' lesson and practical lesson - which was taken by another teacher)
- The HM kept a friendly, fatherly eye on my Maths teaching. The Typing teacher also checked the classes I took. (Short notes in lined book - of what was to be covered in class)
- Teachers helped me with control and supervision and lesson material. I was left alone at times to see how I'd cope teaching & having a class of my own. (I had to have rough plans of lessons I'd prepared & I had to discuss these with the regular teacher. HM checked my

progress at times and gave me encouragement)

- The Principal and other staff instructed me in ways to discipline and to present work. (No notes required)

For others assistance came from a senior teacher:

- Mr B... who had taught me Physics and Chem in Intermediate & Leaving [at the same school] was my supervising Senior Master. (Yes notes - in collaboration with the supervising S.M. who taught all Science to the other First Year class)
- The Senior Art teacher in the city school gave ongoing advice & criticism mainly in the area of methodology and classroom management. At P... the Senior Woodwork teacher gave me a great deal of advice and support.

The latter one was the respondent who was transferred to the country for Term 111 of 1959. He also recalled different expectations as regards lesson notes for a supernumerary and for a junior teacher with teaching duties:

- Not so much in the city Tech High School where the Art timetable/subject content was already formulated but in the country I had the programme outline but because I was teaching art/design/technical drawing to Leaving level, I spent a great deal of time preparing work for the various lessons.

The rest recalled being helped by another teacher, usually the one who had been assigned to supervise them, and few of them were expected to do very much in the way of lesson notes:

- Full co-operation and advice. Taught in conjunction with the full-time woodwork teacher.
- The commercial teacher was in her first year of teaching & was very helpful to me in explaining how to teach as well as generally overseeing my work. We have remained friends to this day. (The only lesson plans I ever did were for my own use and I did not have to submit them for approval)
- Home Ec. teacher helped me in planning my programme and supported me with all I did. (Wrote up lesson notes on theory lessons - 1 per week. Had to plan practical lessons for Needlework)
- Worked with each classroom teacher. Prepared and presented lessons as part of each teacher's programme.
- I was assigned to a teacher who spent time guiding me in the classroom and provided me with tasks to carry out daily. (These [notes] were very brief - really just guidelines to help me through each lesson.)

It can be said that the concrete facts confirm in most respects what Jones described as the development of a more generous and liberal outlook in the appointment of junior teachers towards

the end of the life of the system. They establish that the period of change began in 1955 and gathered pace over the next few years. The generally high correlation between what respondents recalled from a distance of 30 or more years and what Jones wrote early in 1966 suggests that a good deal of reliance can be placed on other concrete and cultural data in these particular memoirs. It now remains to see what further light the cultural facts throw on the conduct of the final years of the system.

THE CULTURAL DATA

Like the responses in the concrete section, the cultural facts largely conform with the description given by Jones of the last years of the system but here, too, there are certain minor anomalies. As has been seen, Jones believed that these junior teachers were clearly given to understand from the outset that their 'main duty' was to equip themselves academically for the Teachers College. As Table 14.2 shows, some 85% of these respondents were in fact studying but it is apparent from the cultural facts that for the majority, the main benefit was the opportunity to equip themselves in quite another way for what they were to face at the College. Jones believed, too, that in this period the needs of the students were always considered first. The cultural responses, however, confirm what was noted in the concrete section about the corollary of that statement. Some of the duties recalled here, including those related to teaching, suggest that the needs of the Department were not necessarily 'always' of secondary importance. There are also cases of respondents recalling part, or even all of the experience in a quite different light to the more liberal and generous outlook that Jones believed had characterized the final few years of the junior teacher system. None of this takes away from the significance of either the contemporary account or the memoirs but rather shows the deeper insights into the reality of the situation that a side by side analysis of the two can provide.

The cultural facts explore in depth significant aspects of the life and work of former junior teachers in a system that was markedly different in many respects to that encountered by respondents from previous periods. The details are taken from the responses to the first six questions in Part B of the Memoir Document.

QU.1 REASONS FOR BECOMING A JUNIOR TEACHER - READINESS FOR THE ROLE

Choice or circumstance?

In the last years of the junior teacher system it would seem that circumstance rather than choice predominated amongst these particular respondents. Well over half of them indicated that circumstances played the major part and 80% of the others believed that that while they made the

choice of becoming a junior teacher, some element of circumstance was also present. However, the situation is not as clear cut, as these facts would seem to indicate. Two-thirds of those who believed that circumstances had determined their role also referred, either explicitly or implicitly, to some aspect of choice being involved as well. All of this fits in well with what Jones said about junior teacherships being awarded for personal reasons in the final years. There are cases of both choice and circumstance involving wanting to and/or needing to live at home; special interest needs in the areas of art and craft; the realization that greater maturity might be needed and even one case of a migrant being able to be given an immediate job. Jones pointed out that no student was ever forced to become a junior teacher and in contrast to previous periods, respondents certainly no longer felt that being a junior teacher was a requirement of training. The only response on these lines was from the female who was employed by a religious community rather than the Education Department:

- When I entered the Sisters..., it was the acceptable model of entry to the life of the Community.

As will be seen however, while the Department no longer required some practical teaching experience prior to Teachers College, numbers of these respondents were forced into the role by some aspect of their particular circumstances. Just as in the past, underqualification by age or academics was the main factor. The difference now was that alternatives existed in the probationary systems and many of those who accepted junior teacherships did so in response to a personal need.

Of the minority who seemed to believe that they had made the choice themselves one simply wrote 'By choice' and another added 'Wanted to be a teacher at that stage'. The others went into more detail and it is possible to detect some measure of personal circumstance in their responses:

- By choice. After leaving school I became a survey draftsman for ICI Chemical Company for four years and during this time I became the unofficial company artist - art seemed to be taking over any drafting - the company felt I would be better off doing art full time and I was ready in my own mind to become an art teacher or an art person of some sort.
- By choice and encouragement from a neighbour who felt I would be better teaching than working at other careers.
- By choice - to give one experience in a school situation for the time in 1963 that I was in Australia (I went overseas from the end of May to October) before going to Uni & Teachers College.

Others for whom choice was clearly a major factor acknowledged that circumstances played an important part as well in their acceptance of the role. For a number, it was a way of fulfilling their ambition to become a teacher despite being too young and/or academically underqualified for entry to the College. Some were just too young but for several others there were also family considerations to take into account:

- By choice - + too young to enter T.C.

- It was my choice because I was too young to go to College.
- During 1963 when a Leaving Teaching Scholar, I applied for entry to the Teachers College but as my birthday is in January & I had not turned 17 at the time of application, I was advised that I was considered too young. The year as a J.T. was offered as an alternative.
- My only ambition was to be a teacher & when I did 'Home Science' at Yr 8 level, I decided that from then on that was what [kind of teacher] I wanted to be ... It was suggested to me by the school that I be a Junior Teacher to see if I liked it, I think. Also it seemed to my parents that I was a bit young to leave home to go to Adelaide.
- I had done Leaving and was too young to enter Teachers College. At that time the entry age was 17. I had always wanted to be a teacher. Parents could not afford to pay board for me to do Leaving Honours in the city!

Several appear to have made up their own minds about not leaving home at that stage of their lives to go to the city:

- I was too young to enter Teachers College & I did not want to go to Adelaide to study for Leaving Honours. I chose to spend a year as a Junior Teacher.
- I chose to become a Junior Teacher rather than leaving home to complete Leaving Honours.

Others chose to be junior teachers because it gave them the opportunity to remedy any lack of academic qualifications:

- Choice - applied for the task - used time to study Year 11 Maths.
- To matriculate. Failed Leaving Latin. But it was my choice.
- Combination of circumstances (needing to matriculate) and choosing to do this type of work.
- A very strong desire & ambition to become a teacher kept me determined to succeed, even after failing the Leaving examination twice, in 1957 & 1958. The Ed. Department offered me a position as Junior Teacher in 1959 and also directed me to complete the Leaving Certificate in the same year. I willingly accepted the position.
- The year I sat for my Leaving I applied to enter Teachers College, but did not pass enough subjects so Ed Department appointed me as a J.T. to gain experience/subjects for entry in the next year.
- I passed 3 subjects at the Leaving Examination & then sat for the Supplementary in Physics in January & passed. By that time my application to start College was refused and it was suggested by the Department that I become a Junior Teacher.
- Had to do something while waiting to sit for Supplementary Exams to complete Leaving.

A couple had additional reasons:

- I always wanted to be a teacher, but my Leaving results were not sufficient to get me into T.C. I was also too young to enter.
- Circumstances - I failed to get 5 Leaving subjects, wanted to go to Teachers College & was

from a single parent family so needed the money.

Of the larger group who believed that it was mainly circumstance that had led them into becoming a junior teacher, a number seem to have been encouraged or persuaded in some way to enter the teaching profession in this way:

- Headmaster approached me about working as a J.T. at the local school. My parents were keen for me to take the position but did not insist.
- Ben Sugg, the H.M. of the school I had attended for the full duration of my secondary schooling, offered me the position.
- Was going back to B... High School to do [repeat] Leaving (boarding with grandparents, parents in N.S.W.) - a day before school was due to start 'phone call to grandparents telling them to get me to C... next day. They, in awe of Ed Dept, did - me reluctant but went along with the exercise.
- I was too young to enter Teachers College & did not want to do Leaving Honours. My father [the H.M.] suggested I become a junior teacher.
- I was offered the position during my Intermediate year by Mr Jones who was then recruiting staff [in 1954] as an extra teacher was needed at the school.

Some were already involved with the Education Department through the probationary scheme which required them to return the allowance if they did not continue with teaching:

- By circumstances - I found myself in a quandary as to whether I would continue with the Ed. Dept and what directions I would take. The year as a J.T. gave me time and experience to help make up my mind.
- I was paid a salary while doing Leaving which I saved up week by week in case I did not want to be a teacher. Then I 'blew' the lot on a suit. I could not afford to pay it back so I was 'hooked'. I was also too young to go to Teachers College.

Others wanted to do different things but were prevented by particular circumstances:

- Parents would not let me join the Airforce. I had a brilliant (academic) sister who was to go to Adelaide and family resources were very restricted.
- By circumstances - I wanted to do Leaving Honours. I wanted to be a Vet. My family could not afford to send me to Adelaide. The only way to leave the town & gain a tertiary education was to be a teacher. I was too young to go to the College that year.
- I was too young to enter College - I had decided to be a craft teacher (couldn't do Electrical Engineering with B.H.P. as some rotten "dotty" eye test said I was colour blind.) My family was going to move to Adelaide, and a cousin who worked for the E.D. suggested it.
- Could not afford to go to University at the time.
- Parents had insufficient money to send me away to do Leaving Honours.

The rest, while not mentioning choice specifically, obviously did want to become teachers and listed the circumstances that stood in the way of them entering the Teachers College. Again a major cause was that many were simply too young:

- I was too young to enter A.T.C.
- ... (Had to be 17 years - I was only 16.9.)
- Circumstance - I was considered too young [16.7] for tertiary training.
- Principal thought I was too young to go to Teachers College.
- Simply because I was too young to go to College and there was no 5th Yr available at my [city technical high] school.

Several believed that they had already been accepted for College but were obliged to wait out a year because of age. Two simply stated the fact:

- By circumstances. I didn't know such an option existed. I applied for Teachers College, they replied in early December of 1963 that I had been accepted but at 16 years 2 months when the course was to start, I was too young.
- Circumstances - I was not old enough at 16 to go to Teachers College & I had already qualified for the College Entrance (A Course). My parents could not afford to send me to do another year at high school to gain Leaving Honours.

Another [from 1955] however, made a somewhat mysterious reference to what appears to be a quite unusual circumstance:

- ... Had been accepted into College but was informed I would be too young to enter National Training Service at the end of Year 1 so was offered the J.T. role which I took without really knowing what was involved & what was expected.

One respondent stated his situation very succinctly:

- Circumstances - (didn't have the entry quals)

Several others who lacked the required qualifications were also too young:

- Because I failed Leaving English ... being a Junior Teacher at B... Infant School, enabled me to return to B... High School for lessons - also I believe they didn't accept students until they were 17.
- Circumstances - as previously mentioned I loved sport, art & science + perhaps one day could teach one of them or something. Of course these courses at ATC were more extensive than I was either prepared for or qualified. The E.D. decided that if I passed four Leaving subjects (had passed 3) I could do a primary course if [I became] a JT for 1 year and studied another subject. I also believe 17 years of age was a minimum to enter TC. (I was only 16.5)
- It was the only way I could 'fill in' a year prior to Teachers College & also complete several subjects.

Two female respondents had particular personal reasons for being pleased with the circumstances that made the role available:

- Circumstances - after 10 years at boarding school I was wanting a year at home before going to Teachers College. Also I was only 16.7 the College was pleased for me to wait until I was 17.
- My mother mainly, wanted me [aged 16.4] to come home for a year before going to College as I went to Adelaide for my secondary education and she felt that if I had gone straight to College, I wouldn't ever perhaps 'go home' again.

Only one respondent failed to answer the question and two others gave interestingly different reasons for accepting the position. One male had taken the unusual step of transferring from the Probationary to the Junior Teacher System part way through the year:

- I had intended to do Leaving Honours but found the transition from a relatively small Area School to an impersonal, large, city educational factory too much. Part way through the year (1st term) I took up the junior teacher position in the same school with a friend from the country. Being in somewhat necessitous circumstances the 'salary' was vital to paying travelling costs.

The other, who was an immigrant from the United States, explained his particular circumstances:

- ... I was T. Trained in the U.S.A. and on coming to S.Aust., the Ed. Dept. said that to get familiar with teaching here in S.A., I was to try J. Teaching. As I wasn't sure which teaching I wanted to do - Secondary, Primary or J.P., I was to try the Area School set up and try all levels...

Preference for an alternative to junior teaching

As would be expected from the numbers attracted into junior teaching by choice or forced into it by circumstances they could not control, it is not surprising that some 54% of the respondents left the space blank. There was one 'N/A'; one 'Nothing else'; a 'No idea' and just one fuller explanation:

- I had no other pressing demand, dream at this time. I was keen to teach and the Junior Teacher opportunity met this need. I probably would have resented being in tertiary training at this stage given my desire to teach.

Of the rest, about a third would have preferred to be full time school students, another third would have preferred to be at Teachers College and the remainder wanted something else or were special cases. Some of those who would have preferred to have continued with secondary studies would liked to have done Leaving Honours while others wanted to complete the Leaving Certificate. Practically all of those who would have preferred full time secondary studies were from the country and this re-inforced the view expressed earlier that some country junior teachers were disadvantaged in this respect. So too were respondents who had done a Technical course as there was nothing

available for them in this direction after the Leaving year. Most of those expressing this preference gave a reason at some stage for not being able to do so:

- Yr 12 or Leaving Honours at a High School. [her parents could not afford to send her away]
- Parents had insufficient money to send me away.
- Leaving Honours would have been some advantage - although I have no regrets re my J.T. experience. [Leaving Honours was not available at local country school and family finances did not allow for boarding in Adelaide]
- Leaving Hons [she was the one noted earlier as wanting to be a Vet]
- Student full time but at a city High School with a wider choice of subjects - we had no choice. It was Eng, Maths 1 & 2, Physics & Chem, Latin, Bookkeeping. [at his small country high school]
- Going to B... High School to do [repeat] Leaving. [she was the one noted earlier as going along 'reluctantly' with her grandparents' instructions from the Education Department]
- I would have continued with 5th Yr at school had it been available. I had been doing a Technical course, so transfer to another high school would not have been relevant for me.

Two of those who would have preferred to be at the Teachers College were very unhappy in the high school situations they found themselves in and much will be heard later of their problems. Both had chosen to be junior teachers - one to complete Leaving Latin and the other was the one who 'had to do something' while waiting for the Supplementary examinations. The respondent who had applied late for the Home Science Course indicated that she would have 'definitely preferred' to be at College doing the first year of that course. The rest mainly regretted not being able to go to College with their friends but none of them seemed particularly perturbed about this:

- As I enjoyed the year I don't think I had very many regrets about not going straight to College, except my friends were in 2nd Yr.
- I would have preferred to have gone to Teachers College (as some of my friends were going) but I did not have the choice & and I was happy to accept the alternative. I had no idea what was expected of me, nor did I know any of the staff except for another JT who didn't stay long because she couldn't do what she was sent there for.
- From memory I doubt that I knew anything about junior teaching & I was anxious about commencing formal teacher training as soon as possible [but was too young]. As a number of my friends entered College in 1964, I would have preferred to do the same (at the time). I was however, committed to pursuing a career in teaching and had no desire to use 1964 to attempt any alternative.
- At the time: I would have preferred to be at the Teachers College. In hindsight: gained experience as a potential teacher.

The others who answered this question had a variety of comments. Several seemed quite accepting

of the alternative:

- I didn't mind the 'choice' as I had applied for the position predicting the above result with results and age requirements. - I had trained [partly] in the U.S. A. to be a teacher so it was my own decision. I was attracted because 1) teaching seemed a secure job and 2) they paid me for going to Teachers College - an allowance was better than I would have had in the U.S. where I was required to pay over $1000 US to go to Teachers College.
- Because I was able to complete two Leaving Honours subjects I felt that the year wasn't a complete waste.

One male respondent however, believed that he had been held back unfairly because of being just under age in 1951:

- In 1953 I discovered that some students had commenced College courses in 1952 aged less than 17.

Some of those who were unsure about teaching as a first choice but who did go on with it after the junior teacher experience took the opportunity to comment further on what might have been otherwise:

- I was on the verge of seeking a career in banking.
- Parents wanted me in an apprenticeship or banking.
- I really don't know how I would have filled in that year. [he had been rejected from Electrical Engineering on account of colour blindness]
- I wanted to join the Airforce but as that year (only) they raised the qualification to Leaving Honours there seemed little choice other than teaching particularly as my mother had just done the 'pressure-cooker' [T.U.A] Infant teaching course and had started teaching.

Readiness for the role of junior teacher

As has been seen, the Education Department was able to alter the role of its junior teachers quite radically once staffing shortages could be overcome by various other means. As the concrete facts show, only a few respondents were required for one teacher schools in the early 1950s and it became increasingly possible from then on to place junior teachers in schools where they could experience the kind of teaching that interested them and/or where they could complete academic requirements. Some were supernumeraries, others had limited teaching responsibilities and an increasing number were not expected to teach at all. Despite these changes, fewer respondents than ever before felt ready to take on the role. The cultural facts for the period immediately after the war reveal that about 64% of respondents felt ready to be a junior teacher compared with the 77% who felt that way during the war years when it was the accepted way of entering the teaching profession. Over the final 14 years of the system the percentage of those who felt ready for the role dropped to 53%. Of

the rest, 12% were unsure, 31% recalled not feeling ready and a few did not reply to this question. The responses of the unsure and unready suggest that changes to the system had engendered an air of uncertainty about what the role now entailed.

Those who felt ready

Of those who believed that they felt ready to take on the role, about a third simply wrote 'Yes' and even 'Yes – definitely'. The rest gave some kind of explanation ranging from a tentative 'I think so!!' or a somewhat cryptic 'I managed' to considerably more detail. Over the whole period, the most common cause for feeling ready to be a junior teacher was that of being confident. For some it was the confidence of youth, or simply being ready to take on a challenge:

- Yes I believe I did - the eternal confidence of youth!
- Yes, I had more confidence then than I do now.
- I had always wanted to be a teacher so I don't remember it occurring to me that I would be inadequate.
- Yes - I took the challenge with enthusiasm. Would like to have had more than one year...
- Yes - lack of confidence was not in my make up (which should have concerned parents, Dept etc!)
- When I look back I believe I was remarkably confident. I actually enjoyed much of the year.
- Yes! - Wide-eyed & enthusiastic.
- I remember quite looking forward to it.

Others were able to present a firmer base for their confident approach to the role. For some it was a matter of maturity or experience:

- Yes - I was 12 months older than most of the students [at the high school] and felt confident in myself to take on some responsibility.
- Having been brought up in a teaching family I had considerable experience in teaching by "diffusion". I don't think I ever doubted my ability to fulfill the role.
- At that point of time -yes - both my parents were teachers as were my 3 elder sisters and brother. It was second nature to me I guess.
- Yes - I was 21 & had already had one year in the U.S.A., as a Training College teacher then going as a junior teacher was a next progressive step which I easily adapted to.

Some were confident because of the particular situation they were put in:

- Yes - because I did not have a lot of responsibility where I was appointed.
- Yes - for that level (primary) at that time.
- I suppose I was quite pleased to be seen in this regard, especially as I was remaining at my

own school.

- Yes - because we (there were two of us) had been interviewed by the Head after we had indicated an interest in the position.

A few others could recall being confident but were also prepared to admit to some doubts:

- Yes - but with some apprehension.
- I was a little daunted but felt comfortable in familiar surroundings and with mostly familiar staff.
- Once I started the job I felt quite ready but I was anxious before the actual time arrived.
- Yes - because I was working mainly with little children. However, I did not feel confident with older children which I was expected to be responsible for at times.

Those who were unsure about their readiness

For most of these respondents it was simply a matter of doing what they had to do:

- Yes and No – didn't know any different.
- I didn't think much about it - just got on with the job.
- Didn't know what to expect but it was what I had been advised to do, so I went along with it.
- I didn't really think too much about it, guess I didn't have time.
- The role was never explained to me. I simply accepted the appointment, went back to school in a slightly changed position and was welcomed by school staff & we made decisions on how and what I would do for the year.
- I had not really thought about this possibility - I wanted to do art one way or another... [the older respondent who had come into teaching after several years in a drafting office]
- Confidence came with time.

Those who were not ready

The rest did not feel ready and about a third of them simply wrote 'No' or 'Not really'. Others explained why. For some it was because they had not been prepared for the role:

- No - did not have a clue what it involved.
- Not really, though I was unsure what the role would require.
- Not really, I was keen to try out the position but must admit I knew very little about what a JT position included.
- I liked school but had lost a measure of interest by Yr 11 (Leaving) & did well only at what I liked & could cope with. Probably I was slightly immature to suddenly transfer from schoolchild to teacher.
- I did not know what the role of junior teacher was, but was thrown in and had to 'sink or

swim'. In retrospect I was not emotionally mature enough to cope with students not much younger than myself.

Others had specific problems:

- No. I never came to terms with disciplining students and felt very young, although the staff were very caring and supportive.
- Not in a High School, but I wanted to matriculate.
- Not really - especially the teaching duties. [he had responsibility for a Yr 8 Drawing class in 1963)

Two respondents did not feel ready but were helped by changed circumstances:

- I was initially appointed to ...High School (this was later changed) and was apprehensive about returning to a school where a few weeks before I had been a student. I was confident of my inherent ability to be a teacher. However I would have found the task of 'teaching' my friends somewhat daunting.
- Not really. BUT we shifted from Q... to W... in Dec of '63 & so I was new to the district & the school I entered was a great help.

One respondent admitted to not being able to remember and two others left the space blank.

On leaving home to begin junior teaching

By the mid 1950s the Education Department had practically eliminated at least one of the major criticisms of the junior teacher system made at the time of the Education Inquiry Committee. By appointing junior teachers to schools near their home it had ensured that few of them had to board away. Some 42% of them therefore either did not feel the need to reply to this question or simply wrote 'N/A'. Several others explained their situation more fully:

- Did not leave home.
- Worked from home.
- I lived at home so didn't have any worries in this area.
- Was a school student one year, accepted as a teacher in the same school the next year.
- I didn't leave home. Just moved with the family to a new town.

Over 30% of the rest tended to see the question as referring to how they felt emotionally and/or professionally as they set off from their home to begin a new job. Rather more than half of them recalled something pleasant about the experience:

- Quite happy.
- ... Keen to get on with the job.
- Excited and optimistic.
- I felt excited about being part of a school staff instead of a student.

- Excitement 'I've made it'.
- Proud. Confident in taking up teaching as my career.
- I was a Junior Teacher in the same school that I had attended all my life.
- Knew the school and most of the staff.

All of the above were living at home as were most of those who recalled something unpleasant about setting off to take up the position. For some taking up junior teaching presented quite mild concerns expressed in such simple statements as 'Nervous' or 'Apprehension'. A few explained in more detail:

- Scared - I was working with people my own age.
- Not sure what I was doing.
- I felt let down at having to 'waste' a year before beginning my teacher training.

A few did not really remember how they felt but tried to imagine it:

- Probably nervous apprehension. [boarding away]
- No - I guess I had some feeling of trepidation. [at home]
- No - but I suspect very nervous. [at home]

The few who had to board away presented mixed views. One who had elected to come to Adelaide to do Leaving Latin to matriculate recalled feeling 'terrified' as he left his home on Eyre Peninsula. One male from 1951 described his feelings in a way reminiscent of an earlier period:

- Very lonely and far away from everyone i.e. school mates etc. The landlady said on day one 'You'll have to get used to it'!

The female respondent whose grandparents were instructed to deliver her to a small school in 1956 remembered little about leaving:

- As it was 5.00 a.m. I was probably still asleep.

A male respondent from the country did not recall being too concerned in 1958 as he left home:

- In a way I was looking forward to moving to Adelaide. We visited Adelaide to see family (of both parents) each Christmas & I looked forward to seeing my grandparents and cousins I suppose. It was just another Christmas trip. I had already spent time away from home previously.

The rest of the respondents had mixed feelings:

- Excited and enthusiastic but a certain degree of the unknown was there also.
- Excited and a little apprehensive.
- Mixed - I was leaving home for good but I think I was very excited predominantly. [she was joining a religious order]
- I looked anxiously forward to the challenge.
- As I rode my bicycle going to school with many friends it felt like attending school as a

student - a student not in school uniform.

Both the respondent who had come in from a drafting office and the trainee teacher from the U.S.A. had interesting comments on the step that they were taking:

- Really strange - I had given up a staff position in industry which had every indication of leading to a comfortable life style - this was now gone & I was setting out to take my chances in a totally different environment.
- I was a bit apprehensive about coming here to S.A. I was hoping that my College 1st Year in the States would be acceptable to the S.A. Ed Dept. I was glad that I was accepted as matriculated & that the Ed Dept was prepared to employ me as a Junior Teacher as long as I returned to T College here for Australian training after.

Two respondents came home to be junior teachers:

- I didn't leave home. My father was the Principal of the School where I was a J.T. It was possible that returning home influenced my decision.
- The job gave me an opportunity to be at home after 4 years away. My sister was born just before I went to High School & this was the only time I had with her for any length of time. I had 'come home' not left.

On approaching the school on the first day

In contrast with earlier periods, far fewer of these respondents could recall their feelings as they approached the school on the first occasion. Very likely this had a lot to do with the fact that some felt that they had already answered this in the previous question. Almost a quarter of them left the space blank, simply wrote 'No' or made such brief responses as 'I cannot remember that one'; 'Not really'; 'No idea'. Only one in this category tried to imagine how she might have felt:

- No (I would think I would have been quite enthusiastic rather than concerned as I had the company of my best friends.)

Those who did recall their feelings fell into three categories. The bulk of them - some 46% - recalled having some concerns, another 20% had generally felt good and the rest admitted to mixed feelings. Overall then, in the final phase of the system, the highest number - some 80% - expressed either straight out concerns or had mixed feelings about the role they were about to undertake. This is interesting because with the changes to the system there should no longer have been the concerns that had so coloured the expectations of many of the previous respondents. What is very clear from these responses is that the last lot of junior teachers had not been briefed on such changes nor even informed about what might be expected of them. None of them seemed to have met up with any junior teachers in their own school days either. This lack of information about the role seems to have led to the concerns a number had as they arrived at their schools on the first day. Some were

certainly worried about the unknown:

- Very diffident.
- Apprehension - lost and confused - nothing was planned - I was just another body.
- A bit apprehensive about going into the unknown.
- Apprehensive and nervous at facing the unknown...
- Trepidation - what am I doing here? !
- Rather apprehensive, wondering what I had got myself into, particularly as I realized a lot of the students would be about my own age and that I was considered a 'teacher' all for £3-16-0 a week.
- Very, very nervous, cautious & uncertain; not really sure whether it was such a good idea after all. The sheer size of the school was daunting.

For others the main concern was about how they would cope with their changed role even in situations with which they were familiar:

- Some concern about how staff would accept me onto the staff -, as they had known me as a student previously.
- How would I be accepted by my peers? (The Yr 8's were new to the school so I felt confident about them).
- I was apprehensive as I felt in between the staff and the senior students.
- ... Embarrassment at being in a different position to those friends who had passed Leaving and returned to the school for Leaving Honours while I had passed through that "door" from student to staff over the holidays.
- Insecure, not knowing quite how I would be accepted by staff and students or what my role would be.
- Nervous at the thought of being amongst teachers - my world had suddenly changed.
- I felt shy and nervous and very much in awe of the teaching staff.

Some found coping with a new school a problem:

- Terrified! - new, big school to me. Didn't know anyone except the H. Master.
- Terrified. Many strangers - a much larger school than I had attended. Gruff, unfriendly teachers.
- More terrified. [this male had been 'terrified' at leaving his small country home to board in Adelaide and attend a very large high school to study Latin for matriculation]

One female respondent had a personal problem:

- My first pimple appeared on my chin. It was HUGE and very embarrassing.

Familiarity with the school was a reason why some others recalled not being concerned about approaching it on the first day. One simply wrote 'Same school' but others went into detail:

- Because I had attended the school to which I was appointed and it was familiar to me & I knew the staff with whom I would be working. I felt quietly confident and excited.

- It was only on the other side of the railway line - perhaps not enough time for any significant change.
- I was reasonably familiar, as it was the primary school I had attended as a child.

For several others it was the start of the hoped for career:

- Quite interested - had always wanted to be a teacher & really felt that this was the beginning.
- Excitement – I've made it.

The rest of those who responded to the question recalled having mixed feelings as they approached the school. In most cases these were a combination of the kind of factors put forward by those who felt worried and those who had no concerns:

- Excited but apprehensive.
- Excited, optimistic & very grown up! And maybe a bit nervous.
- Excited, nervous, unsure of what my role would be, particularly my relationships with staff & students.
- A little nervous, but a little important as I had left the school the previous year as a student and I was returning as a 'teacher'.
- Reasonably confident - but a bit concerned that I would be 'found out' as an untrained teacher.
- It was strange to be arriving not as a student but not as a 'genuine' teacher either.
- Nervous on how things would go but completely at home with the circumstances. Having been a Prefect and school leader the previous year, it seemed an obvious ongoing role which was made easy by the young inexperienced teachers.

The two older respondents had particular recollections on account of their particular circumstances. The one from industry recalled:

- Mixed feelings - I had confidence in my own artistic abilities (I had won my first Art School Scholarship at age of 12 years) but I was very unsure of my ability to take on the responsibility of a caring teacher.

The one from the U.S.A. recalled:

- It seemed a novelty to me. I went to C... to meet my pen pal. I stayed with her family while a J.T. Her house was within walking distance from the school. I was a novelty in the town being from Boston Mass., U.S.A. half way around the world. The staff and students treated me as a curiosity & I guess me to them too. It didn't seem quite real as I had been in Australia only 2 weeks.

One other simply encountered an unfortunate set of circumstances on her first day:

- Went to the wrong school and had to be re-directed. The school to which I had been appointed didn't know of my appointment until I appeared. I was not particularly perturbed by this.

Qu. 2 - LEVELS OF SATISFACTION - DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

While Question 1 explored respondents' feelings and emotions as they accepted the role of a junior teacher, Question 2 asked them to explore longer term aspects of the role. In addition to recalling what they had felt was very satisfactory, less satisfactory and unsatisfactory, they were asked to give details of any difficulties they had encountered and to say how they dealt with them. The responses of the last junior teachers were generally not very different to those from earlier times in that few experienced much dissatisfaction or encountered very serious problems. In a changed system it has to be expected that the sources of dissatisfaction might be rather different and this is clear from the responses to the second part of the question where such items as pay, boarding conditions and absence from home were no longer of great significance. The sources of satisfaction however, remained similar to the past with teaching itself, being with children, being accepted by the staff and being given responsibility featuring high amongst them. This is somewhat at odds with what might have been expected here. Jones suggests that the focus of the system had been turned towards fulfilling the 'main duty' of preparing academically for the Teachers College rather than on preparing, or being prepared, for interaction with students, staff and general aspects of schooling. Few found the academic side of their role as particularly satisfying. This would seem to be further evidence here that few of these respondents had been told what their 'main duty' was.

Very satisfying aspects

Only four respondents found nothing satisfactory about being a junior teacher. Two of them were males who had been sent to high schools to improve their academic status and both were under age for the College. One of them completed the necessary academics early in the year by passing Leaving subjects at a supplementary examination. He later summed up his feelings as 'Disappointing. Felt the year was a waste of time' and simply wrote 'None' in the space for very satisfactory aspects. The other, who had come from the country to attend a city high school in order to matriculate, wrote, 'Nothing - passed Latin but still hated it'. A female respondent at a technical high school wrote 'Not Applicable as I did not actually teach' and one male who resigned at the end of the year simply left the space blank. The rest found at least one satisfactory thing about their experience and some even noted up to three. In previous periods teaching itself tended to be the most satisfactory aspect and although it remained high in the last years of the system it was not the top factor, an aspect most likely connected with the decreased emphasis on actual teaching for junior teachers. Now dealing with children and acceptance by other staff were slightly more likely to be mentioned in this regard. Some made such brief mentions of teaching as 'Teaching', 'Teaching Arithmetic', 'Art of teaching', 'Taking a class' and 'Classroom work'. Others were rather more

expansive:

- Everything to do with the experience of teaching.
- I learned a lot about teaching at all levels, and I gained an insight into the technology of equipment etc. used in a school.
- The actual teaching experience and learning day-to-day procedures etc. that Teachers College did not provide.

Others found the most satisfying thing about teaching was in seeing the students respond positively to their efforts:

- The responses of the children.
- Using play techniques to get the message across.
- Very rewarding experiences with a great bunch of kids.
- Seeing the faces of young people who were successful in the tasks completed.
- As time went on I got to know the 1st & 2nd Yrs and they me. When I was on my own with them I developed a feeling of satisfaction as I seemed to be achieving a goal as far as work was concerned ... when tested by the Commercial teacher, she was pleased with their knowledge.
- My ability to teach art (with some degree of authority and experience) to 1st and 2nd Yr students - and the positive responses I gained from them in both class and homework. [This was the respondent who had come in from industry knowing his art but wondering about his ability to be a 'caring teacher'.]
- One of the Railway gangers was a new Australian and he had three delightful kids. I had the boy in Grade 1 and he was a beauty. I taught him to read in his halting English.
- Being given a Science class (1st Yr High) of my own. My students attaining higher grades in exams & tests than V...'s [the Senior Master] ... no reflection on [him] however!!

One respondent recalled that his main task – 'library work' - at the Adelaide Boys High School was very satisfying. One other recalled the experience as confirming her decision to make a career of teaching:

- I felt that teaching was meant for me and thoroughly enjoyed the work involved.

It was very clear from many of the responses that satisfaction from teaching was closely allied with just being with and working with children:

- I loved young children and enjoyed teaching them.
- Loved the contact with the children and felt I was getting a 'Head start'.
- The relationships with the children I taught.
- Working with grade 1 & 11 students. Their acceptance and enthusiasm was something real and enjoyable.
- Talking to, playing with and helping children.

- Enjoying the fun with little students.
- Having the time with ... young children.
- Working with the younger students (Gr 7) in the practical (craft) sessions.

In this period when the majority of junior teachers were in larger schools, the attitude of the staff was a most important factor in making for a satisfying time. Most were grateful just to be accepted by the staff while others appreciated friendship, help and support:

- Being part of the staff.
- The whole exercise, the acceptance, the help from a number of teachers in particular.
- Staff acceptance of me.
- Meeting and being accepted by adult staff.
- The ... acceptance by other staff was confidence building.
- The involvement with the teaching staff who were very friendly, supportive and encouraging and who included me in all social activities.
- The friendships/collegiality of the staff I associated with. There was a definite hierarchy. Junior teachers and craft teachers were at the bottom (and had the most fun).
- All - I had an excellent relationship with H.M. & staff.
- New relationships with teachers...
- Joining in with adults, being treated as an equal by many of staff.
- Attending faculty and staff meetings.
- The experience 'behind the scenes' and the teachers I met.
- Mixing in and being seen as one of the staff.
- Mainly working with the teachers themselves. I had formed very good relations with them as a student. The support they gave.
- I was made to feel one of the staff, even though I was also a student.

Another respondent who was also partly a student mentioned both the teachers and the other students as adding to his satisfactory year:

- The relationships - with the students I taught, with the members of staff who were absolutely marvellous to work with and with the students who were in the Leaving Class in which I studied. These experiences were very fulfilling.

For some it was the attitude of the Head that was most satisfying:

- Co-operation and advice from my Head.
- A kind, helpful considerate H.T.
- Having a very caring Principal.

A small number found that being given some responsibility was a most satisfying aspect:

- The amount of responsibility I had.

- ... being responsible for young children.
- I was given some very responsible duties to do without direct supervision.
- Responsible for gestetner work [and] running the book room.
- Taking small groups of children on my own.

A number had quite different reasons for being very satisfied with their time as a junior teacher. One of the most unusual ones was from a female respondent:

- Enjoyed being bossy and the children's attention in story telling etc - liked the 'power'.

One noted earlier as coming from a single parent family and being academically unqualified recalled two satisfying aspects:

- The money! Perhaps [the] extra help with study.

One other mentioned the opportunity for study as satisfying:

- Being able to complete some more 4th Yr subjects (though this put me in both camps).

A supernumerary found two aspects of her role satisfying:

- I enjoyed the secretarial work I did for the Headmaster. I enjoyed teaching my class.

Others were satisfied by being helped in a variety of ways with aspects of their career choice:

- Being able to cope.
- Seemed to find a direction and purpose.
- Knowledge/time to think about teaching as a career.
- Having an extra year to mature before leaving home and having a break from serious study.
- I loved it all. Each class was different and I couldn't learn enough. It was very fascinating. I had plenty of time to observe how and why children behaved in the way they did and the different types of behaviour. I could see what worked and what didn't and could try to work out why. Lesson presentation was observed many times.
- I consider my year as a JT gave me a solid basis for my teaching career - More so than Teachers College.

Two male respondents used the space to emphasise the value of the whole junior teacher experience. The first from 1961 recalled that:

- I enjoyed the whole experience. Cannot recall any day or any incident that caused me to feel unhappy or worried.

The other was from 1964:

- I cannot remember being unhappy with any aspect of the year and conversely have fond memories, albeit hazy after 26 years, of the time. In summary, I suppose that the most satisfactory aspect was being able to change from the student mode of the previous year to being a practising teacher. I still feel that in some ways I learnt to be a teacher faster this way than through formal study in the following years.

Less satisfying aspects

About a third of the respondents appeared to have recalled nothing less satisfying about being a junior teacher and practically all of them indicated this by leaving the space blank. Of the few who commented one wrote 'Can't remember any' while another recalled not feeling 'any regrets or dissatisfaction'. One other simply put 'N/A' as she had done for the first part of the question with the explanation that it was because she 'did not actually teach'.

The largest number - some 46% - of less satisfying aspects were to do with the nature of the role and the duties required. As has been seen, using junior teachers to actually teach to any great extent was no longer either necessary or appropriate. However, some now had the dual role of doing some teaching combined with studying the secondary subjects that they still required and a few of them encountered problems reminiscent of concerns raised in the past on behalf of 19th century pupil teachers. Others were given a variety of general tasks in addition to some teaching and/or studying. In Chapter 9, it was noted that some of the items in the list of alternative duties for junior teachers that Jones mentioned were possibly almost as exploitative in their own way as had been the teaching role that was so heavily criticised by the Education Inquiry Committee. The responses in this section tend to support a view that in the last few years of the system young candidates for teaching were required to carry out duties that would now be seen as more properly those of ancillary staff while others were being used instead of trained relief teachers. Clearly this would have been of some assistance to the schools and the use of junior teachers in these roles does conflict to some degree with Jones' claim that the interests of the Department were 'always of only secondary importance'.

For some it was the duality of the role that made things less satisfying:

- Playing two roles: as a junior teacher & as a student.
- No real place - not an adult staff member - not a student.
- The feeling that I attended [more] as a student than a junior teacher.
- ... and it was difficult not being a pupil although I knew the students. Some teachers had trouble accepting me...
- Being in the staff room as the 'student'! The teachers all had their own chairs, cups, sugar etc! I became a black coffee drinker that year.

One recalled having no real role:

- No real place - not an adult staff member - not a student.

Another felt the same but linked the lack of a role with the kind of duties allocated to him:

- No role. No status. Impersonal 'dogs body' duties.

Others were concerned about the less than satisfying duties that they were given:

- Clerical work. Cleaning up the workshops after practical. Doing printing, collating &

distributing of Leaving worksheets for the Chemistry & Maths Seniors.

- Taking relief lessons for other teachers was not an easy task.
- I was not happy typing German. [tests & examinations]
- The feeling of being used - to give the [woodwork] teacher an 'easy life'. At times I felt I really didn't learn anything. Being used as a 'relief' teacher in other subjects.
- Dog's body.
- Being given some jobs and subjects others did not prefer.
- Not being given much responsibility.
- Doing menial jobs i.e. fixing lockers; various repetitive jobs; being inveigled into printing etc.
- Very little to do - a waste of time.
- It seemed like a one year stall.

Two who had found the year less than satisfying took a look back at it:

- Being 'thrown in at the deep end' was in fact, in retrospect, a good 'initiation'. Having survived, I certainly gained confidence.
- I often felt that it was a waste of a year but in retrospect feel that I probably learnt a lot in that year.

The next largest group - 39% - were those who had disciplinary problems, largely due to inexperience and lack of any preparation for even a limited teaching role:

- I would have to say that with complete lack of any formal training and the inexperience of my young age I had occasional discipline problems with recalcitrant students who were able to see through this ruse. I was encouraged whenever possible to resolve this myself with appropriate methodologies.
- The problems of class management, group discipline, the worry of trying to act in a positive manner to the various problems that occurred during the school day - coping with yard duty.
- Difficulty in keeping order - and lower classes [secondary level] not bothered whether they learnt or not. There didn't seem to be any brilliant students who were conscientious. Some were a <u>little</u> more respectful than others.
- Problem students, especially Grade 1's first month or so of attendance.

For some, such problems were compounded by being at a local school and having to teach pupils from their own families:

- The fact that my little brother and cousin were in Grade 1.
- 2nd Yrs were difficult - made worse by a cousin of mine who was in that grade. He wasn't much younger than I [a female] was & I lacked experience and maturity in handling such cases. Support from the HM was nil as he said it was a family matter so - sort it out!!
- Being given responsibility for older students and having some difficulty with Yr 3. My

young brother was in Grade 3 and he gave me [a female] a 'hard time'.

One simply wrote 'Yard duty' and one male told of just one incident in the yard:

- The older lads were in Grade 7 and both the buggers could out mark and out kick me when kicking the footy end to end at lunch and recess. On one occasion tempers got a bit frayed and we nearly had a fight. Fortunately the HT intervened otherwise I think they would have cleaned me up.

Other aspects of teaching attracted few responses. For one 'Lesson preparation' was a less satisfying part of the role, for another it was 'Teaching the Maths' and a third recalled that for him it was:

- The lack of confidence in initially coping with the subject (1st Yr Science) - preparation, questions etc.

Some found the nature of the staff and/or the attitudes of some of the members less than acceptable:

- The attitude of some of the older members of staff. [this was the male coming in from industry]
- The Staff - Old.
- Some stirring from certain teachers because I came from a fairly strict religious background (i.e. Baptist) and not used to worldly ways i.e. 'booze, sex, dancing'.

For others it was the Headmaster who caused some measure of dissatisfaction:

- I remember I was very scared of the HM, Mr... He was well known for his discipline and authority in the school yet I was still able to feel I could approach him.
- ... and a very unpleasant period regarding the Principal. [the Headmaster was suspended during the year]

At least one Headmaster was aware of where the junior teacher's main duty lay but the way he imposed it was less than satisfactory:

- The constant pressure from the HM who regarded me as no more than an irksome irritant who was no more than a Leaving student and a reluctant one at that.

With so many living at home in this period the pay was not such a problem as in the past. Only three respondents mentioned it here and two of them did so in very brief terms - i.e. 'Little pay', and 'Low salary'. One other expanded on the matter:

- The money - if my parents hadn't been able to help me I couldn't have coped financially.

The only other less satisfying aspect was loneliness and it received just two mentions:

- Missed the company of friends.
- Found C... lonely - boarded with an old lady – didn't really make a close girl friend. Went back to Orroroo most weekends. Had a boyfriend there too!

Unsatisfactory aspects

Most of the 65% of the respondents who found nothing unsatisfactory about being a junior teacher simply left the space blank but a few wrote 'None', 'Nothing' or 'Nil'. Others used this space to emphasise the satisfactory nature of their experience:

- I have good memories.
- I can't remember feeling that any time spent at H... was unsatisfactory - I enjoyed the experience greatly.
- None of the experience I had was unsatisfactory.
- Cannot remember any unsatisfactory aspect of the year.

At the other end of the scale were the two male respondents who had found nothing at all satisfying about the experience. The one who felt he had no status or role wrote 'A dreadful year' and the one who had satisfied entry requirements in the Supplementary examinations but who was too young for College described 'The whole lot' as unsatisfactory.

The attitude of other staff caused dissatisfaction for several others:

- Being left with the class so that the [woodwork] teacher could go off and do something for himself.
- Being treated by some, particularly the ancillary staff, as a lesser being. Not being seen by some as part of staff or part of the student body.
- Being ignored.
- Lack of direction from the HM - he was tied up in his own work and as long as his typing was done - all was well.

The male who believed that the attitude of his Headmaster in seeing him as an irritant and no more than a Leaving student was a less satisfying aspect of the year, merely wrote 'See above' in this section. For others the main concern was about teaching and related school tasks:

- The teaching. I am now friends with many (and related to two) ex-students. By any standards I was a hopeless teacher - but fortunately didn't know this then.
- We [there was one other junior teacher at the high school] only got to teach originally because we kicked up a fuss and then were given a text book, some children & left to it. I was given a Maths class - my worst subject.
- I disliked the menial tasks given to me and that I was used as cheap labour.

The respondent who had held a responsible job in industry for several years had a particular problem with the role he now had to accept:

- Not being in a position to have real input into the planning, conduct of proceedings or programming of subject materials - this view was tempered by my idealistic attitude towards my new occupation.

Only two mentioned discipline in this context and one of them was the respondent who was given a 'hard time' by her cousin:

- Not managing secondary students and older primary ones.

The other saw the problem in herself:

- I had a little problem with low self esteem which most likely made it a continual battle in keeping order.

One other respondent, while not mentioning discipline, did recall as unsatisfactory the fact that he saw himself as:

- Not old or mature enough.

There was just one mention here of 'The money' and one about unsatisfactory board. The latter was from the female respondent who had to board away in 1956 instead of being allowed to return to High School to do the Leaving again. She found both of these aspects unsatisfactory:

- Boarding in an old house - no modern facilities - trying to do Leaving by correspondence.

Difficulties faced

As in the previous two periods, at least 50% of these respondents could not recall encountering any real difficulties. Almost half of them simply left the space blank and generally the reason for this is clear enough from the way they had responded to the previous questions about what satisfied or dissatisfied them. The rest gave some kind of explanation for the lack of problems in their junior teacher experience. One summed up in very general terms by saying 'Guess I was very lucky here!!' but others were able to pin point one or more reasons for this state of affairs. Acceptance by the community was one reason and one respondent simply said just that. Others were able to provide some personal evidence for their acceptance:

- Do not recall any real problems. Without bragging - having been credibly successful in sport, I was accepted as part of the town and so no problems were encountered.
- None - I was highly motivated, enthusiastic and willing to initiate ideas.
- I remember that I did not take an 'up front' role in the town but kept low key and inconspicuous.

Some appeared to be in situations that made things easy for them. For one it was the nature of the town and people she met:

- C... was a small town so not many people to relate to! I was adopted by a couple in the store - very good to me.

For others it was the nature of the children, the way other staff treated them, or merely the school environment:

- I do not recall any difficulties. The children were great (even a young brother in Grade 2). The junior primary teacher was old, eccentric - but respected!

- I was never made to feel that I was only a 'make believe' teacher. I remember that I loved teaching the First Year class & always looked forward to those lessons more than I did to my Leaving studies!
- None - well accepted - friendly.
- No real difficulties - the students were really great - ditto staff.
- The Head gave me a clear run.
- As I had the full support of both the Head and his wife who was the Infant teacher, I didn't have any problems with the children even though some of the secondary students weren't much younger than I was.
- I believe that because of the way in which the positions (for 2 of us) were set up within the school and the community, there were never any problems.

The situation that made things particularly easy for a number was being located where they were well known:

- As I grew up in the neighbouring district & my mother lived there as a child, I didn't have many problems coping. The people had known me all my life. I was born there - I was accepted.
- I do not remember encountering any difficulties in relating to other staff members. However, most of them I had known over a 4 year period.
- I don't recall any difficulties in relating to the children. I had previously been a senior student at the school & was known to the students.
- I remember only positive support from the staff at the school and being part of the community was not an issue as I had lived at V... for 17 years. Students of Primary age were very impressionable and it is my guess that they were not able to distinguish between my appointment and other teaching staff members. In most situations I was able, with the support of the Head & other staff, to operate with the authority of a teacher.

One respondent who was placed in his own school mainly to pass more Leaving subjects also recalled that knowing most of the children was an advantage and added:

- And as I had no direct instructional and very little supervisory involvement with classes, my relationship with them was fine.

The other 50% of the respondents did recall difficulties and some also remembered how they had dealt with them. The bulk of these problems - some 47% of them - related to dealing with children and even as the system neared its end, questions raised at the Inquiry about the consequences of lack of training and lack of understanding of child psychology remained relevant. For a number of respondents the main problem lay in knowing how to deal with students close to their own age. Some merely noted the problem:

- Apart from the age problem I can't recall any.

- Too close to my age.
- I was appointed to a High School - some of the students were my age.

Others outlined the nature of the problem:

- Very difficult when walking into a class as one so young.
- I wasn't much older than some of the senior students and this caused some difficulties at times e.g. yard duty and when supervising examinations.

Some of those appointed to their home schools had particular problems:

- I taught at the same school [where I was] as a student prior.
- Was hard to cope well - home town.
- Being known to students 12 - 24 months my junior.
- I can't remember the children too well except that being in the same school that I had attended, the children had the edge on me from the beginning. Also my brother was in the same year as some of the students which didn't seem to help.
- Main difficulties were with my cousin, as explained, and other students in the senior school from my home town who saw me as something apart as I went to boarding school for my secondary education.
- Yr 6 & 7 students who had known me at high school gave me a hard time when I was left in charge.

For two at least it did not seem to be a major problem:

- Cannot recall any difficulties whatsoever - other than a little cheekiness from a couple of students who I had grown up with since infancy.
- One difficulty was having authority over 'children' not much younger than myself but the area was conducive to reasonably well behaved children - another was having my sister there as a student (but this was not too difficult).

One other explained how she overcame a problem in this area:

- I was known by most children but eventually I was respected by them as being a teacher. I think I was 'strict' and I was aware that I needed to prove that I was capable of teaching the class.

Only a few respondents recalled having problems with other staff. One was quite scathing about the whole experience:

- It was a typical city High School for the era. [1957] Absolutely no interpersonal skills. Teachers were pathetic. I was nearly put off teaching and nearly gave it away.

Two female respondents had unpleasant experiences with a staff member:

- One teacher made rude remarks about anything I said or did.
- I was asked to go on a religious camp to assist with the cooking. The teacher who ran the camp was a religious fanatic who spent time trying to make me commit myself to his

particular fundamental religious sect - I rang my parents who drove up to collect me.

One other female who indicated earlier that she had felt 'ignored' by the staff of a large primary school tended here to blame herself:

- Had no difficulty with the children. Felt shy and out of my depth with other teachers and did not relate to them much.

Few, too, recalled having problems relating to the townspeople. One male remembered a problem with a parent:

- I can recall no difficulties apart from a problem with a parent. Young son was having nightmares. I worked out that it was probably because I was rubbing his nose on the blackboard to get him to concentrate!

A female respondent who moved to a new district with her family recalled a problem:

- I coped with the school, but had trouble 'breaking in' on a new country town community.

A male recalled an incident that made him realise how he was regarded by the townspeople:

- I can recall a parent telling me, after a visit by the Headmaster (my father) to the classroom, 'We had the real Mr. G... today'

A female found that the townspeople did not understand her ambitions:

- Many townspeople thought I was crazy to want to be educated.

A number of respondents had problems with the role of junior teacher on account of a lack of definition about it:

- Because their was no program and no-one had responsibility for me there was little to do. No authority or direction.
- Neither a teacher nor a student - lost in the middle.
- The other teachers, I think, were good to me ... but I was a junior, - a bit in between.

One male recalled a particular difficulty:

- I was told at the commencement of the year that I was not to fraternize with the students. Definitely not permitted to mix with or take out any female students. I played sport with some on weekends and found it hard not to be permitted to talk with them at work.

One of the last male respondents to be placed in a one-teacher school wondered about the career value of the role:

- Perhaps I felt teaching Yr 1 & 11 most of the time was not preparing me to teach Yrs 7 -11 in Tech Studies - Woodwork/Metalwork.

The respondent from the U.S.A. recalled meeting a number of problems:

- I found my whole life in C... different - from the foods, driving, and the simple life I was used to - to the blowflies, dust, heat, dryness of the air. My dress was out of place as I had brought U.S. city clothes with me... My biggest adjustment was slowing down. My way of

life was fast paced and this re-adjustment was hard to escape. Meeting Aborigines was new and foreign to me.

The respondent who came in from industry also met a number of problems and he went on to explain how he overcame them:

- Difficulties 1) The students realized I was not a 'real' teacher.
  2) Some of the more established teachers in many of the subject areas felt I was an extra chore that the school could do without.

  Response I made a real effort to gain as much information as I could - person to Person - with other staff to show all that I was sincere in my desire to be a useful teacher.

QU.3 TREATMENT BY HEAD - HELP AND SUPPORT - DUTY - ASSESSMENT

As in most previous periods, practically all of these respondents could remember how they were treated by the head of the school and a majority - 61% - recalled that treatment as being good. What is significantly different about the final period however, is that most of the rest felt that they had been poorly treated. This is in sharp contrast to the recollections of respondents from 1940 to 1950 when only 10% felt that way, with a large number having mixed feelings about their treatment. Now the responses were far more clear cut with only a small number being undecided about this issue. There seems little doubt that the change in attitudes was connected with the new placement policy for junior teachers that came into operation early in the 1950s. As the concrete facts show, between 1955 and 1964, 82% of these respondents were in secondary schools. Almost two thirds of them were in high schools, a couple were in technical high schools and some 18% had access to secondary classes in area schools. It was from 1955 onwards that criticisms of Heads became much more frequent and most were from those who had been junior teachers in city and country high schools rather than from those in area schools. As has been seen in the past, Heads of high schools, and especially of metropolitan high schools, were less likely to be concerned about junior teachers as they could hand their supervision over to senior staff. In this period, too, as Jones pointed out, Heads were no longer expected to train junior teachers and as was seen in Chapter 9, instructions about training studies for junior teachers ceased to appear in the Gazettes after 1953. From then on, the emphasis was intended to be on ensuring that junior teachers satisfied matriculation requirements prior to entering the College. As has been seen, the majority of these respondents were studying but few mentioned this aspect of what Jones had noted as their 'main duty' in terms of how they were treated or dealt with. Again the focus was mainly on aspects of teaching and relationships within the schools.

Those treated poorly

There was only one case from 1951 to 1954 where a respondent had felt poorly treated. She was the postulant in a religious school where, after a change of Heads, things became better:

- Term 1 - no help. Amazing when I look back! Term 2 & 3 - detailed programmes given to me, the Head Teacher checked my daily lesson plans.

Only three of the recollections of poor treatment in the rest of the time came from primary schools. One of the last junior teachers in a one-teacher school recalled his experiences in 1955:

- I was a servant! Received no encouragement. It was my regular task on Fridays to take the total school [some 56 pupils] for PT while the Head did the weekend shopping!

A female respondent from 1961 recalled that the Head of the large metropolitan primary school 'mainly ignored' her and a male in a country primary school in the same year felt much the same:

- He set up the process of classroom observation and then had little more to do with me.

The recollections of those in high schools varied from a forthright 'None' about help to more detailed accounts of poor personal and professional treatment. Some felt ignored and neglected:

- He took no notice. Rarely spoke. Gave me no help at all. [city high school]
- He treated me with the same degree of knowing what was going on as he did anyone. John O'Brien describes his type in *Tangmalangaloo* – 'He seemed that he was here, but wasn't sure of that'. [country high school]
- The Head was an 'ODD BOD' as the Commercial teacher & I often laughed about. He knew why I was there and what he wanted but little more. I don't think he cared what I did ... He was the main reason the other JT left. The school could have run without him. [country high school]

Others felt that they were not being given a proper role or appropriate treatment:

- 1) As a peasant - a nuisance 2) No help or support. [city high school]
- As a personal slave. No help given. [city high school]
- I felt uncomfortable with the Head Master, as I felt he was unsure about my role in the school and often searched for 'little jobs' for me to do. I think he thought that having a JT on the staff was a nuisance. [country high school]
- The Head gave me the job of making sure every teacher had signed the time book every day. When I reminded him that he had omitted to sign it he curtly told me that my job was to remind every teacher, not him. [city high school]

One male recalled the extreme action taken by his country Head;

- As a result of 'dis-agreements' which had occurred the previous year when I was a Leaving Teaching Scholar, the Headmaster refused to ratify my appointment and accept me as a junior teacher. [he was then appointed to the local primary school]

Two recalled their role as being only that of a student:

- The Head was not supportive, very critical and continually berated me to study harder, or I would be a failure as a teacher. [country high school]
- As a student - and no help at all. [country high school]

The comments of several others help to explain what the main problem may have been in high schools, especially metropolitan ones:

- Because it was a very large [city high] school I had little contact with the Principal. (I can't even remember his name)
- I had little to do with the HM and therefore little or no help or support. However I did not find this a problem. [also a very large city high school]
- The Head had little to do with me - I was under the direction of a senior teacher who oversighted my work. [city high school]

One male respondent recalled how he used the size of two city high schools to avoid the attention of the Headmasters:

- I kept as far away as possible from the Head and Deputy.

Those unsure about their treatment

Two respondents - one from an infant school and the other from a city high school - could barely remember how the Head had treated them and others were rather vague about this aspect:

- O.K. as far as I remember.
- He treated me courteously and as a staff member as far as I can recall.

Two recall getting somewhat mixed treatment from the Head:

- Treated alright. Very little help. [country high school]
- The Head-Mistress on one hand expected very mature behaviour, and on the other did not allow very much responsibility. [city technical high school]

One other was well treated but was not happy about the help she received or the duties she had to perform:

- I felt personally well treated and valued. There was an expectation that the people (class teachers) with whom I worked would give me help with teaching. I was a 'reliever'. I did office work e.g. distributing books, writing cheques, school registers etc. [area school]

One female in a country primary school was able to contrast two Heads:

- The Head for the first 6 months was, I thought, a terrific man - supportive & educationally sound. He was suspended for alleged interference with girls (the girl who made this claim, made the same allegation against men and boys many times in the future - may have been a 'home' situation one thinks in retrospect). Head 2 - was alcoholic - spent his time in office & teaching.

Those treated well

Like the respondents who were not treated well, most of those in this third category were also located in secondary schools. Only a few recalled being treated well in metropolitan high schools but those in country high schools and area schools seemed much more fortunate in this regard as were also most of the small number in primary schools. A few wrote very brief responses such as 'Great', 'Excellent treatment' and 'Excellent - I was spoilt' but the rest were able to explain in more detail why they recalled being treated well. The majority rated helpfulness and/or supportiveness highly and some were content merely to note such attributes in their Head:

- Head Teacher and his wife treated me very well and. He gave me all the help he could. [one - teacher school]
- He was good, helpful. [technical high school]
- Head and Senior teachers were always very supportive and helpful. [technical high school]
- The Principal ... was very supportive and helpful in all aspects. One of the 'Old School' in the nicest sense of the word. [city high school]
- Basically gave directions in a supportive and understanding way. I was never asked to do anything outside my capability [country high school]
- He treated me very well and gave me any support I needed. He gave me the feeling that he was confident in me accomplishing any task he asked of me. [country high school]

Others recalled the personal attitude of the Head. For some of them encouragement was an important factor in feeling well treated:

- Very strong academic encouragement - Leaving Maths 2 which I passed that year gave me Matric status of Adelaide Uni enabling me to graduate later. Very good personal, social and humane support. Good for all-round. [one-teacher school]
- The H.T. was a very supportive person who encouraged me to continue teaching as a career. He didn't show me 'how to teach etc.' but built up my confidence by giving me more responsibility and allowing me to use my initiative. [area school]
- Supported the J.T. system. Always gave encouragement. [area school]
- He treated me well if a little reserved. He offered advice and encouragement. [city high school]

For some acceptance was important:

- Fatherly, caring, friendly. Included me as a member of staff. Gave me the feeling that I would be a fine teacher. [country primary school]
- I was treated as a full-time permanent teacher. Accepted into the staff room, listed as a teacher and was given every bit of help and guidance that could be offered. [city high school]
- Mr Alf H... was a great Headmaster for he always made me feel wanted. I must admit that

the sight of him coming along the wide verandahs ... always sent a bit of a shiver down my spine. I can clearly recall him offering me a lift to school and asking me questions about my family, which he knew from an older brother... Alf was a very widely respected HM amongst staff and community and I count myself lucky to have started under him. [country high school]

- He [her father] was genuinely interested in my progress and the way I was accepted by the staff. I don't believe I had any special favours because of the unique situation. (I was brought up in a teaching environment). [area school]

Others felt well treated on account of the training and introduction to teaching that they received:

- In the first instance he allowed me to work with him and showed me how he wanted things done. Then he allowed me to help and gave me constructive criticism. Later I was allowed to take the whole class by myself. [small country primary school]
- I was treated well, and in fact probably learnt more than I did when I finally got to College. He was a top bloke! [one-teacher school]
- Fantastic - let me 'do my own thing' (I was advised what to do by another Infant teacher from a nearby school) - programme, curriculum guides provided - helped me [one-teacher school]
- Interested and careful to show us how to do things. [country high school]
- H.T. or Senior staff member assigned to me gave a great deal of practical advice and moral support. The help came mainly in the form of advice relating to classroom management - talking to students at the right level - communication skills & general professional conduct. Jack P... one of my supervisors is still a good friend. [two city and one country high schools]
- Organized staff to have JT in classroom at all times. Checked lesson plans gave hints on teaching. [area school]
- I had a great deal of guidance & support & this enabled me to fit in with the staff quite well. I was expected to plan my lessons, especially in the junior school - These written plans were not often inspected but they did make me define my approach to lessons. [area school]
- Tom always treated me with respect and kindness though most went in fear of him. He gave me many handy hints about a whole range of areas related to teaching some of which still live in me today. The advice about discipline is one I will never forget. – 'The first one who puts a foot out of line, march him out the front, bend him over the desk and hit him with the 3 ft ruler. You won't have any trouble after that.' The psychology was right if not the technique. He also gave me time in school to study. [area school]
- I think it was his expectation of us to behave and act like teachers that made us feel like teachers. We were always kept busy and felt important. [area school]

Two respondents were particularly grateful for the way they were treated. One of them was the male from the U.S.A:

- The HM and Deputy gave me help with understanding how the school was run explaining the backgrounds of many children & staff. The Administration of the school helped me adjust not only to the school but allowed me to experiment with ways of teaching and various groups until I found comfort with the area of teaching I was to follow. [area school]

The other was the male who was accepted by the Head of the primary school when the high school Head had refused to have him as a junior teacher:

- I believe that I owe him my appreciation for accepting me as a member of his staff and for recognising and letting me use whatever talents I had at the time.

Several others also felt that working in a home school or with a Head they knew accounted for them being treated well:

- Very well - he had been my Principal as a Yr 7 student - he was very supportive. [country primary school]
- Excellent. He had been a past Head Master when I attended Q... High School. [country high school]
- I really admired his teaching ability as one of his students and the feeling was mutual (I believe). Hence he was always interested in my progress and checked regularly to see how I was getting on as well as offering professional advice. [country high school]
- Head was quiet, but treated me as one of the teachers - year before he had been my teacher (Maths). Occasionally visited my class and took over for a bit, which was good, because I would be hopeless trying to teach in front of him. [country high school]
- The Head treated me with respect and in a very professional manner although I had certainly not been a favourite English student of his. He delegated the senior Master to be my guardian. [country high school]
- Excellent - he taught me in Yr 10 and subsequently requested that I seek an appointment to C... Area School as a secondary teacher after I had completed 3 years of teacher training. It was all his idea. [area school]

Did Heads do their duty by the junior teachers and their classes?

In previous periods duty could be assessed in terms of how well the Head attended to the practical and theoretical aspects of training. This was no longer the case as emphasis changed from preparing for teaching to preparing for academic studies. As has been seen, this change of emphasis has not been reflected to any great extent in the responses so far and the same applies here. Respondents tended to measure duty in terms of personal treatment and professional assistance rather than in how

well the Head oversaw their academic progress.

Some 40% of respondents believed that the Head had done his/her duty by them and another 11% recalled that duty being delegated to a senior staff member. In view of the number of negative responses to the previous question, it is not surprising that 37% felt that duty had not been done while the rest had mixed feelings about it. Of those who believed that the duty expected of the Head had in fact been done a number were content to simply write 'Yes'. A couple left the space blank but it is obvious from their previous answers that the help and support that they had received constituted attention to duty on the part of the Head. Another simply recalled:

- Don't remember anything negative so presume all went well.

The rest were prepared to explain what they understood by duty being done. The few from one - teacher schools recalled aspects mentioned by respondents in this role in the past:

- His support was excellent - very helpful, positive and encouraging. Never once did I remember him putting me down.
- Yes I don't know how he could have done much more than he did. He was glad to have my help. I don't know that he would have had much idea about how to help junior teachers.
- We shared the same room - a shower curtain could have divided us but I do not really recall it being used. During the first term, I was given help to complete bookwork etc., then left to ask for advice when needed. I'm sure he had an ear tuned to my end of the room & I knew help was there.
- Was excellent - we were in the same room together so kept an eye on me for six months. New room added so I then had my own.

The situation in high, technical and area schools was very different. Several who were in high schools recall the Head delegating his duty towards them:

- Yes - he put me under the wings of a Senior Master who was my supervisor.
- The HM's action of delegating the JT position to the Senior Master thus relinquished him of this responsibility.
- The Head did arrange for me to be supported and assigned to the care of a senior teacher.
- A senior teacher carried out this function in a satisfactory way.
- The Head delegated supervision of me and other young trained teachers who had just been appointed to the school to his Senior Staff ... They certainly carried out their supervisory roles thoroughly.

The male respondent who had come into teaching from industry commented on both the standard of delegated supervision and the attitude of some Head Masters in the two city and one country high schools to which he was appointed:

- The head [senior?] teachers in the subject area (art) gave good support both in and out of the

classroom. This support was mainly in the form of personal advice based on their own experiences. In two of the three schools I was not well received by the Head Master (Principal) of the school - I think they felt that I did not add to the professional standing of their school - did not have the required abilities.

In a few large metropolitan high schools the Head did find time to involve himself with the junior teachers:

- Yes - he backed me all the time.
- The help and guidance could not have been better. I was a link with the students, [and] was a staff member. The HM was the one who allowed me time to study.
- In the circumstances could not have been better.

Two respondents in country high schools recalled similar involvement:

- Yes to the first part [duty]. He would involve us in staff meetings as well as individual meetings in his office to talk to us.
- Yes - always interested and gave help when asked for it.

One respondent in a Girls Technical High School felt that duty had been done through the type of ancillary duties given to her by the Head Mistress:

- I think I was far too young [16.1] to be expected to teach so therefore I guess I would support the type of duties I was given as being appropriate.

A respondent in a Boys Technical High School recalled that he had 'no complaints' about the Head and staff because they were 'always supportive'.

Responses from those in area schools tended to be rather more detailed:

- Tom wasn't liked in the District & I suspect by other staff yet he treated me well and I believe he did his duty to the classes and me. Many of my lessons were observed and I was given what had to be prepared. If I had a class on my own it was just 'babysitting' as the work was prepared and someone kept a friendly eye on the situation from time to time.
- I felt that by assigning me to a different class each week, then at the end of the week discussing progress and principles of teaching and our lesson notes with us, that he capably did his duty. We had a chance to develop as teachers throughout the week and then a session to 'round off the week'. It was good. Most satisfactory.
- He [his father] smoothed the way by making me aware of possible pitfalls ahead of time. This included possible difficulties with people, students or topics. He usually could provide ideas on how I might overcome the problem. However, he also made sure not to give cut and dried solutions but left me to work out a little on my own.
- Yes - I always had plenty to do (not like the 6 weeks teaching practice I had at Linden Park where I had 2 lessons for the duration!) I was treated as a responsible person.

Of the small group who were unsure about the Head having done his/her duty, several recalled being well treated in some respects but that there were additional things that might have assisted them even more:

- Yes - I felt he was a very fine man. Looking back now I feel I could have been encouraged to study and perhaps to have taken a longer training course and achieved some academic qualifications but academics don't always improve the teacher. [area school]
- He was supportive but [I] would have liked another teacher in attendance at the beginning. [technical high school]
- The Head was very supportive when I asked for help e.g. if I had trouble with discipline with older children. I didn't get any teacher training. I was thrown in at the 'deep end' to take the class after just observing. I was never given any discussion time on teaching. [infant school]
- He was really supportive. Professional development wasn't what it is now, and relating back, I could work out lots of ways of developing a junior teacher programme. But in those days personal & professional development was unheard of. [large country primary school]

Some others who had marked the treatment given by their Head as helpful and supportive to some degree in the previous question merely listed areas of possible neglect:

- Probably I was left alone too much - I probably should have had more supervision, observation. I didn't see a lot of him in the classroom. [area school]
- Often unsupervised which was probably against the Junior Teacher guidelines. [country primary school]
- Some minor advice was given about appropriate 'teacher' behaviour but little else. He did think I had too many 'tete-a-tetes' with my girl friend behind the shelter shed. [country high school]

One who had said earlier that her Head had treated her well and given her confidence was prepared to find an excuse for his neglect of her teaching:

- I don't remember the HM showing a great deal of interest in my teaching. He did visit the class on one or two occasions. I wonder though what he could have offered towards the teaching of Needlework! [country high school]

The two who have already been mentioned as having two quite different Heads both commented in this section. The one whose first Head had been suspended and whose second showed no interest in her work simply wrote 'Wow - what a learning experience.' The other went on to describe the change when a new Head arrived:

- Yes - after Term 1 I was privileged to work with a very professional teacher who worried that she was not an infant teacher, so developed a correspondence course for me. [the respondent in a private school]

Not surprisingly, practically all of the large group who recalled a distinct lack of duty on the part of the Head had already made a negative response to the question on how they had been treated. As has been seen most of those negative responses had come from respondents who had been junior teachers at country or city high schools. Respondents from country high schools recalled the particular types of neglect of duty they had suffered:

- No - he never did his duty to any teacher or class.
- No - he had no interest in me with respect to teacher training or development.
- I got all the support I needed from the classroom teachers. The Head was not one that the teachers had any real regard for. They tended to ignore him.
- The only time the Headmaster came into any of my classes was for other matters unrelated to me or my teaching. He was a Science teacher so Bookkeeping meant nothing to him. 2nd Yrs would probably have behaved better had he exercised his authority.
- No - little was done, no support, advice, or help given.

Those in metropolitan high schools had similar complaints of neglect:

- The Head did nothing by me. I was never included or no attempt was made to begin my teaching career development, At times I was 'set up' with difficult classes.
- No - expected to know how to do programmes etc.
- Some observation lessons could have been arranged. I could have been used as a support person with another person in the classroom.
- As I wasn't teaching I didn't get any useful advice except how to complete the office tasks expected of me.

One proffered the same excuse for such behaviour noted earlier about large high schools:

- Other than a welcome & farewell at staff meeting at both ends of the year no further contact was made with him. The size of the school may have had something to do with his lack of time to develop me.

Two others found themselves in equally unwelcome situations:

- The Head spoke to the Deputies and Seniors. In the chain of command I was spoken to by the Bursar (a real father figure). Everybody sat at the staffroom table in order of rank. Craft teachers and junior teachers sat nearest the door.
- He allocated tasks and placed me under the supervision of his Secretary - I would have preferred to work in the Art area as this was my area of interest.

The respondent who had earlier indicated that he kept as far away as possible from the Head and Deputy left the space blank as did several others whose earlier comments had indicated a lack of help and support from their Head. A respondent who came from a primary school had noted in the previous question that the Head had ignored her. Here she described why she saw this as a lack of duty towards her:

- No - he didn't bother to communicate with me or show an interest in what I was doing.

Two respondents gave answers that were difficult to understand. One male in a one-teacher school who had felt treated 'as a servant' explained the lack of duty towards him in these terms:

- No - my family background influenced the attitude.

He lived in a nearby large town but he did not explain why his family background should have been of any particular concern to the Head. The other was a male at a city high school who had merely written 'None' regarding help from the Head. As to the Head's duty, he wrote this intriguing response without any explanation:

- At times I believed I was responsible.

Help from other staff

The changed nature of the appointment of junior teachers is particularly noticeable in the answers to the question of whether any help was given by other staff. In the previous period 43% of respondents had been unable to answer this question, usually because they were in schools with only a Head Teacher. Now, with only a very small number in that situation, the majority of respondents could comment on how their colleagues supported them. Almost two-thirds recalled receiving some measure of help and support while the rest were almost equally divided between those who got very little or no help and those where no other staff were available.

Of those who recalled receiving no help at all, seven were from one-teacher schools. Two of them left the space blank, two others wrote 'Nil' and 'None' and the rest explained why:

- No other staff.
- No other staff except the Head's wife who came to teach senior sewing.

The last female respondent to serve in a one-teacher school recalled receiving some help from outside the school:

- No other staff but a teacher from Laura (the nearest large school) came and got me and 'taught' me [for] several nights.

The rest were at schools where some staff support could have been available. Several of them gave no explanation for not answering the question but the rest gave a variety of details. Some recalled a mixed reaction from their colleagues:

- The staff were generally very helpful and supportive apart from the vigorous stirrings of a couple of staff who were 'anti-religious'. [this respondent had noted earlier his own 'strong Baptist' background] [city high school]
- One other teacher, I felt, thought I was a bit of a nuisance - not being a teacher nor a student.

Only a feeling. [country high school]

- The teacher in whose care I was placed was very kind and helpful in supporting and advising me. The younger staff members were friendly and included me in staff discussions but some older teachers were a little disdainful towards me. [country high school]
- People were friendly, but treated me as an office worker.

Others recalled being well received but getting little or no help with teaching:

- Other staff encouraged me to help organize sport and social functions - which I enjoyed. I don't recall much help being given re actual teaching skills. [area school]
- Staff were friendly and included me in their social and professional activities but did not seem to give me much advice. [country high school]
- Not a lot of advice but I learnt from their discussions (mainly in the staffroom). [city high]

The rest had had a generally poor response from the staffs. Several were from country high schools:

- Very little help. Just told to copy out old programs.
- No direction, little help, I was just a supernumerary.

Others were from metropolitan high schools:

- I was not impressed with the way the class teacher I was 'attached' to conducted his classes. Maybe he worked the way he did because 'craft' teachers were paid less than their colleagues in a High School (and a bit more than primary teachers). I received little help from him.
- Very little. A couple were friendly but all were cynical and removed. They were a pretty hopeless bunch!

One respondent from Adelaide High School apparently had very little time in which he could be helped by other staff:

- Working in the library at all times when not in the classroom. [was studying 3 Leaving Honours subjects and teaching a Maths class]

Those who were not helped were asked to indicate what kind of assistance they would like to have had but only two of them did. One from a one-teacher school would have liked a wider experience:

- Personally I could have gained by observing other teachers in other schools and visiting other grades on a work experience.

The other was from a city high school;

- Staff could have used me and taken me into 'exemplary' lessons.

As has been seen, the bulk of these last junior teachers did feel helped in some way. One admitted to not remembering the details but her answer touched on the common themes of support and helpfulness:

- I don't remember but I know that I didn't feel abandoned or cast off. Every one was always very helpful.

As was to be expected, help for some of the respondents came from senior staff or from supervisors nominated by the Head:

- I believe I was fortunate to have so many experienced Seniors to influence and guide me... [he named them and their teaching areas]
- The Woodwork Senior and Maths Special Senior were a great support. I was 'watched' over by them in a caring way. At the Woodwork faculty meetings I was treated as a colleague.
- The Seniors, of course, set the syllabus and were periodically interested in how I was doing in relation to getting through programmes.
- The Commercial teacher was really my 'senior, mentor etc.' and she helped with ideas, methods, marking and discipline. She often came in at the beginning of a lesson to start them (2nd Yrs) off and warn about behaviour. She was also my teacher for a couple of subjects so I got extra help.
- The teacher in whose care I was placed was very kind and helpful in supporting and advising me.
- The teacher I worked with helped me a bit. She directed what I was to do and showed me her lesson notes.

Some recalled particular teachers or groups of teachers who had helped them:

- Commercial teacher was outstanding. A great person and later became a leading secondary school administrator. She was marvellous in that nothing was too much trouble. Science teacher was a gifted teacher - but vague. Loved children and teaching and gave me a feeling for what teachers <u>should</u> feel about teaching.
- The Home Science teacher gave me all the help I needed and I enjoyed working with her.
- Although I didn't often observe in the Infant Class, this teacher also was very supportive and 'looked after' me.
- I found the librarians in each school most helpful - I was constantly looking for info to help me with art ideas appropriate for the students and info to help me understand the process of teaching and departmental requirements.
- A couple of female teachers were occasionally personally interested in me [also a female] as I had periods of stress and emotion.
- A few of the younger teachers spent time or showed a genuine interest in what I was doing.

Others recalled wider help:

- Many of the staff gave me help, guidance and assistance. Some of these people I have been associated with in later teaching years and we remember the good working relationships that were developed in that year. I know they believed it was a successful year.

- Staff all very helpful and supportive e.g. in lesson preparation, ideas. There were no discipline problems and as I was such a 'keenie', I prepared very thoroughly.

The male respondent whose Head was carrying out his duty of ensuring that academic work was done and who had commented earlier that he was 'under constant pressure' from the Head to get on with his secondary studies recalled here how some of the staff had come to his aid:

- All staff were friendly and supportive and several actively and openly supported me when the Headmaster would ask me to leave the staffroom during lesson time as he felt that I should have been studying.

It is clear that the kind of help and support that respondents remembered was generally of a practical, professional and/or personal nature. Some valued highly the practical help and support that they had received:

- Staff gave help whenever requested - in the form of ideas, research books or simply being available.
- Very helpful when I worked alongside them in the classroom. Told me what I should do when I took their classes.
- Ideas for lessons - management of classes - technical skills - clerical requirements.
- Help in preparation and classroom management was excellent. I learnt more in that year than in the two years in College.
- Gave demonstration type lessons - set out expectations for lesson plans. Gave resources to use.
- All staff were helpful and regularly suggested strategies and methods which I used later in my teaching career.

Several combined the practical and personal nature of the help:

- Most times we could choose which subject we wanted to give our weekly lesson on. The teachers were supposed to check our lesson notes before hand to make suggestions or alterations if there be a need. They stayed in the room while we gave our lesson. They would discuss children's work and behaviour with us as any other colleagues. This would have helped us feel more as one of the staff, which we certainly did.
- Care, support, guidance. I observed some lessons, acted as a teacher aide. They usually explained what they were doing. I was included in all functions inside and outside the school.
- Staff helped with lesson preparation and by making me feel welcome.
- Staff all supportive. I sat in on some staff lessons - just to watch. This was useful. I felt part of it and learned.

Others recalled details of the personal help and support that they had been given:

- Treated as one of the staff.

- Friendship and anecdotal advice.
- Basically encouragement.
- General supportive comments & advice given most freely.
- The staff was very tolerant, patient and understanding towards me & freely gave assistance.
- The staff were extremely pleasant and did not take advantage of my situation.
- In the staffroom area, all staff were very friendly & went out of their way to make me feel comfortable.
- By inviting me into their classes to help with special activities and by treating me as an equal - they were great! I played footy with two of them and some had taught me not so long before so that helped.
- There was always excellent support from the other teachers. I believe they had trust in us as we had been Prefects, able in sports & studies & had been student leaders. Hence when we needed advice & help, it was freely given.
- The two Sisters on the staff gave me encouragement & I felt treated me as an equal. I really appreciated and responded to this.

One respondent from an area school raised the point that it was in the teachers' interests to be helpful to junior teachers:

- I think they were all pretty helpful. After all, I was helping them too, - probably similar to a Teacher's Aide of today.

Assessment of time in school

It would seem that in the final years of the system even less attention was given to formal, open and direct assessment of junior teachers than had been the case in previous periods. This is to be expected in view of the changed emphases in the role. 30% of these respondents answered the question with a direct 'No' and 21% added a rider, generally associated only with the visit of the Inspector, to their negative response. A further 21% recalled nothing about an assessment. Overall then, more than 70% of the last batch of respondents had no clear memory of being assessed or having any kind of report made on their work as junior teachers. Of the rest, only a very small number remembered any definite assessment being made or a report being written at the end of the year but others had vague recollections of something of the kind. A few thought that it was very likely that a report had been written and several recalled a program of continuous assessment throughout the year.

Of those who did remember being assessed one simply wrote 'A Report' but others went into rather more detail:

- The Principal wrote a report of my year which was forwarded to the Teachers College I

would be attending.

- No formal assessment but a report was written to the Education Department at the end of the year.
- Yes the senior Master & Principal observed my lessons during the year and wrote an assessment.
- Regular [assessment] on preparation, presentation, class control - sent to Teachers College.

Some were less certain about the details of their assessment:

- I can't recall but I think the HT gave a report to the Department - which he would have shown me. I did not get a copy of it.
- I do believe a report was written but I can't remember much about it.
- I think there was a written assessment - but do not know for sure.
- As I remember, the Head did give us some questions on the Principles of Teaching, but the details escape me after 30 odd years and I certainly don't have these sort of records, perhaps unfortunately.

Several others could not remember the details of any assessment but felt sure that it must have been done:

- I was not aware of any assessment of my performance although I am sure it was done.
- I can't recall any report being made available to me. I suppose one was written & sent to Flinders St.
- Don't recall - on reflection I presume the class teacher I was allocated to would have given some report.

Others recalled continuous assessment but either were not sure about formal reporting or made no mention of it:

- I had regular, formal & informal feedback sessions with the Head and other staff. I assume a formal Departmental report was made by the school. However, I do not remember participating in this or sighting or being given a copy.
- The assessment I was most aware of was the weekly meetings with the Head Art teacher to discuss person to person the real problems and achievements of the previous week. I found this to be a valuable ongoing assessment and review of my personal progress - what the Head did with the assessment information I am not sure - my main concern was gaining help from the meetings.
- Received positive feedback continuously.
- From memory there was frequent oral feedback.

Of the large number who simply wrote 'No' or 'None', only one queried the very idea of an assessment. This was the male who had been given nothing to do except pass Leaving Latin at a large metropolitan high school. To his 'No' he added:

- What could they assess?

Others added such vague statements as 'Not that I was aware of', 'Don't think so', 'I've no idea', or 'Don't recall any'. Only a couple were slightly more specific:

- I was not aware of any formal assessment.
- No ongoing assessment.
- I was not aware of any written assessment. The H.M. thanked me for what I had done and wished me well at the end of the year.

Then there just a few who recalled no report but added that they felt it might have been done in some way connected with the annual inspection:

- - I did not see any written assessments. However, the 'Inspectorial Visit' was good and his report was encouraging.
- No - I only recall an 'Inspectorial visit'. The fact that I wanted to be a Tech Studies teacher did not help contact with the [Primary] Inspector!
- None that I knew of - the Inspector visited the school so I suppose something was written (I didn't realise how 'important' he was until years later).
- Cannot remember any assessment being made. I did have some conversations with the [Secondary] Inspector when he visited once.

One male in a one-teacher school had a different type of 'assessment' by his Inspector:

- Not that I can remember. Mr ... was the D.I. and I can remember that he engineered it for me to travel home with him in his car on one occasion, and he put me through the 3rd degree trying to get the goods on Bob ..., the Head Teacher.

Some respondents remembered references from the Head as the only kind of assessment that they saw:

- Not that I recall - I was given an excellent reference to attend Teachers College.
- I don't believe so - I guess the only 'assessment' was a reference written by the Head.

One respondent recalled actions of the Head that suggested that he might be doing the groundwork for an assessment:

- I don't recall any official assessment. I know that the Headmaster visited a number of lessons that I gave but I do not know whether he wrote reports or not.

The respondent whose first Head had been suspended recalled having no reason to believe any assessment was likely:

- I think not. Principal at the end would not have been sober enough to know anything!

Others connected getting into College with the possibility of an assessment:

- None that I recall - other than formal approval to continue.
- I have no written assessment as in school. However, I was accepted at Wattle Park teachers College after passing one more Leaving subject & having completed the whole year as a JT.

Some recalled only the informal feedback that they received:

- No formal assessment. My only assessment was to make sure I was coping.
- No - informally teachers commented on teaching aspects.
- I had staff reports and comments which were all encouraging for me to pursue my career as a primary teacher.
- No - other than verbal appraisal from the Senior Master.

Finally there were those who seemed to feel that in any case junior teachers would have been unlikely to be told about reports:

- Not that I know of. It was the time of reports sent in and the reportee not told.
- Not that I know of. Kept dark from me which was probably just as well.

Self assessments

After having considered the way that they were treated, the help and support they had received and whether they recalled any official or formal assessment of their work, respondents were asked to assess their own level of success or failure in the role of junior teacher.

TABLE 14.5 **Respondents' Assessment of Levels of Success**

	1951-1954	1955-1959	1960-1964	Total	%
Very Successful	4	5	13	22	35%
Successful (Qualified)	-	2	1	3	5%
Moderately Successful	5	5	12	22	35%
Failure	-	-	1	1	2%
Other Response	1	6	7	14	23%
Totals	10	18	34	62	100%

As with previous periods, the categories were inadequate for the small number who were unable to accept that they had been 'very' successful and these respondents simply qualified their assessment by crossing out that word. Others preferred to make a statement rather than tick one of the categories. Taking into account the three categories of successful, some 75% of all respondents recalled having achieved something worthwhile as a junior teacher. The majority of those who preferred to make a statement in the 'Other Response' box also found at least something valuable about the experience. This brought the overall proportion of respondents from 1951 to 1964 who felt some success very close to the 90% who felt the same way during the 1940s.

Again a large number of respondents took advantage of the space provided to explain why they had ticked a particular category. Again, too, there tended to be some repetition of comments made in earlier sections but the importance of this section is that it gave free rein to the respondents to

evaluate themselves in the light of whatever criteria they considered significant. These evaluations make it possible to identify the factors which made for high, moderate or low estimates of success. In view of what has gone before, it is not surprising that these concern professional and personal development rather than the academic success which Jones rated as such a major factor in the role of junior teachers ion this period.

The very successful

Some of those who considered themselves as very successful had received positive feedback from superiors, colleagues, the students or the parents:

- A fine report from the Head Teacher.
- I felt that I had been a very successful JT. I had successful lessons and was told so. I seem to remember some sort of glowing report Mr Charlesworth wrote of me at the end of the year which highly recommended me and said things like he was sure I had a good grounding to be a highly successful teacher. The vibes were good all the way.
- All the staff gave me loads of praise, this in turn led to greater confidence within myself - I just felt good about teaching.
- Because the staff accepted us (there were 3 of us JTs)... so well, I did not lack self esteem then - that came later
- It was a good year. As with any teacher leaving at the end of the year (transfer) I was farewelled in the same manner and I recall others thanking me for the year and wishing me well, and looking back I believed what they were saying.
- Teachers treated me as a colleague and I could see the children's reaction to me as positive. I could work with any class in the [primary] school.
- Staff were supportive and treated me as a colleague (so they should considering my responsibilities!) I was also privy to the drama of Head No.1 [suspended] including confidential stuff from kids as well as staff.
- Feedback from parents of the district.
- The other Sisters [at the private school] were very supportive and told me I did well. Parents seemed pleased with my work. Children seemed to make good progress.
- Because of the response received from staff, students and parents.

Others came to the conclusion from the results of their teaching:

- I felt I wouldn't have been given the responsibilities etc. if I hadn't been successful. The infant section of my work was particularly rewarding as the teacher in charge was trained for older children and didn't enjoy the younger charges - hence I was given a lot of encouragement by my ability to deal with the age group.

- I actually felt successful. I'd had lots of responsibility and success with student learning. Kids treated me like a 'real' teacher.
- A most rewarding year. Despite my tender young age and teaching students only 3 or 4 years my junior, I was able to retain the degree of aloofness to 'survive'.
- I felt that I had been very successful because the year before when I was in Leaving the junior teacher had a terrible time controlling her students in music lessons. I didn't have the same problems she had encountered. I gauged my success in practical terms - all my students completed sewing a summer dress for themselves without any major disasters.
- I feel that the 12 months of experience helped considerably as I achieved very good results with prac teaching when I went to Teachers College.

Some had a feeling of having done well for a variety of reasons:

- I felt very successful. In hindsight I was probably 'brash' & 'naïve' but I never once felt a failure.
- I learnt much about school functions, the role of a teacher, policy etc.
- Through encouragement of staff. My own opinion. In my confidence, knowledge and background - I felt the students responded well to my personality, knowledge and maturity.
- I felt very successful. I knew I'd made the right career choice. It gave me status as a person. I didn't go from high school student to College student - but had a chance to be a 'teacher' in between.
- I was highly motivated to do well. Feedback about the work I did - both teaching & 'support-type' work received very favourable feedback. I enjoyed the positive way my third year technical drawing class responded to my teaching. The period as JT convinced me that teaching was the career for me.
- I thoroughly enjoyed 1964 and still consider the time very well spent. The exposure to 'real' students enhanced my confidence immeasurably and I was able to develop my teaching style and establish rapport with students which was to be of great benefit when undertaking formal training. I think the time was of enormous benefit as an 'ice-breaker' into the teaching profession and is partly the reason that I was comfortable in front of a class from the start of my career. It was also true that I was able to improve my Leaving grades during this time. However, I have always considered that as a secondary outcome.

One of the three respondents who qualified their success by crossing out 'very' was the older male who had come into teaching from industry. He explained himself by drawing a distinction between subject knowledge and teaching ability:

- Somewhere in between very & moderately. I felt very successful in the command I had over my subject material (I liked Art, I enjoyed doing it and talking about it). I felt moderately

successful in my ability to convey that knowledge and enthusiasm to young students. I came to this conclusion at the end of my teaching year when I didn't have mass failures - gained solid student attainment levels and was encouraged by my colleagues to enter College and make a sound career of Art teaching.

The other two had similar reasons to some of those who had considered themselves very successful but it is clear enough why they felt the need to qualify their comment:

- Had many positive experiences - learning a great deal from these which helped me improve in managing children. Staff were positive towards me.
- Successful - the 'kids' gave me support & I have met some of them later in life who said they certainly weren't disadvantaged in the subject in First Year.

The moderately successful

As was found in previous sections, those who felt moderately successful generally put forward similar reasons to those who believed that they had been very successful. Here, too, the responses were generally couched in more temperate language than that used by the very successful and most came to the conclusion as a result of how they saw themselves rather than being told about it. Of the very few who felt some kind of response from their colleagues, only two referred to anything direct. One recalled a positive aspect:

- By the feedback from staff and Head.

The other recalled only the lack of negative feedback:

- I don't remember being given the impression that I was a failure by staff or children...Because I wasn't treated as a failure I must have been reasonably successful. I think I was anyway.

Another recalled more of an impression:

- Simply survival, and everyone around seemed to be satisfied with the way the year went.

Two others seemed to only realise what their colleagues and students thought of them quite late in the year:

- When the last day of Third Term arrived, I felt sad about leaving the school. The students made a presentation to me at the Speech Night in the last week and I can clearly remember being overwhelmed by this. I really felt part of the Staff and the school, of being accepted.
- Before the end of the year I felt I had been accepted by most teachers and students for the role in which I was employed.

Far more based their success on the results of their teaching and it is clear from some why they felt only moderately successful:

- I felt I had been only moderately successful - taught kids to read and write and maths etc. (probably would have learnt without me. Don't think I would have been 'missed' next year)

- I believe that I handled the classes reasonably well - maybe the kids saw me in a different light as I was not much older than they were. (I have forgotten a lot of what happened back then - 30 odd years ago).
- Nothing went diabolically wrong. I was accepted into training course.
- I learnt a great deal by rubbing shoulders with experienced teachers and also by being close to senior students. I was able to straddle the boundaries and modify my attitudes and techniques according to the responses from both areas. I was not 'very successful' as I was not putting my energies into one special area. I was still sorting out my own ideas.

Others simply felt good about what they had achieved:

- I think it was mainly because I could control the students and they did what I told them.
- I was very happy with myself and my kids' achievements.
- I felt very positive about my efforts. I liked the kids and I think they liked me. We enjoyed being together and it was fun.
- I was able to assist teachers and felt that I 'fitted' in with the role with respect to teachers and students.
- I had enjoyed the time and had a great deal of personal growth which I needed to leave the small town to live alone in Adelaide. I was keen to go to Teachers College so the year had been useful motivation.
- I felt I learnt a lot about teaching techniques, school discipline etc. and I also matured a lot which helped me when I went to the Wattle Park Teachers College in the following year.
- Given that I left school in the December of one year as a student and returned to the same school in February the following year as a teacher, I could have been easily discouraged from becoming a trained teacher. This did not happen.

One respondent recalled both a positive and negative aspect of the experience:

- In so far as teaching Bookkeeping, as I was required to do, I felt as if I had achieved my goal. I was comfortable with the class and they were able to proceed to 2nd Year. I usually had a feeling of satisfaction after a class. I quite enjoyed my office duties and had a reasonable working relationship with the Head Master. I found it quite hard to concentrate on my own studies, which suffered. I guess that the out of school social life along with Junior Teacher duties was a contributing factor, along with my own immaturity.

For one respondent who had qualified for the "D" course and who was old enough to enter the Teachers College, the opportunity to be a junior teacher enabled him to use part of the year to broaden his experience in another way:

- In what (limited) objectives I had. In essence the year was a deferral of tertiary studies whilst I went overseas with family. Of course <u>that</u> was a wonderful and enlightening experience.

The failure

As can be seen from the table, only one respondent felt a failure. This was a female who resigned as she was about to begin her College course. She explained it thus:

- When I left ATC [shortly after beginning there] I felt this anyway. I think my childhood had much to do with the outcome. As a junior teacher I didn't feel I had helped too many students to learn much at all and the taste of teaching probably didn't give me much confidence to continue. From the more physical, practical person I was (and still am) the style was possibly not for me.

Other responses

Two respondents queried the very idea of success or failure in the system. One of them was the male who was given nothing else to do in a city high school apart from studying Leaving Latin and who had already questioned how any assessment could possibly have been made within the school:

- No role statement! What did a Junior Teacher do??? So how could you be a success or fail? I didn't feel either.

The other was the male in a city high school whose duties were largely in the library:

- Success didn't enter into it. It was very much work experience and you either felt that you would be able to take on teaching or you didn't.

One other male who was given little to do in a country high school recalled:

- Disappointed. Felt year was a waste of time.

A female who was given no teaching experience in a city high school recalled one advantage:

- I saw myself as a student who had worked part-time doing office work for £3-0-0 a week. And, as having some special position as I got driven home by the [male] P.E. teacher!!

Others saw it as just a fill-in period, even though they got some benefits out of it:

- I thought I was moderately successful, but I have no idea what <u>in</u>. It was just a way of passing a year before entering College.
- I think I felt reasonably happy about my experience as a JT. I learnt a lot although I think I would have been just as well off if I could have begun my course a year earlier as I had planned.

A few had not considered the matter:

- Don't really know. I think I would have thought I had done a reasonable job. I look back on it as a reasonably happy year even though I was conned into it.
- On reflection I doubt whether I thought about it much. I was always busy but received so much positive feedback that I was willing to work my butt off for the people around me.

There were two who could well have ticked one of the 'successful' categories:

- I felt I had an enjoyable year and had gained good insight into school administration and organization as well as developing skills in the community with adults.
- I enjoyed the two years and found them greatly enhancing when I commenced College. Gave me an edge.

Qu.4 AT THE TEACHERS COLLEGE - ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES

Choice of College course

Following the assessment of their time as junior teachers, respondents were asked to consider other aspects that could indicate success or failure. The first of these was whether they entered the course of their choice. As was seen in the concrete data, all but three of the 27 respondents from 1951 - 1959 entered the Adelaide Teachers College and they all claimed to have gained access to the course of their choice. Of the 34 from the 1960s, 32 entered the College but only 27 of them were satisfied with the choice of course they were given. Two were influenced in this matter by their experience as junior teachers. One apparently managed to change before entering the "B" course:

- No - I changed from Infant to Primary because I found I enjoyed working with primary age children in my junior teacher year.

The other one had to wait for a year before getting the course she really wanted:

- Initially yes - but having spent a year at a High School, I wanted to change to a secondary course. The opportunity came up, so I took it (B then Hg (Home Economics) for one year. This meant I then had to study while teaching to get basic qualifications.

As already noted in the concrete data, several others were apparently less fortunate:

- No - I wanted to teach secondary but was offered a "B" course with the option of a change-over after two years. [he did not say whether this eventuated]
- I missed a Leaving subject so was put into the Ax course [one year] instead of the B or C.

The response of one female is difficult to understand because she wanted to be a primary teacher and was put into the "B" course which did allow for some University work. However, she recalled the situation differently:

- No - but some of this was because I was naive and had no close adult to advise me. I wanted to do some University subjects but accepted the counselling without questioning. (I still want that Uni degree that has eluded me)

A helpful experience?

The second part of this question required respondents to reflect on whether the time had helped them

in any way. The results were very similar to the previous period with only some 13% believing that they had not been helped at all. Most of these respondents either left the space blank or wrote 'No' without any explanation. In most cases this was probably because they had already indicated clearly enough in earlier sections how they felt the system had let them down. A couple used the space to re-emphasise the wrongs of the system:

- No - waste of time! [this male had been given little to do in a country high school after passing the subjects he needed at the Supplementary examination]
- Not really. Could and should have been used more beneficially. [this candidate for a Boys Craft course had been placed in a one-teacher school]

One male respondent apparently did not get a very good idea of what training at the College was likely to involve:

- Not really. Was not impressed with the work load of the College. I quit after 6 months.

A few others were not sure about this aspect. One simply wrote 'Unsure' but others went into some detail:

- Probably a wasted year - except that I gained a pass in English. General experience was useful later.
- Possibly - at least I had faced a class and we were thrown in at the deep end. At least I survived Mr. G... in my first prac and that was no mean feat in those days.

Most of those who recalled being helped by the experience linked it in some way to professional aspects. Only a few saw the advantage of the year having been in the opportunity to better equip themselves academically:

- Yes I had completed some of the work whole Junior Teaching e.g. Botany (this saved me a lot of 'aggravation'), Perspective Drawing & Orthographic Drawing.
- Yes - I had studied Human Biology & Dressmaking both of which had not been available as subjects at ... [her former high school]

Indeed one other appreciated the freedom from study:

- Background to teaching without the pressure of school time study.

Almost 50% of the rest saw the advantages of the experience in terms of personal growth and development of understandings about schools and teaching. For some it was a matter of gaining in confidence:

- Gave me confidence.
- I was confident I could handle a class successfully especially after some formal training.
- Yes - I was confident in talking to teachers, and facing a classroom of children.
- Yes - I had a context in which to refer when we began teacher training. I was very confident in the classroom.

Others appreciated the opportunity to mature in their outlook:

- I had become a more mature person in that year and subsequently better able to cope with leaving home and studying in Adelaide.
- Yes definitely - re maturity, hints from teachers how to make the most of Teachers College.

A number recalled the advantages of an insight into schools and teaching and while few actually linked this with confidence it is very clear that it must have helped them in this regard:

- I was still inexperienced and a country boy who had spent no time in Adelaide and so I feel it was a great help - at least I had some background in teaching and some extra confidence.
- Yes - I understood the classroom working and every day routines.
- It helped a great deal in that it gave a good solid realistic overview of what teaching was all about. I entered Teachers College really knowing to a certain degree that I was ready to start the process of gaining an academic career.
- Yes - I had gained a good insight into the school administration and organization as well as developing skills in communicating with adults.
- Gave an insight into the workings and politics of schools you wouldn't have been privy to as a student.
- Yes - more aware of the non student side of teaching.
- Yes - I had a more experienced background to draw from and already knew I liked teaching before College started.

The next largest group - some 26% - felt especially advantaged when they had to face up to practical teaching in the Demonstration Schools. A few compared themselves with those without any such experience. This aspect is dealt with separately in a later part of the question but comments here add significantly to the overall view of the advantages of having been a junior teacher:

- Yes - when it came to practical teaching in the Dem schools I was quite confident and better than most students.
- In comparing myself with others in my Group at College I always felt I was more at ease in front of a class, particularly during early Prac Teaching.

Most others tended to take a broader view of the practical advantages of having been a junior teacher. There were those who felt confident because of it:

- I had no hang-ups with Prac Teaching - the experiences as JT gave me confidence.
- Yes I always felt very confident and more mature - especially during prac teaching.
- I felt competent and confident when I went into the demonstration schools, so dealing with these lessons and the age groups of children didn't present any hassles.
- I had confidence in front of a class and immediately felt at ease, as I was used to 30 pairs of eyes looking at me.
- Confidence in 'Prac Teaching' terms - some students hadn't been near junior primary

children for 16 years.

For one respondent however, the advantages of junior teaching proved to be of little help in the face of the reality of prac teaching:

- For certain - However, when I went out Prac Teaching, I found myself as nervous as the rest of my College colleagues.

Another found a very different type of advantage:

- Yes - it made Demonstration Schools and Wednesday morning prac teaching sessions very artificial.

A small number found the main advantage in the understanding they now had of the theory of teaching:

- At ATC, I found many lecturers were telling me in theory what I had learnt in practice, particularly re behaviour.
- The practical experiences I had gave me understanding of theory in such areas as Principles and Psychology. I had experienced some continuity with children and had had some understanding of Child Psychology.
- Very much so, particularly in the subject "Principles & Practice of Teaching".

Others recognised the motivational advantage of the experience:

- Gave confidence, really made me feel as though I wanted to be a classroom teacher.
- My motivation to succeed. The practical facts I sought to study often gave it purpose.
- I was certainly still enthusiastic about attending Teachers College.

Several recalled special advantages from the experience. One was the respondent from the U.S.A.:

- Yes - maturity, knowledge and a better understanding of Australian children in a rural background.

The male noted earlier as seriously considering a banking rather than a teaching career was placed in an area school where he became interested in a specialised curriculum area:

- It introduced me to the hitherto unknown field of Agriculture which became my vocation in teaching. It gave me the ability to assess ideas by their effect on the whole school community. I was not blinkered by being attached to any one group or faculty.

Even the female who resigned shortly after College began admitted to some advantage:

- Yes - as a person, some experience had been obtained, but I resigned didn't I?

The male who resigned left the whole of this question blank.

Disadvantaged by the experience?

In view of the number of very positive answers to the previous question, it is not surprising that

some 60% of the respondents either left this space blank or simply wrote such things as 'No', 'I don't think so', 'Not in any way I remember', or 'No disadvantage'. A few others used the opportunity to further emphasise the advantages they had found in being a junior teacher:

- None. I think it was a wonderful system for someone who <u>really</u> wanted to teach (not just seeing it as a job).
- None really. I would have been too immature to commence tertiary study had I been permitted to do so at the end of school.
- Most of the garbage fed to me during this year [at Teachers College] was never used. I learnt more in my junior teacher days.

The female who resigned, as she was about to begin College, took another opportunity to acknowledge some advantage in what had otherwise not been a very useful experience:

- Hard to say because I resigned. Guess it helped me make up my mind. Transition period could have helped, being a little older before entering T.C.

Some added a proviso to their assertion that they had not been disadvantaged. One felt that perhaps he should have had some other kind of experience:

- Maybe - sometimes I feel now that I should have gone out into the workforce instead of staying in the 'system'. I have never really got out of the E.D. System.

Others regretted losing opportunities for further study:

- No - Just no Leaving Honours.
- No disadvantage except perhaps Leaving Honours would have strengthened my academic background.
- No - although I could have studied Leaving more 'thoroughly'.

One male saw a measure of disadvantage in the system itself:

- I don't feel that I was disadvantaged apart from the feeling that I had been used as cheap labour.

Overall then, some 76% of the respondents believed that they had been not been disadvantaged at all, or at least not to any great degree. However, the rest could recall some distinct disadvantage. For a few this concerned their academic status. This is somewhat ironic in view of the official expectation of what a junior teacher's main duty should be. Nevertheless, some felt that being a junior teacher had caused them to have missed out on academic opportunities:

- I think I should have come to Adelaide and done Leaving Honours instead.
- Perhaps I was a bit out of the 'study habit' and had forgotten some of my Leaving Honours Maths, Physics and Chem. [he had been overseas for part of the year too]
- Break in full time study.
- Had I done the Art and Botany subjects and maybe one or two others, the study programme at College could have been less demanding.

Even the two males who had been awarded junior teacherships specifically for the purpose of improving their academic standing believed that, overall, they had been seriously disadvantaged. The one in a country school simply wrote 'A wasted year'. The one sent to the city to study Latin felt he had 'lost a year' and went on:

- In retrospect re changes in Matriculation pre-requisites (i.e. no second language) it was an absolute waste.

Other respondents felt that their experience in schools had disadvantaged them in terms of their approach to certain aspects of the training system:

- The study at College did not seem to relate to my previous experiences. [he was the one who 'quit' after six months at the College]
- My teaching experience made me somewhat intolerant towards certain aspects of College level theoretical bull-shit to the degree that one of my college reports labelled me as an aggressive & unco-operative student.
- I may have been too 'cocky' as I recall failing a subject in my first year.
- Yes – in terms of the very conventional, traditional methodology…

One female recalled a particular disadvantage because of the junior teacher year:

- I may have stayed on for two years at Teachers College if my parents hadn't already supported me as a junior teacher. [she turned down an offer of an extension of her course]

Practical/academic comparisons

This question required the respondents to consider the advantages and disadvantages of having been a junior teacher in terms of practical teaching and academic progress compared with those who had come to the Teachers College direct from school. With so few junior teachers amongst so many direct entrants in these last few years it is somewhat surprising that a large number - some 60% overall - were able to make any such comparisons on these two aspects.

Practical aspects

Respondents firstly had to consider a comparison regarding the practical teaching required of student teachers. Like most of those from previous periods the majority felt advantaged in this respect. A small number of them were content to make such brief statements as 'Better than average', 'Miles in front', 'Advanced', 'Had an advantage' or 'Positive advantage'. Others gave rather more detail:

- I think I found it easier than most.
- Much more at ease in the classroom.
- Others appeared 'green' in prac teaching.

A larger number were able to explain what advantage the junior teacher experience had given them.

For some it was a matter of personal growth:

- More confident than those who had not been JTs.
- More confident in the classroom and in ourselves.
- Better - had some experience where others had none.
- We were more realistic, perhaps wiser and mature.
- More experienced - better able to cope, to apply oneself to the situation.

Others were prepared to go into details of what they saw as the major practical advantages a junior teacher had over direct entrants:

- The benefits of having had some limited experience in the JT year were an obvious advantage in handling our first attempts at practice teaching.
- Apart from self-confidence, I had knowledge of lesson preparation styles, had some experience in the administration of classrooms and had participated in staff meetings and the politics of a school.
- The experience meant that I was able to relax in practical teaching assignments, as I knew what to expect and how to deal with it.
- Definite advantage - I had learned the art of standing in front of children and imparting knowledge.
- I had had some practical experience and remember going to my first practical teaching without fear of what was going to happen. Some others in my group did fear this experience.
- I knew I 'rang rings' around those who had not had the junior teacher experience that I had had. They were more nervous than I was when it came to taking lessons, especially if you happened to 'land' a Grade V11 class with big boys in it. Often they had to have chats with our group lecturer about their prac teaching and how to control a class etc, but we didn't need to, it seemed.

Two respondents were able to refer to the outcomes of their practical teaching:

- We all achieved high results for our practical teaching. The experience certainly had helped us in this direction.
- I used to enjoy practical teaching - and invariably had good teaching reports.

The male who had come in from industry recalled the particular benefit of his time as a junior teacher in several high schools:

- I remained a constant failure at primary prac teaching. I didn't relate well to very young children. At secondary level we had a head-start over the school leavers as we did not have that initial feeling of inadequacy. For us it was a most enjoyable experience.

There were some, of course, who believed that any benefit was slight while others saw it as transitory:

- Slight but negligible advantage but not really sure.

- Started off with an advantage, being more confident and able, but this evened out in the second year of Teachers College.

Some took the opportunity to contrast the reality of junior teaching with the practical teaching procedures of the College:

- I benefited more from my year as a junior teacher than I ever could have in the Prac Teaching situation, where children were only too aware of your reasons for being in their classroom. It seemed to be a false situation for many students.

Of the rest, some did not recall noticing any difference or of even making any such comparison. A few simply wrote 'No difference' or 'No advantage' but others explained why they felt that way. Some did not recall making comparisons:

- I made few, if any comparisons.
- No difference really. I didn't think about comparisons in that way at all.

Others were just not aware of the backgrounds of their fellow student teachers:

- I really didn't notice that we were not all straight from school.
- I can't answer the question. No one I knew had been a junior teacher. As I believe teachers are 'born not made' Junior Teaching would perhaps only accelerate the practical learning side.
- I don't think I knew any other JTs, so there wasn't a 'group' feeling - nor did I compare myself then - but now I think it helped my practical teaching as I always got very good grades.

The male respondent who had regarded his year in a country high school as a 'waste of time' described it as 'of no value' as regards practical teaching and went on to comment generally:

- I didn't know anyone else who had been a J.T. & I have never met anyone since or talked about that year.

A couple left the space blank, one wrote 'No idea' and one other felt that both groups were 'On a par'. One other was surprised to find little difference and added an interesting comment on the effect the Demonstration School had on any personal gain he might have had from being a junior teacher:

- Very little difference - amazingly! Being under heavy Master of Method & Dem Assistant scrutiny knocked the ego out of me.

The female who became a T.U.A. instead of going to the College recalled no disadvantage here:

- I felt I had so much practical example in my training [two years as a J.T.] which was individualized to my particular needs that I did not feel disadvantaged.

Academic aspects

Only about 10% of the respondents felt unable to comment on whether or not they had felt advantaged or disadvantaged academically through being a junior teacher. A few left the space blank

but others were able to say why they felt no comparison was possible. The reasons were very similar to those given about practical comparisons. Most simply did not know who else had been junior teachers:

- Could not compare. I did not know who were junior teachers or who had come straight to College.

Others could not remember making comparisons of this kind or even if such comparisons could be valid:

- I made few if any comparisons.
- Different personal capabilities etc. make this hard to answer.

Some 36% of the rest believed that there had been little or no difference between the two groups. More than half of them wrote 'No difference' without explaining why they felt that way. A few others gave brief answers such as 'No advantage' or 'About the same', 'Same as others I think. No advantage or disadvantage' while some expanded to varying degrees:

- I don't think it had any bearing on my academic progress.
- I don't think my junior teacher year affected this in any way.
- Academic progress was about the same. We all had our strengths and weaknesses. The mature age students - some of them were 26/27 - in our group [Domestic Science] coped with academic work best and I learnt a lot from them by chatting in the cafeteria after lectures.

Several qualified their comments to some degree:

- No real advantage except that we had had a year in the 'real world' which was a motivating factor.
- Perhaps I had more incentive to achieve because I knew what lay ahead.
- No big deal! Actually, having to return to studying again was a bit of a downer. I would have preferred to skip the year ["A" course] entirely. However the Phys Ed skills learnt at College proved to be most beneficial during my teaching years.

The rest felt able to assess the level of advantage or disadvantage that they had encountered. In this period those who recalled being academically advantaged by the experience were in the majority and most were able to explain why. For some it was a matter of personal growth:

- My academic progress was enhanced by the extra year of maturity and experience.
- My ability to settle down and take study seriously was not a problem for me in my first year at College. I seemed to be clear in my mind what I wanted to do.
- I had set myself a career path - I had experience in both industry & the schools - I could see the advantages of a College education. I could better myself (my father was a foot-loose labourer). I was not merely continuing a school - College - school sequence. I could see the difficulties that needed to be addressed. My attainment level at College was extremely high.

- Yes - I had had a year of TC in the U.S. I had to go back and re-do many of my first year learnings. The approach was different so in a way I coped reasonably well & passed the subjects I had to do. My age was 21 and I felt ready for College. Most of the other students were younger and seemed immature and less ready to settle down to begin careers as such.

Others found that the experience had helped them to better understand professional subjects in particular:

- Some subjects i.e. Principles, Ed Psych & PE I found easy as their ideas were now re-inforced theoretically. Other subjects I think would have been on a par with school leavers.
- Well placed. Progress depended on personal effort. Junior Teaching assisted in the Principles of Teaching course.
- Theories were made meaningful through the practical experiences of junior teaching. Top distinction in Principles 2. I am sure this was due to my practical experiences.

The rest recalled being disadvantaged to some extent. A few simply made a statement without explaining it. In some cases the reason was clear enough from what had been said before. For example, the respondent who had been given no responsibilities in a country high school simply repeated the 'No value' he had made with regard to the practical aspects. The one who had earlier noted a general disadvantage in being placed in a one-teacher school [in 1953] where he could not do the Art & Botany subjects that would have made his time at College easier went into greater detail:

- Behind the 8 ball because of the huge study commitment - 15 units of Art School of 3 hours each per week plus full days of Metalwork and Woodwork didn't give much time for professional subjects.

The one who 'quit' after six months at College because the study did not seem to relate to his previous teaching experience explained his problem further in this section:

- Found it difficult to keep up with the work load.

The majority however, felt disadvantaged due to the lack of an opportunity for higher studies:

- Satisfactory but Leaving Honours students appeared to have the edge.
- Most had done their Leaving Honours year while I was a Junior Teacher - hence were better qualified than I.
- I felt envious of those who had done Leaving Honours even though I was eligible for University. I also felt like a country cousin compared with city people and private school students. The hay seeds were still evident.
- Because I didn't do Leaving Honours, my first year at Uni was a huge shock mainly because 1) I was completely unaware of what a University was and how it worked. 2) Very poor counselling at the Wattle Park Teachers College in being told to do general Maths at Uni

after having taken 3 attempts to pass Leaving Maths and not having done Leaving Honours & not being allowed to do Uni Geography when this had always been my best subject.

Others recalled general problems of being unprepared for tertiary academic work:

- I don't think it helped me academically at all.
- Some students seemed to have more idea of what hard study was like.

The female respondent who resigned after being accepted at College simply wrote:

- - ? poor -

The respondent who did not go to College at all after two years as a junior teacher recalled how disadvantaged she felt in this regard:

- The disadvantage has been the lack of Actual Certificates of Appointment e.g. Letters behind my name etc. I have since taken steps to correct this.

QU. 5 OTHER IMPORTANT ISSUES

- WAS THE SYSTEM EXPLOITATIVE?

- DID CHILDREN SUFFER UNDER IT?

- SHOULD IT HAVE BEEN ABOLISHED?

As has been seen, the decision of the Education Inquiry Committee to recommend the abolition of the junior teacher system was greatly influenced by the evidence put to it of the way junior teachers were being exploited and the way children were likely to be disadvantaged by being taught by untrained persons. Up to now a majority of respondents have tended to support the idea that there was an element of exploitation in the way that they were used, that children may well have suffered under such a system and that abolition was the appropriate course to have been taken. However, the majority of respondents from the final years of the system saw these significant questions in a rather different light and the reason would seem to lie in the changes made in its final years. As has been seen, Jones attributed the decline in the clamour to abolish the system to the more liberal and generous appointment system that prevailed over these final years. A majority of these respondents seem to have taken an equally more liberal and generous view of the matters posed in Qu.5 than did respondents from previous times. A generally less critical attitude to the system is apparent in many of the answers and supporting comments and it can reasonably be assumed that the changes introduced in the final years led to more respondents seeing the experience in a somewhat rosier light than did those from earlier times when heavy teaching loads and absence from family and friends, often in trying boarding conditions, were the lot of junior teachers.

Exploitation?

Nowhere in the memoirs of former junior teachers of this period is the effect of a change of outlook

more obvious than in their responses to the question of whether or not they felt exploited. In the period 1946-1950 for example, some 63% of respondents believed that they had been exploited in one way or another. However, only 34% of the respondents from 1951-1964 felt this way leaving almost 60% who believed that they had not been exploited, together with a small number of others who were not sure or who thought along quite different lines altogether.

A few of those who recalled feeling exploited were concerned only because of the low pay:

- Probably so! [and underlined on the Memoir page itself 'young teachers on the cheap']
- I guess as far as pay was concerned -Yes. My pay for each fortnight was £5-14-10.
- Yes - I hardly had any money left after I'd paid board etc. - my parents had to give me money.
- £3 - probably but with the bus run I was able to get by. Plus living at home.
- Yes - I left the Ed Dept after 12 months as a teacher trainee being paid $12 per week to join the S.A. Railways as a Junior Clerk with little or no responsibility and more than double my salary.

Others felt exploited because of pay and conditions or because of the tasks that they were expected to undertake. Some of these responses support the view expressed in Chapter 9 that the type of ancillary and relieving tasks given to junior teachers towards the end of the system may well have been as exploitative as the full teaching loads of earlier periods:

- Very cheap 158/- per year - 40 out of 40 lessons [per week] - lean-to enclosed verandah, unlined with asphalt floor.
- Yes - paid almost nothing. Completed a job no one else wanted to do (library).
- Yes they got a cheap office and tea girl. In retrospect I would have been better off to go back to school as a full time Leaving Honours student. I can't remember why this did not happen and why I became a JT.
- My work was largely meaningless and contributed nothing I can recall. I can't remember how much I was paid, but it was not nearly enough to cover board and travel.
- Yes, probably, my [earlier] example of being given responsibility for the Year 6 class due to the subject teacher's absence, made the appointment of a relief teacher unnecessary.
- I felt that the Dept was a little remote from the realities of handling young people who were struggling to develop professional attitudes. In my case I felt exploited ... I was relief teaching, filling in for the Dept. I was not so concerned with the money (salary) but the attitudes of the Dept.

Some, while acknowledging the poor pay or the difficult conditions, were prepared to qualify their claim of exploitation by describing benefits that they got out of the experience:

- ... yes, there was exploitation. I did not resent this! I was pleased to be given responsibility and trust.
- I certainly was cheap labour but it was my choice.
- Very low rate of pay but I enjoyed the year.
- I did feel exploited by being asked to do work other teachers were reluctant to do. (e.g. typing German exam papers) The teaching I did I thought was reasonable as it was supervised well.
- Undoubtable but I do not think this was their real intention. It was more to encourage people into the profession and quite often the financial consequences of pulling out ensured that people stayed on. Overall it was a good half-way house.
- The Dept did get cheap labour. I was paid £3 a week and taught 8 lessons per week as an unqualified, untrained teacher. Secretarial work was achieved through this medium also. My reward was an insight into the teaching profession and an opportunity to gain invaluable experience.
- I have recollections of being used to fill in for staff members absent as the result of illness etc, and when comparing the monetary rewards it is obvious that considerable amounts were being saved. In addition I was left responsible for classes rather than in the directed way intended by the Junior Teacher scheme. I have no doubts that as a result I was exploited in the view of Labour Unions. However, I was living at home and the salary was not a prime concern and in fact I would have volunteered for the role if necessary. I was happy to be exploited!

One respondent was prepared to acknowledge that as a learner, the exploitation may have been reasonable;

- In retrospect - in some ways yes e.g. TRT work in the absence of staff. On the other hand - I was totally inexperienced and learning on the job. The money was certainly no incentive!

Another harked back to a point he had raised before about his suspicion [about which there seems no real proof] that some students were accepted under 17 whereas he was forced to become a junior teacher:

- I was happy enough to get the pay cheque even though it was peanuts - I guess I was the monkey. Certain exceptions were made to the age 17 entry to College rule. I think I was used up there.

There seem to be several main reasons for the fact that far fewer in the final years felt exploited than had been the case in the past. The policy of placing junior teachers at home relieved most of them of having to worry about money. The fact that far less responsibility for teaching was now expected reduced their responsibilities considerably, enabled them to complete academic requirements and provided greater opportunities for personal and professional development. Some of course, simply

stated that they had not been exploited:

- I certainly was not exploited.
- Looking back on the experience, I would disagree. I do not feel that I was exploited.
- No I don't think I was exploited in any way.

Others believed that they benefited from the experience too much for it to be regarded as exploitation. Most recalled aspects of personal and professional benefit:

- No. I got out of the experience as much as I was willing to put into it. A supportive school no doubt helped.
- Junior Teachers were not exploited - they gained immensely from classroom and community involvement. An experience to confirm or otherwise a choice of profession.
- I never felt exploited and enjoyed my year. Because of my year as a JT, I firmly believed that it helped me find my 'chosen career'.
- I never believed that I was being exploited by the Dept or anyone. I was just so happy to have the chance of a job. I don't even remember what I was paid and I never cared. My parents were absolutely marvellous in helping me through my JT year and the three years that I was at College.
- In my case definitely No. I experienced a wide range of duties in the school to which I was appointed.
- Taking up a Junior Teacher offer was my choice - hence I wasn't being exploited. It was really a long term WORK EXPERIENCE (at £3-0-0 a week) to help me decide whether or not to pursue teaching as a career.
- For me it was just wonderful. I did the work of a teacher aide but learnt about teaching too. The money was more than I had ever experienced.
- The experience was useful to sort a lot of things out - just like the students who defer for a year before University now and take on casual work - and it did help the school.
- No - I felt it was a useful and beneficial scheme for both. [parties]

Here at last, too, was some emphasis from several on the benefit of being able to equip themselves academically:

- I felt very advantaged in being assisted by the Dept to complete entry requirements and to have a close look at the profession. Absolutely <u>NOT</u> exploited.
- It gave me a chance to finish school (i.e. complete Leaving) and see if my career choice was correct before signing up.
- I believe that I benefited mostly as I had the chance to add a couple of subjects to my Leaving. This helped considerably through College. There were occasions when I felt I was being used to make it easier for others to do other things (for school or for themselves).

Then there were those who mentioned the freedom from too much teaching or other responsibility:

- In my case No, as the experience was to my advantage. I did very little teaching.

- Not in my case as I was not expected to teach.
- I don't think I was exploited as not much was expected of me.

Others linked the question in with the pay:

- The pay could have been a little higher but then I was only really part-time in terms of work and responsibility.
- No - I think I got paid for little in return for the Department.
- They got me cheap - but even so it may not have been value for money. I was not exploited, and have no knowledge of others so cannot generalize.
- No I did not feel that way. The allowance was very scant, but as a junior teacher I was not trained and then it was an opportunity to continue [study]. Under the circumstances I felt I was really a student. My parents supported me financially. I don't know if they still received any student allowance (probably not).

The lack of concern of some respondents about money has been noted above. Others connected this more directly with living at home:

- As I lived at home the money was a bonus. I fared much worse at College living in a Hostel on £5-17-6 a fortnight!
- I know this may sound strange, but I can't remember anything about money & since I lived at home & was provided for by my parents, life just went on the same for me from the financial viewpoint as it had while I was at school. I made my own clothes so that helped provide me with a wardrobe. When I gained my driver's licence I had the use of one of the family cars at times. We didn't spend money on snack foods like the kids do these days & we only went out to a Saturday dance occasionally or the pictures if we were lucky, so we didn't need much spending money.
- I did not ever feel that I was being exploited. I felt happy with my pay, as I did not have to pay board.
- My parents were in meagre circumstances. This was an opportunity to have some extra cash to help provide clothes etc. In fact it was a great relief to know the money could be spent, not like the Leaving Teacher Studentships which were refundable if one didn't continue to teach.

Others made rather more general comments about the pay:

- Pay was minimal but I got experience I certainly wouldn't get at the Teachers College [and] completed with an A, another subject for the Leaving Certificate. I was treated like any other staff member - with respect.
- I didn't see my role as exploitation then nor ever. I was part of a faculty - treated as a teacher. Pay at £2-9-10 was low but given my enjoyment of the work, I didn't feel it inappropriate.

The respondent from the U.S.A. made a particularly interesting comment about the pay and the scheme in general:

- I received an allowance as a JT that was better than my situation in the U.S. where I had to pay the State over $1000 in my first year to go to College. No junior teacher scheme existed there and classroom duties began in the 3rd year of a 4 year College training. I think the S.A. Ed Dept was ahead of their time and the scheme gave prospective teachers the chance of trying their hand at the practical aspects of teaching - like apprentices in trades etc. In fact that the JT received any money was a gain!

There were just a few respondents who were not quite sure about exploitation:

- Yes & No - Money (£3/0/0 a week) was poor. But sometimes one was exploited, other times not.
- I don't think the pay was very good, but that hardly mattered to me. The answer would have to come from the reason for being a JT. If considered as part of teacher training then the scheme would have to be considered good.
- It served a purpose until I had passed my Supplementary exams. Then it was a waste of time.
- I didn't ever feel that I was exploited although I do recall that one teacher was pretty lazy and that I seemed to work a lot harder in her class than in all the others.

Did children suffer under the system?

The responses to this question also highlighted a different attitude on the part of the last junior teachers to that of many of the earlier ones. In the previous period a third of the respondents believed that children did suffer under the system. In the final period only some 10% thought so and even some of them were unsure about it. A few were quite certain with one simply writing, 'Yes' and others explaining themselves in some detail:

- Certainly - the inexperienced being unleashed on the unwary!
- Yes - I think they would have suffered some - If they had more experienced teachers there would have been more discipline and order, hence would have had to benefit.

The rest seemed rather more uncertain:

- They probably did in some cases! Junior teachers' inexperience.
- Probably only from the inexperience of the JT - brought about by lack of training.
- In some cases when the junior teachers were just out of school yes! I have heard of many cases from dissatisfied parents.
- Not really in my case - except that I lacked experience and any academics.

The bulk of the responses were from those who believed children were not disadvantaged by the system. Unfortunately many of them simply said 'No', 'None what-so-ever', 'Not under me', or 'No - not really' without giving any supporting details. A few others referred to their own experiences

but again without explanation:

- No - not through my experiences.
- No - not from my observation & experience.

As has been seen, little teaching was required of many of the junior teachers in the last ten years of the system. Several were most likely referring to this as the reason for believing no children had been disadvantaged by them:

- No - not in my case. [he was not expected to teach at all]
- No effect in my case. [he had no teaching duties]
- No. [she only did clerical work for the Headmaster]

One other was unable to decide about this issue:

- Wouldn't know. I didn't have a class long enough.

Others were able to identify the reasons why they felt children had not suffered. For some it was because of the way they had been supervised:

- With the Head Teacher keeping a close eye on standards I don't think Years 1 & 2 were disadvantaged.
- No - I was supervised carefully by the senior teachers and really did not feel that the students missed out in any way.
- No - the work was carefully monitored and checked.
- No. Children did not suffer as the regular teacher was there as well.
- I don't believe so in my case. I think Tom [the HT] always made sure that the children learnt anything I 'taught' them. As I was nearly always supervised, I was probably a very handy 'Teacher's Aide' before they were invented.

Several believed that in fact the children could be advantaged, rather than disadvantaged, by the availability of a junior teacher:

- No, no reason whatever. It was my experience that with the support & guidance of staff, particularly senior staff, a Junior Teacher could gain a great deal from the experience and give some help to the students.
- Because of the prescriptive courses of that time I think students didn't suffer much ... I think they may actually have benefited from someone young, prepared to take sport etc.
- No - not in my case. The children gained by having an extra person to relate to in the classroom and someone else besides their teacher to help them with their learning.
- None what-so-ever. They actually received more help having 2 people in the room.
- No - any extra help was always a bonus.

A male respondent in a Primary school saw advantages to the teachers as well as the children through his presence:

- I do not consider students to be disadvantaged when exposed to a range of learning styles

and teaching personalities. Small primary schools during this time [1964] were staffed principally along the lines of one teacher to one class and particular combinations stayed together for long periods. My appointment allowed (perhaps unofficially) for a small component of non contact time as well as a mixing of styles.

A few respondents judged this question on the results they perceived:

- Because I returned to the same school 7 years later and some of the children I had taught as a junior teacher were still there - they did not seem to have suffered. Also, some children there would have had a junior teacher for several years and those children did well - some became teachers!
- No - I think I gave a solid foundation in respect of reading, writing and arithmetic.
- No - the relationship was good.

Others, while believing children did not suffer under them, were prepared to admit that in other circumstances things could have been better or worse. One male who had earlier noted that teaching a certain young child to read and write was a most satisfying feature of the system for him, referred to this again while qualifying his belief about no disadvantage:

- No - although trained teachers could have done a better job, in my case no other teacher would have been appointed and that New Australian kid would not have had the time spent on him that I gave him.

Several admitted to the possibility of disadvantage in certain situations while maintaining that it was not so in their own cases:

- Not under my set-up. I moved around the school a lot and did not carry full responsibility for a class. I believe the children could have suffered if I had had the full responsibility because I had not yet developed a philosophy of learning or any knowledge of teaching techniques.
- No - This could easily have been so though had the junior teachers not been well supported and supervised.

One respondent in the country [an area school] suggested rather enigmatically of the possibility of disadvantage elsewhere:

- Not in a country school.

Two respondents from towards the end of the system based their view on a comparison with the work of student teachers:

- No - all schools I attended had trainees from the Teachers College and the Junior Teacher was only an extension of this.
- No more than with student teachers now.

Should the system have been abolished?

As has been seen, opinions about abolition have varied from period to period but overall there have been more respondents recommending abolition - or not at all sure about retaining it - than there have in favour of a system of pre-College teaching and/or school experience. Respondents from the final years presented a rather different set of opinions with only just over 31% believing abolition a good thing and another 14% having mixed views about it. A small number did not answer at all but 46% found a variety of reasons for supporting a junior teacher type system compared with the 30% who felt this way in the period 1946 to 1950. While the comments of those in favour of the system are not so very different from those who supported it in previous periods, the larger volume of support would seem to indicate that in its last years the junior teacher system may well have come close to the ideals suggested from time to time for a supernumerary type of system that was in the interests of the candidates rather than one existing mainly for Departmental purposes. Again practically all the responses for and against the system involved aspects of a personal or professional nature rather than anything to do with the opportunity to improve academically.

Those in favour of abolition.

Practically all these respondents referred to what they saw as significant failings in the system. For some it compared unfavourably with later training in demonstration schools:

- A good thing. Demonstration schools with high quality teachers were a much better proposition.
- Dem Schools as they were in the 50s so much better as (a) we had to thoroughly prepare lessons and were shown how to do it (b) had more variety of Dem teachers and learned a lot of differing styles and techniques & (c) saw a lot more schools. - It was a good thing it was abolished. There is need to have theory to back practice ... The Dem schools ... taught a discipline and a need for detail that was valuable.

Others believed that it was a basically flawed system:

- Good. How can anyone - adult, child or someone in between effectively teach if they have no knowledge of how children learn.
- I think it was a good thing - I taught as I'd been taught myself (luckily I had excellent role models and a good memory).
- I believe too much responsibility was left to the JT - hence detriment of students. [this was the female who resigned just as College began]

Even some who enjoyed the experience were able to point to what they saw as faults in it:

- Not really a very good scheme throwing ex-students to the deep end but I survived and enjoyed it. It would have been better to go direct to the Teachers College - the break did

more harm by making it difficult to go back to serious study.

- I was a junior teacher in the last year it was in operation. I enjoyed it - but I honestly believe we needed a complete break from schools of any kind between secondary school and Teachers College.

Of course, those who have already been noted above for their bad experiences in schools were able to re-emphasise the lack of value in the system for them. The one who was given little to do in country high school once he had passed the Supplementary examinations recalled his view of it:

- Never have given a thought to it. My year was a waste of time - same as Demonstration Schools were a waste.

Another male who had found it less than satisfactory being given little to do in an area school recalled:

- In the light of any achievement - a good thing.

The respondent who had come to Adelaide from Eyre Peninsula to complete a Leaving requirement was even less enthusiastic about the system:

- My case may have been unusual because I was sent to a High school (to do Leaving Latin) so I can only speak for myself when I say it was USELESS as a training/employment vehicle.

A female candidate for Infant teaching found no value in what she was allocated:

- It was a good thing - young untrained teachers would have been glorified baby sitters. As I had no contact with students this did not apply. I think I would have enjoyed going to an Infant school and learning something about my profession - instead of being an 'office/tea girl' in a High school.

The rest tended to believe that it was a good thing to have abolished a system that would have lost its relevance anyway:

- It was part of a growing professionalism of the teaching force. Demonstration schools were excellent in every respect and should still be in operation today.
- THINGS HAVE CHANGED - teachers today have more problems and responsibilities. It was a good scheme during its time but it depended a great deal on the individual qualities of the supervising staff and the conditions in the school used. Teachers today would be hard pressed to continue the practice ... Dem Schools I have always found to be a little staid and superficial - like going into someone else's rehearsal before you take the leading role in your own opera.
- I think it was a good thing, as I cannot imagine 16 year olds coping with the demands of junior teaching in High schools of today. Disciplining secondary students in schools today is a task requiring more maturity.

However, one respondent who believed that abolition was a good thing saw some possibilities for an enhanced scheme:

- Good thing as it existed. However, at Teachers College some 'internship' properly organized, would be an advantage.

Those who were unsure about abolition

Several of the small group who were not sure about abolition tried to find both the good and bad in it:

- If the Principal was keen to help the JT as mine was, yes it was a good system but if discipline could not be maintained in the school then both students and JT would have been disadvantaged.
- I've always maintained that it was an excellent system (as the idea) was, because it was so much less artificial than the Teachers College training. But, I can also see that it was open to exploitation & that some students probably suffered.

Others found it difficult at this stage to weigh up the merits of such a scheme:

- It is difficult to answer this because I think other factors led to a deterioration in Teacher Training for some years e.g. emphasis on academic studies in preference to educational studies especially methodology.
- To take the scheme in isolation from all the other attendant changes is a superficial nonsense characteristic of contemporary over-emphasis of singled out issues.
- The junior teacher certainly had more practical experience in one year than some courses provided over 2 - 3 years. If a junior teacher scheme was re-introduced I think participants would want a shorter College course, i.e. 4 years + junior teaching would be a burden.

The rest presented views based on their own personal experiences and feelings:

- The JT scheme was most beneficial for my personal & professional development (but maybe I was one of the fortunate ones?)
- For me no difference - though now there is no way I would be a junior teacher if it existed. Probably in the present climate I would not consider being a teacher.
- Do not have any strong feelings either way but it probably served no very useful purpose.

Those who believed that abolition was a bad thing

One respondent simply regarded abolition as 'A bad thing' while others generalised about its benefits:

- In my case it [junior teaching] was a good thing.

- I think the idea of a junior teacher or monitor system has many benefits - apprenticeship.
- I felt the experience was invaluable and an advantage to me when I went to College.

A number illustrated their feelings about the system by indicating how it could have been altered and improved:

- I believe it could still serve a very useful introduction to teaching. It needs to be hooked up with inhouse seminars so that the apprentices learn to ask the right questions.
- I would like to see a scheme whereby students do a year of teacher training and then a year of junior teaching and then go back to the College to complete training.
- Wrong and it should be resurrected probably with a higher rate of pay to give intending teachers a chance to mature and check out teaching.
- I would suggest that this scheme could be related to an extended work experience system whereby potential teachers could decide whether or not they really wish to persevere with teacher training (especially as jobs are almost non existent).
- The JT system was OK but I think an internship concept would be better.

Two others who believed that the system should not have been abolished seemed prepared to accept its demise as probably inevitable:

- I begrudgingly acknowledge the inherent dangers in releasing completely untrained and inexperienced 'teachers' on young impressionable minds as was the case with the JT scheme. However, given my experience, I was disappointed when it was discontinued.
- I was disappointed when junior teachers were abolished. But I realized that good Leaving Honours and Matric results were required to qualify for College entrance.

Others were prepared to specify the personal benefits that they had derived from a scheme that they felt should not have been abolished.

- Bad - I found it invaluable in preparing me for teaching and it helped me mature as a person.
- I think a year in the classroom before teaching is a good thing - you see it warts and all.
- I would agree with the system of junior teaching particularly if it was structured the way I experienced. It gives some experience and adds maturity.
- Those who had the experience saw the 'real world' of teaching. I feel it was a beneficial scheme for me.
- I have often remarked that I learnt a lot more about teaching in general and the classroom situation during my junior teaching year then I ever did at Teachers College (more academic I thought) and I was grateful to have experienced it. I realized this more so when I actually had my first teaching appointment. I didn't feel I'd been thrown to the wolves.
- I have often blessed, through College and in the classroom, that year I spent as a junior teacher. I believe much of the methodology taught at College was more meaningful for me and on entering the classroom it was not such a huge jump from theory to practice.

- As a young teacher and still being very interested in teacher training, I always felt that the trainee teacher was disadvantaged in later years. Not being able to be a junior teacher was one reason but as I remember some did not go into schools to take lessons until their second year in College & by this time they were well into their training and did not have the chance to find out whether or not they liked children or teaching them.
- It appeared that this was a way of allowing young people to experience teaching before committing themselves to the six year bond (3 years of teaching + 3 years of bond).

One respondent saw the opportunity to try out teaching as the main value in the system. This allowed him time to make an informed choice about finding an alternative career:

- I understood that it was a limited scheme (in terms of numbers who participated) and basically it was a year of 'marking time' before entering College. It was an ideal time for students to evaluate their desire & suitability for teaching. In my case I decided not to enter College and I believe I made the right choice for me and the Department.

Another took a similar line but about someone other than himself:

- The scheme was considered as a training period prior to entering Teachers College and to my mind fulfilled this role admirably by providing a period of 'internship'. I am aware of one instance (but no name) when the experience was the catalyst for the junior teacher deciding not to pursue teaching as a career.

Two respondents were only able to admit to only grudging support for the system despite listing things others had found as most valuable:

- Very little gained from the scheme apart from giving former students a year's break from their studies while gaining an insight into the practical organization of a school and getting some practical experience.
- I don't think the JT scheme had a very significant impact on teacher training. I liken it to the work experience of today from one perspective. Those who took part had the opportunity to decide whether teaching was for them or not. I guess this helped with the next step - the formal training program. Demonstration schools were a great help in my view.

Others took up comparison with Demonstration schools in order to clarify their support for the system. Some found the junior teacher system more useful:

- Junior Teaching gave a real situation and a real response. You could not walk away from mistakes or set up false situations, as there was always tomorrow and next week. Dem schools were 'false' & the results obtained there bore no relation to reality.
- I know I benefited from my experience, but I could have been one of the lucky ones, Good school, good Head Teacher, good kids etc. Realistically it had to be an excellent training for anyone. The 'Dem Teachers' we saw for only one week.
- On the job hands on training was excellent. The way I was used in that school was most

useful. Demo school didn't provide the same level of input.

- A bad thing. The way I was treated in Dem schools while at College was very poorly in comparison to the esteem I felt as a junior teacher. Too many teachers I had in Dem school treated us as nuisances and were very critical. I had already had experience - not that they knew - but their attitude on the side to student teachers was not on the whole, good.
- I think ... [the system] gave prospective teachers the choice of trying their hand at the practical aspects of teaching like apprentices in trade jobs. I served in Dem school too. I feel these schools were too contrived. They seemed artificial - at least junior teachers served in regular schools, with regular teachers and average children.

QU. 6 HOW THEY REMEMBERED THE EXPERIENCE

As a final appraisal of the experience, respondents were asked to recall how they now remember it. They were given a choice of four the categories shown on the following table or they could choose some other appropriate label. They were not confined to one response and many ticked at least two of the categories. As in the previous chapters, this is best illustrated by the two sets of figures in the following table. The first figure indicates the number of respondents who marked more than one category and the figure in brackets indicates the number who marked that category only.

TABLE 14.6 How Respondents Remembered the Junior Teacher Experience

	1951-1954	1955-1959	1960-1964	Totals	%
Happy generally	9(4)	13(5)	27(13)	49(22)	55%(73%)
Frustrating	-	1(-)	2(-)	3(-)	3%(-)
Useful	5(-)	11(3)	16(1)	32(4)	36%(13%)
Just bearable	-	1(1)	2(1)	3(2)	3%(7%)
Other	-	1(-)	2(2)	3(2)	3%(7%)

As can be seen, most respondents remembered the experience of being a junior teacher as a generally happy or useful time. The percentage of generally happy ones is very much the same as in the previous period but rather more found the experience useful and rather fewer ticked the other categories. Most were able to explain why they felt that way and the responses generally show what made for happiness, usefulness, frustration and bearableness in the final years of the junior teacher system. Here, too, personal and professional aspects predominated and there were only a few mentions of the benefits of being able to equip themselves academically.

The 'Happy generally' recollections

One respondent simply ticked the category and referred to his earlier comments. A few others added

fairly general supporting statements:

- I don't recall any negative aspects.
- Because I vaguely remember it as such.
- It was a delightful year for me.
- I thoroughly enjoyed everything about the experience and I have very good memories of the time. I also developed friendships (that still exist).

Others were prepared to explain their feeling more fully. Some found their happiness in teaching and associated professional activities

- A great introduction to 'true teaching' - that is being in close liaison with students.
- I was given the opportunity to teach, and that was something I took on with enthusiasm. My time in the role was valuable and worthwhile.
- I remember enjoying my time with the children and a feeling of satisfaction as they progressed.
- Without question a happy and professionally rewarding time.
- Mixing with professional teachers was worthwhile for me to see the 'human' side of them.
- I have only happy memories of my year and I enjoyed working with the Headmaster and staff. It was most interesting to see the staff as fellow-workers when I had known them as teachers the year before.

There were those who were just happy to be able to spend such a year:

- At 16-17 years of age, with some small finances, and adult independence!
- I felt it was great to leave school, be able to work in a job I enjoyed, receive some pay and not have to study after years of homework.
- I was in no hurry to get to College - it was a good transition year.
- Did little teaching but was allowed to pass the required Leaving subjects.
- I thought I learnt a lot.

Several seemed happy with the relatively easy nature of their role even though there may have been occasional problems:

- The job was not very demanding at Grades 1-3 level. Of course there were frustrations at times but a good relationship with the Head Teacher and community in general.
- There must have been some bad moments as Tom [the HT] had such a notorious reputation but I can't remember them. My memories are overall of an enjoyable and not too exacting year.

The 'Useful' aspects

As the table shows, only a few respondents found the experience merely useful. One of them gave a

rather mysterious reason for not going beyond this category:

- In view of my career history, I, in retrospect, am unable and reluctant to identify any negative aspects.

The others simply stated the usefulness of the experience:

- For me it was useful because it gave me the opportunity to do further study.
- Developed classroom skills - organization etc.
- I gained some maturity & some practical teaching experience but this did not give me more than a slight advantage over my fellow Teachers College students.

The rest who marked 'useful' had also marked 'Happy generally'. Several of them referred to their earlier remarks without going into any more detail and a number who made no comment at all [including the one who resigned as a result of finding that teaching was not for him] probably also felt that nothing more needed to be said. Others specified exactly what made them tick each category:

- It was a happy time in that I did Art, thought Art, taught Art and met other people teaching the Arts - music, drama, language. Useful in that I could share my enthusiasm with other people. [this respondent had come in from industry]
- I was happy with my work because I enjoyed what I was doing and the people I worked with were very good to me. As I lived at home the financial inadequacy was not a problem. A useful time as I learnt many skills I would later put to use but most of all I matured and was more able to cope with the drama of Teachers College than I would have been had I entered the year before.
- I was certainly happy in the school environment and it was a really useful time in the light of my teacher training.
- I was getting practical experience in the job I really wanted to do. I could see that I could do it well and I was re-inforced in knowing that I had chosen the right vocation for me (by comparison the week here & there of 'work experience' that our high schools have now, is really 'shallow'). It was a useful time because I had a firm programme to follow with follow-up counselling.
- As you have probably gathered from my previous comments, I have many happy memories of my year as a JT. It was certainly a most useful and beneficial time for me; a time to mature and settle down.
- I was new to the district and did not make friends easily - but it certainly was useful in preparing me as a teacher. I had <u>always</u> wanted to teach.

Others probably intended to include both categories in their comments and some simply generalised about them:

- A most enjoyable experience.
- Without question a happy & professionally rewarding time.
- I have only good memories of the time spent as a JT.
- I probably felt very good at the time & can only remember the good times.
- I liked challenges and I was curious about how and why things worked as they did. I also, was never satisfied until things became better. I gained a purpose for my own future which has remained with me.
- The year was a great experience and I am glad I was under 17 at the time of leaving school. My only regret was that I did not keep in touch with the people of that town after my landlady passed away a couple of years after I left.
- Our family were involved in community matters & were respected, even though we were 'blue collar' working people. My brother, sister & I had many friends at school. In fact, I thoroughly enjoyed my days at B... High!

For others, happiness and usefulness came mainly from personal growth:

- It was a growing up year. I felt useful and valued - at the same time I matured a lot. It certainly proved an opportunity to be sure of one's career choice. Break from study was possibly useful.
- Much learning went on. I matured a great deal - moved into the actual world. Learnt a lot about life & teaching.
- I enjoyed my year at the Tech High. I gained confidence. I enjoyed being treated as a capable adult. I enjoyed the responsibilities I was given and I loved learning dressmaking. It proved to be a worthwhile year.
- I enjoyed it, learnt a lot, gave me time to mature and to think things over between school and Teachers College.
- I remember the year as being extremely happy. I needed to mature and mixing with staff members helped that a great deal. It did act as a transition between school and College.
- Being fully accepted, allowed to do some study, given pleasant experiences, created good memories & good friends who have carried on for 30+ years.

One respondent took the opportunity to again criticise later training:

- ... much more valuable than my 3 years at Teachers College, because of the artificiality of Dem Schools + because of the apparent incompetence of some of the Teachers College lecturers who had been out of classrooms too long & probably couldn't teach anyhow!

The 'frustrating' aspects

The three respondents who ticked 'Frustrating' also marked another category as well. The male noted several times earlier as finding his only role in a city high school far from home was to study

Leaving Latin did not go into detail again but simply wrote:

- Enough reasons above

and in the 'Other' category wrote just the one word – 'Dreadful'. The immigrant from the U.S.A. wrote 'Frustrating as I have already explained' [accommodating to the Australian country way of life and teaching] and also ticked 'Useful'. The female who resigned just as College was about to begin ticked 'Frustrating', 'Useful' and 'Just Bearable' and explained:

- I guess as I didn't continue, it's hard to say how useful. I do remember much frustration and insecurity personally. I reflect now and wonder I persevered through the year.

The 'Just bearable' aspects

The two respondents who marked only this category were ones who had explained in a number of other places why they did not have a happy and useful year. The male who had not been given very much to do in a country high school after passing his Supplementary examinations had already described the experience as 'A wasted year'. The female who had spent her year in a high school as an 'office/tea girl' recalled that:

- It was like being in limbo - neither student nor staff member.

The female who had found some unsatisfactory aspects in a city primary school ticked this category and the 'Other' but went on to modify this to some extent:

- I do not have any strong feelings about it. A year for marking time and a break from studies for one year.

'Other' aspects

Two of the three responses in this category have already been noted above. The other was from a male respondent in a city high school who spent most of his time in the library. His comment was a mixture of the non-committal and what others might well have seen as useful:

- It was O.K. I matured in that year, was treated as an adult & passed Maths - O.K. I suppose.

It can be said that the cultural facts, like the concrete, confirm in most respects much of what Jones wrote about the system shortly after it was abolished. This further justifies the claim that a good deal of reliance can be placed on these particular memoirs as authentic sources of historical and sociological data. The divergences that occur from time to time by no means discredit either of the sources. Rather, they tend to enrich the contemporary facts by revealing the differences that can exist between what those in charge believe has happened and the perspective of those who actually experienced it. In this way cultural facts contribute to a wider understanding of the issues and emphasise the importance of recognizing the human element at all levels. A most interesting aspect

these final memoirs is that even though the focus of the system had changed from teacher training to academic preparation, the majority of respondents still saw it in terms of preparation for a teaching career. While most took advantage of the opportunity to add to their Leaving subjects or to matriculate, relatively few regarded this as a major outcome of the experience. It would seem that nobody had told them about what Jones described as their 'main duty'. As has been noted, some even missed out on a better academic preparation by becoming junior teachers. The responses also seem to indicate that some of the roles allocated and the tasks given, still reflected Departmental or school needs well ahead of those of the junior teachers. This gives rise to the possibility that even the administrators of the Department may not have been fully aware of the kind of things some junior teachers were being required to do in those final years. The value of such a juxtaposition of views is further enhanced by the selection of vignettes in Appendix 5 from Question 7, where respondents were encouraged to write as freely as they felt necessary to ensure that the time as a junior teacher was more fully revealed through their eyes.

CONCLUSION

> *But history of education as it is traditionally taught does not always maintain touch with the reality that education is essentially a social function that is of fundamental importance in ... societies. The historical study of educational institutions ... is important in its own right, but it should be considered in relation to educational development as a whole.*
>
> R. V. Sweeney
> *ANZHES Journal,* 1972 - 75, p.2

This thesis has allowed for the examination of the junior teacher system from two quite different perspectives. One view of what it was like to be a junior teacher was found in the various contemporary official documents that recorded the observations of those who managed the system, those who observed its effects and those who supported or opposed it. The other view was in the collected memoirs of those who served in such a position from the reform of the system in 1921 until its abolition in the mid 1960s. Each of these sections can stand alone as a useful contribution to the understanding of the system but by juxtaposing the two sets of data it has been possible to carry out a humanistic sociological analysis that has proved to be of particular value. This double view of reality of what it meant to be a junior teacher has brought a depth of understanding beyond that in the separate sections and, more importantly, it has allowed for a consideration of the appropriateness of the application of the principles of humanistic sociology to a select historical period through the writing of memoirs by those who lived through that period.

In Part 1, that section of the junior teacher system covered by the memoirs needed to be seen in the light of what had happened in the first 47 years that untrained young people had been used in schools. What is available then is a history of the pupil teacher/junior teacher system from its introduction in 1874 to its abolition in 1965. It was a period of considerable change and experimentation and one in which political and economic considerations often predominated at the expense of professional and social justice aspects. This in itself is a useful contribution to understanding the development of teacher training in South Australia. If, as noted in the Introduction, the history of education may be used to advantage to cast light on and liberate thinking about current issues, then there is much to be learnt in that regard about teacher training and preparation from this section. The general approach in Part 1 was to present what happened, why it happened and what the results were. Where necessary, however, attention was drawn to issues that seemed to be of particular importance in teacher preparation.. The question of the place of what were termed the cultural and professional aspects of teacher training led to much experimentation with the general education, practical and theoretical experiences given to trainee teachers. Another issue of some significance was that of how much practical training was required, when it should be given and under what kind of supervision, and how it should be linked with theoretical aspects.

Such considerations can assist in bringing into sharper focus current issues in teacher education, if only through the realization that probably there is really little that is new in this field and that most approaches have been tried in some form or another in different times and places. At the present time, when many in the English speaking world have been advocating greater practical training and much more school experience, at the expense of theoretical learning and academic understanding of the process of education, it is interesting to see the counter-arguments adduced in a period when a focus on school based training was judged inadequate.

It can be argued, too, from the details that have come to light in this section that the history of the pupil teacher/junior teacher system is an interesting and important one in its own right. The account of the system has drawn attention to aspects of the thinking of leaders of the Education Department, officials of the S.A. Teachers' Union and others concerned about teacher preparation in a way that helps to understand more clearly what motivated them to act as they did, especially in times of crisis, in relation to the whole question of teacher training in general, and in particular, to the practical and ethical problems associated with the various forms of apprenticeship that were in vogue over a ninety year period. The reasons why the system was kept for so long become very plain as the story of lack of adequate training facilities, economic downturn and population explosion unfolds, as indeed do the reactions against it. It is easy to see, too, why, in most periods, candidates for teaching needed to accept entry to teaching through a system the Education Inquiry Committee described in 1945 as neither in their interests nor those of the children that they taught. What is missing, however, from this account based on official records is what those junior teachers thought about the system and its effects on them and the children.

The humanistic sociological approach used in Part 2 was a valuable way of remedying this lack, as it presented the junior teacher system from a different perspective – that of those who actually lived the personal experiences of the individual junior teacher. Those who contributed memoirs had to relive and reinterpret past events and in so doing provided access to a great deal of additional, and often quite different, concrete material to that ever documented. They contributed, too, a considerable amount of cultural facts as they expressed their thoughts, feelings and assessments in commenting on and explaining their experiences as untrained teachers and on what they thought about their use in this way. This concrete and cultural data adds greatly to a fuller understanding of what it meant to be a junior teacher and what effect departmental policies had for those people at the grass-roots level. The view from the other side was that of those responsible for managing the system, supervising it, promoting the professional status of teachers, looking after the welfare of the junior teachers and the students they taught and investigating and judging the system. That view reflected the political, economic and societal values of the times. The memoirs, on the other hand, provide a very different view, that of the participants in the system – people who could 'tell it as it was', free from both the

rhetoric of Departmental supporters of the system and the very negative and defensive counter-attacks of its opponents.

Altogether, the Memoir Document proved to be a very large scale investigation into a number of quite complex aspects. To do justice to the respondents, and to fully illustrate the various points, a good deal of what they said was included in the text of the analysis. This had the added advantage of allowing the reader to see as much as possible of the actual evidence on which the humanistic sociological analysis was based and to make their own evaluations about what was said. The opportunity is there, both in the shorter excerpts in Chapters 10 to 14 and in the longer ones in the vignettes in the Appendices, for the readers to come into first hand contact with the words the respondents used as they reviewed their time as junior teachers. In short, the memoirs provide very personal insights into real feelings, assessments, hopes and fears of those actually living out the junior teacher experience. They add considerably to a recognition of the value of taking into account the human element at all levels. The first part of the thesis is concerned with the views of those looking at the system, often for reasons far removed from the effect that it might be having on the participants. In the second part we hear from those who were being observed and who knew what the system was doing for them in academic, professional, personal and social ways. Both accounts have their own particular, and generally very different, bases. From a comparison of the two, comes a more holistic understanding of the system and an opportunity to investigate a number of issues that would not otherwise have been possible

The first of the investigations that was possible from this double view of reality concerned the authenticity of certain of these memoirs. The availability of documented evidence of an official nature allowed for a comparison with what respondents recalled about the nature of their work as junior teachers and how it affected their lives. As has been seen in Chapters 10, 12 and 14 the recollections of these former junior teachers can be put up against documented evidence about how the system was supposed to operate after the McCoy reforms of 1921, what it was like by the 1940s when the S.A. Teachers' Union and other of its opponents mounted a case against it at the Education Inquiry Committee and how its purposes changed over the final years according to the account of the system published in a supplement to the Education Gazette of March, 1966. The generally high correlation between what respondents recalled from each of these periods and what is documented indicates that the memoirs from those particular periods can be regarded as authentic sources of historical and sociological data. The most detailed comparison is that made in Chapter 12 between the findings on how junior teachers were used in schools in 1942 and how respondents from about that time remembered the situation. Some details had been forgotten but overall, the situations described in the two surveys were remarkably similar. The same applies when the data collected in Chapter 14 is compared with what was written about the final years of the system and while there are few memoirs from the 1920s that were unaffected by the onset of the Great Depression, what is

available generally supports the intention of the McCoy reforms. It would seem reasonable in these circumstances to assign a similar measure of authenticity to other material in these particular memoirs and indeed, to that from periods where little or no contemporary sources are available. It can be claimed that this finding provides strong evidence to support memoirs of this nature being considered as authentic sources of data, as worthy of the same careful and systematic evaluation as those contained in the documents examined in Part 1. The memories of the three respondents from 1919 give just a hint of what might have been available in earlier times in this regard. In addition there are in the Appendices, some letters and some excerpts from other recorded written and oral history that show more of what a humanistic sociological analysis of that period could have provided to enhance what are, in many ways, little more than the bare bones of history in much of the official documents of the times. The few memoirs from monitors, supplementary teachers and those whose only training was as a junior teacher add a little to the overall picture of the use of the untrained in South Australian schools in response to periods of economic downturn or the inability to respond quickly and more adequately to crises.

While the memoirs reflect very well the bulk of the factual material in contemporary documentation about the junior teacher system and give strong support to much of the thinking about the system, an investigation into the differences that are to be found also fulfils a very useful function. Again the material in Chapter 12 is of greatest significance. The case mounted by the S.A. Teachers' Union and other opponents of the system was a very negative one, as was the detail in the First Report of the Education Inquiry Committee in which the junior teacher system was described as in the interests of neither the trainees nor the children taught by them. The memoirs provide a much more balanced view of the situation. In considering such issues raised by the Union as whether the system was exploitative, whether children were harmed by it and whether it should have been abolished, the respondents often tended to see things from quite a different point of view and this is of considerable value in establishing a more complete picture of the reality of the situation. The memoirs from the final years balance things up in a different way. The account given by Jones tends to present a rosier picture of the system than a number of respondents remember. Although much had changed in the way he described, some junior teachers were still being given rather more than the 'very small' teaching assignments he mentioned and there is little evidence that the junior teachers of that period were aware that their main duty was to equip themselves academically for the Teachers College. Although most took advantage of such an opportunity, the majority of respondents remembered the experience more as a preparation for teaching. It would seem that although the focus of the system had changed, the junior teachers themselves were not told much about that change and it is apparent, too, that even those in charge of the system may not always have been fully aware of exactly what was happening at the school level with regard to the implementation of departmental policies.

It was not the intention of this thesis to be concerned with the respondents' present attitudes to the questions put to them but it is very clear from some responses that what they recalled had indeed been shaped by the present. The question of exploitation, for example, was often referred to in hindsight, sometimes with the explanation that it was not a word with much meaning at the time. The advantage for the present reader is that this provides a further sociological perspective and an opportunity to draw connections that were often not possible at the time. One can see more clearly why, when the staffing problem of the 1930s was solved by the imposition of what is now considered to be a serious exploitative problem in itself, the implications counted for little amongst the junior teachers if it meant that they had the guarantee of employment. The application of humanistic sociological analysis allowed some of the respondents their first opportunity to come to terms with such aspects as exploitation, harm to children and the need to abolish the system. In the process, they were able to deepen their own, and the reader's, understanding of such facets of the reality of life as a junior teacher.

It is, however, the opportunity given to respondents to assess their success as junior teachers and to say how they remembered it that allows the most scope for what was termed in the Introduction as a type of humanistic deconstruction of aspects of the official views both in support of and against the junior teacher system. Analyses of the respondents' feelings about these issues are best illustrated in composite tables from the cultural facts illustrated in Questions 3 (d) and 6. From the account given in Chapter 8 of the material presented to the Education Inquiry Committee and from the findings of that Committee, a reader could well expect that the junior teachers of that period would not have found much success in the tasks they were given or that they could not have been particularly happy in such circumstances. Much of the material in the memoirs shows that such an assumption would be far from correct. In Question 3 (d) respondents had to assess their levels of success in the terms shown in the following table.

TABLE C 1 Respondents' Assessments of Levels of Success

	1920 – 1930	1930s	1940 – 1945	1946 – 1950	1951 – 1964
Respondents	32	114	91	52	62
% of all JTs	10%	16%	15%	13%	9%
Very Successful	21%	19%	12%	30%	35%
Successful (Qualified)	9%	6%	21%	19%	5%
Moderately Successful	64%	60%	56%	28%	35%
Some Success	**94%**	**85%**	**89%**	**77%**	**75%**
Failure	0%	2%	4%	6%	2%
Other	6%	13%	7%	17%	23%

The striking feature of this look at the recollections of these former junior teachers is that in every period the vast majority found some measure of success in the experience and that there were few failures, even in the periods that other sources, and indeed many of the respondents themselves,

indicate as very trying times for junior teachers. It may well appear that from 1946, attitude to success changed overall but the increase in comments in the 'Other' section need to be taken into account here as a majority of them also mentioned some measure of success .

In Question 6 respondents were able to indicate how they remembered the experience against the four criteria in the following table or to choose some other way of expressing their conclusions about being a junior teacher. They were not confined to one response and a number ticked at least two categories. This is best illustrated by the two sets of figures in the following table. The first figure indicates the percentage of all those who marked more than one response and the figure in brackets is the percentage of those who marked that one category only.

TABLE C 2 How Respondents Remembered the Junior Teacher Experience

	1920 – 1930	1930s	1940 – 1945	1946 - 1950	1951 – 1964
Respondents	32	114	91	52	62
% of all JTs	10%	16%	15%	13%	9%
Happy generally	44% (46%)	56% (75%)	53% (84%)	54% (75%)	55% (73%)
Useful	46% (36%)	34% (13%)	36% (10%)	26% (6%)	36% (13%)
Frustrating	4% (-)	3% (4%)	7% (3%)	10% (3%)	3% (-)
Just bearable	4% (18%)	3% (6%)	2% (3%)	5% (10%)	3% (7%)
Other	2% (-)	4% (2%)	2% (-)	5% (6%)	3% (7%)

Again, a reader of Chapter 8 could probably assume that few junior teachers from that era would have been particularly happy or have found the experience especially useful. As the table shows, comparatively few of the respondents recalled it being otherwise and, indeed, of those who chose only one category, the matter of general happiness rated considerably higher in 1940-1945 than in any other period. From 1931 onwards, the assessments of happiness are remarkably similar, as indeed are those of the usefulness of the experience. Such factors as living at or away from home, teaching in a familiar school or a new one, the amount of teaching duties and opportunities for study do not appear to have had much bearing as regards these particular aspects. It is not surprising from what is known about those periods that frustration levels rose during the war and its aftermath and dropped over the final years. The situation in the 1920s is quite different and it is not easy to understand why general happiness and usefulness should have been so well balanced then. It may be that the results are somewhat distorted by the small number of respondents, especially from the earlier part of the decade. It needs to be remembered, too, that there was a considerable change to the system in this period which began as a reform movement but which was quickly overtaken by the onset of the Depression.

These figures are a strong indication of memoirs presenting a more balanced view of the situation in the early 1940s than that presented in contemporary documents, so it would be reasonable to assume a similar situation for those periods about which little such critical documentation exists. There is,

for example, little documented evidence about the work conditions of junior teachers during the Depression apart from the fact that in 1938, the S.A. Teachers' Union felt obliged to conduct a survey, a matter which was used in 1943 merely to show that concern about the system was not just because of conditions imposed by the War. The memoirs provide an insight into the reality of the 1930s and reveal a good deal about how the system operated then and how the respondents came to terms with the stresses that came their way because of the very severe economic downturn. The figures in the tables suggest that even in such difficult times the great majority coped very well and that such feelings as frustration and unbearableness had little meaning for those who at least had a job with prospects. An analysis from this perspective allows for the possibility that the Union was more concerned in 1938 and 1943 with such issues as the professional status and remuneration of teachers and even its own power base than it was with the general happiness of junior teachers or the usefulness of opportunities for some teaching experience. The same applies to the period immediately after the war when, having achieved the recommendation for abolition, the Union seems to have turned its attention away from junior teachers and there is little to be learnt about it, apart from what is in the memoirs, until Jones described the final years. So overall, the memoirs not only help to bring about a more balanced view of periods about which a good deal is known from other sources and to open up new perspectives on various issues and events but also provide a great deal of information that can be regarded as being just as authentic and useful about other less well documented periods.

There are, throughout the memoirs, numerous examples of commitment and dedication, positive attitudes towards teaching as a value and love, respect and concern for children and delight in and enjoyment of the whole experience that go a long way towards balancing up the bad experiences of a few respondents and the generally utilitarian, pragmatic, negative and indifferent attitudes that so often characterized the way the junior teacher system was organised and managed. The following examples from the vignettes also illustrate this aspect:

- … the kids were enjoyable, exciting. They taught me that I had chosen the right career.
- A good transition time from student to a profession. Opened my eyes to the joys of teaching, the rewards of becoming involved in the lives of both students and parents and the place the teacher has in the community.
- I have been a member of many school staffs in the 43 years I spent with the Department but the first group [as a J.T.] is by far the most indelibly imprinted on my mind. I can still recall with pleasure the day to day organization of that school and the personalities of its staff… there is no doubt that (a) I was content (b) the experience was valuable and (c) the learning process was real.
- I remember the Grade 1 students most clearly because of their endearing 'newness' – perhaps because I had to fit them into school life.

- Looking back, I think it was the lovely 'Family' atmosphere we had which I will never forget... for me privately my little group will never grow old.
- I recall how attached some of the students became towards me, and how proud I was at being accepted as a 'TEACHER' at the school.

The information provided in both the concrete and cultural data allows for the further examination of three social relations issues that came to light in Part 1. Of particular interest was the 19th century attitudes towards women involving as it did restrictions on their academic and professional advancement, their confinement to the lower grades of teaching and even reflections on their intellectual and managerial capacities. The memoirs tended to show that while there had obviously been improvement in this area, there were still elements of what could be described as discrimination. These ranged from a few cases of sexual and general harassment from those in positions of power over the female junior teachers and from their students to more general aspects imposed by the system. Women junior teachers were far more likely than men to be placed in one teacher schools in isolated places and to have to take subjects such as sewing whether they were skilled in the field or not. In these schools, too, junior teachers generally received less assistance as the Head Teachers also had full teaching loads. Overall, female respondents were most often the ones who found things frustrating or just bearable, aspects generally associated with ill-treatment, isolation, loneliness, lack of assistance, imposition of additional duties and unsatisfactory board. Female respondents seemed more concerned about financial difficulties than did many of the men, a very understandable matter in view of the allowance differential that existed for so long. Overall, there were far more female than male junior teachers employed and this alone is an example of one problem being solved by the imposition of another – females who would be paid a lower wage than men for the whole of their teaching lives being used to assist in departmental budgeting. The majority of female respondents, however, were generally happy, found the experience a useful one and considered themselves a success despite indications over the whole period of covert discrimination against which some seemed to have had little recourse to relief. On the other hand, there was a recognition by some respondents of a sense of positive discrimination in the fact that teaching provided one of the largest opportunities for a higher education and access to a permanent job for suitably qualified females at times when such opportunities for women were very much restricted.

There are clear indications in both the historical and sociological sections that advantage was taken by the Education Department, especially in times of economic crisis, of the fact that there was a plentiful supply of young male and female candidates keen to further their studies and to gain a permanent job. The case for exploitation of the young in terms of pay and responsibilities was made in 1943 and a good deal of what is in the memoirs supports this, although, as has been seen, many respondents did not recall feeling particularly exploited at the time. On the other hand, the system often provided the only way into teaching and, indeed access to higher education in certain periods

and many respondents seemed well aware of the benefits the system offered in this regard and that their situation, in terms of monetary reward, was no worse than that of most other young people at the time.

In Chapter 3 it was noted that in 1900 the Minister of Education had spoken of teaching as one profession that included in its ranks representatives of all classes of society, an opportunity which he attributed to generous government support given to those in training. Although the type of support had altered significantly by the 1920s, it is clear from a number of the memoirs that but for the opportunity given by the junior teacher system, some who wanted to become teachers, and others who wanted a secure job and a tertiary education, would not have been able to have achieved such ambitions because of the financial status of their parents. This was especially so during periods of economic downturn but throughout the whole period there is evidence of the assistance that the system provided to those from financially disadvantaged families. On the reverse side, the system can be seen to have penalised some of these people, especially those from country areas. Some respondents, whose parents could not afford to send them away to study Leaving Honours in Adelaide, had to rely on a junior teachership to fill in a year and in certain cases this denied them the opportunity to enter the course of their choice. On the whole, however, the memoirs support a view that teaching provided many respondents from lower and even middle income families with opportunities for higher education and a professional career that might well have been unavailable otherwise, at a time when a University education was open only to those who could pay for it or those able to win one of the very limited number of scholarships or bursaries.

In 1966, A.W. Jones, Superintendent of Recruiting and Training noted that the junior teacher system had 'passed unnoticed and almost unsung'. This thesis set out to remedy what can be seen as a gap in the history of education in South Australia. This has been achieved in two ways. A revisiting of significant issues over a period of 90 years of experimentation with teacher recruiting and training has shown that much of importance was said and done by those responsible for the process and by those who had to accept the products of that training into the teaching profession. The view of the system has been given a new dimension, too, by a humanistic sociological analysis of the memoirs of those who lived through at least half of the period. The combination of the methods of the historian and the sociologist has been shown to be a useful one for both disciplines. The way is open for further such analyses that bring periods of educational history - whether already closely analysed from an historical perspective or left largely 'unnoticed or unsung' - in touch with the social reality that is achieved through an examination of how they appeared to participants in those situations.

Appendices

A.1 Vignettes* - Life as a Junior Teacher 1921 - 1930 713

A.2 Vignettes - Life as a Junior Teacher 1931 - 1939 730

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A.7 A Head Master defends Pupil Teacher Ireland against an assault charge brought by a parent in 1907. 831
[A letter to the Acting Director of Education- PRO, GRG]

A.8 Reminiscences of Leslie C. Nock, Pupil Teacher – 1901 to 1904. 833
[From an oral history interview with G.R. Lock in 1981]

A.9 Ann Milne, aged 16, becomes a Junior Teacher and meets W.T. McCoy, Director of Education, in 1919. 834
[From *'Sketches in an Educational Landscape'* by Ann Milne. Published by the Wattle Park Teachers' Association in 1986]

A.10 Why Miss Daisy Spicer was required to remain as a Junior Teacher in 1922. 835
[A letter (the file copy of which was of poor quality) to W.A. Hamilton, M.P., from the Secretary, Minister of Education,1923, PRO, GRG]

A.11 Memorandum to Head Teachers 836
Re Appointment of a Junior Teacher for 1942
[Supplied by a respondent]

A.12 An Appointment Notice to the Head of a School - 1939 837
[Supplied by a respondent]

A.13 A Memorandum to Junior Teachers 838
Re Course Desired by Junior Teachers for 1943
[Supplied by a respondent]

A.14 An Appointment Notice to a Junior Teacher 839
1) For a female in 1945
2) For a male in 1947)
[Supplied by respondents from those years]

* The vignettes are from Part 7 of the Memoir Document

A. 1:

VIGNETTES - LIFE AS A JUNIOR TEACHER 1921 - 1930

This section gave the respondents an opportunity to write freely about aspects of their life as a junior teacher. Those who did provided a number of interesting vignettes that added considerably to the view of what it was like to go through such an experience during the reforms of the early part of the decade and the further changes brought about by the approach of the Great Depression. Included with this section are vignettes from two respondents who served in 1919, together with several from monitors and Supplementary teachers who, although they had never served as junior teachers, responded to the Memoir Document.

One respondent left the space blank and four others explained why they could write nothing in this section:

- Too long ago to remember. (63 years) [1930]
- I'm sorry I can't help you with more information, as I become confused about what happened when I was a J, T, & later a teacher ... I have turned 80 and I am afraid my memory is slipping fast - I had a very good memory, and am very disappointed that it is failing so quickly. [1930]
- Too long ago - I might move into fantasy land so no recollections!. [1930]
- Re the questionnaire - I regret that I was not able to complete [all of] Part B. I felt that I was unable to give a true picture of my time as a Junior Teacher as my memory has become very hazy. It is 63 years since that time. [1929]

All the rest had something to say and several prefaced their remarks by also referring to the lengthy time span involved:

- To begin to recall the happenings nearly 70 years ago is a very complex exercise. [1923]
- So long ago, specifics not easy to recall - 50+ years ago, and I have been retired now for 16+ years. (am now 81) [1928]
- When I inform you that I'll be 78 in a few days time you'll realise you are asking a great deal of my memory, but I have enjoyed trying to answer your questions. [1929]
- Thank you for providing the opportunity for me to try to revive my period as a Junior Teacher at M ... Primary School in 1929. I hope the following account will be of some interest to you.
- You are asking me to think back 61 years - it was in 1929 that I was a junior teacher ...
- This episode is one of the nicest surprises I can remember although I am finding some difficulties in answering your questionnaire - memories seem to flutter about at times, but at others to be very clear. I hope my answers will be of some assistance. [1930]

Most of them, however, were able to write from a paragraph or two to several pages of recollections as did a number of those who had not referred to the time lag or to failing memories. The majority of these memoirs related to aspects of school and teaching, the junior teacher role and personal encounters and recollections. Some however, simply recalled what it was like just to live in the 1920s.

The 1920s

For some respondents, one of the most memorable things was the effect of the harsh times leading up to the Depression. One respondent recalled that she lived at Outer Harbour and 'witnessed the Waterside Workers' Strike of 1928 for 5 months of my Intermediate High School year'. She went on to re-emphasize how the things she saw as a junior teacher in the Port Adelaide area affected her feelings for children:

- I hope that you will have gathered that I really loved children, who were the products of the early depression years 1928-1936.

Another respondent from the same area recalled one of his most vivid recollections:

- Perhaps the most impressionable years were those of the depression - when one can remember boys taking crusts from the rubbish bin to eat.

The one who served as a junior teacher in Victoria also had vivid memories of how some children fared in those times:

- I was, fortunately for me, one of the last students to be admitted as the Great Depression was already devastating the community ... That prompts an observation about conditions at G... State School in 1929-30. Some children came to school bare-footed and in old worn clothes, which usually the mother had done her best to patch and mend; most of them had chilblains... Many children were obviously undernourished too & obviously suffered from rickets and adenoids.

Several others remembered the Depression because it affected their careers.

- I don't think that the year as a Junior Teacher disadvantaged me. When I graduated from Teachers College in Dec., 1931, which was during the Depression, there were about 250 of us who graduated and there were appointments for only about 80 of us. The rest of us were told

to take whatever job we could get until we received an appointment. Fortunately my appointment to a one-teacher school was on 1st March 1932.

- I am not sure that my one year's experience as a junior teacher was a pertinent point in the selection of teachers at the end of our College training course. The State, in 1931, was in the midst of a dreadful depression & the Minister of Education came to the College & addressed all the out-going students - to warn them that all could not expect to be employed immediately. Of the 52 students in my group, only 12 received appointments from the beginning of the 1932 school year. I was in the lucky 12, but I cannot say how many other junior teachers were amongst them. I was so uncertain about receiving an appointment that I asked my father to find me a job during the Christmas vacation, & I was able to start immediately on my return home. My job was driving a truck & carting wheat from a farm to the town - 14 miles each way. I was still on the job when the telegram arrived with the joyful news - an appointment to teach 20 children at K... for the princely salary of the equivalent of $300 per year. Teachers had volunteered to take a 22.5% cut in salary in the 1930s & the cut was never restored. Many of the students in my A1 group at the College waited 18 months to 3 years for a position.

- At the end of my second College year (1932) few in my group of 21 received appointments. I was fortunate enough to go to a 'Subsidised School' on a station out from Port Augusta where I spent 15 very happy months before being appointed to a city Infant School in 1934. You may not know what a 'Subsidised School' was as I imagine they are a thing of the past. The Department paid me & the family kept me free of charge. My salary was £8 per year per child - £56 for the year! However, I repeat what I've already said - it was a bad economic period & I was more than happy to have the job.

- I decided to become a teacher because I lived through the 'great Depression' and noted that my father, a Head Master, retained employment continuously.

Others remembered the social values of the times, the attitudes towards authority and the attraction of teaching for the upwardly mobile.

- The whole social structure was so different from today. The home was the centre of our social structure. The recognition of discipline and authority was not questioned. So even if one of your own age was placed in charge, the others automatically accepted his or her authority. At that time [1923] all males over 15 years had to do military training until 26 years - later reduced to 21 years. So even here one of your own age often commanded you in a squad. Radio was in its infancy - no Talkies, few motor cars and only the elite were

privileged to attend Tertiary Education. Even though you could obtain an Arts degree without English, you were compelled to study a foreign language - Latin or Greek. The Classics held sway. So if you had aspirations to further studies teaching offered the only chance and even then you were bound and had to sign on the dotted line.

- Unlike the situation today, in those times [1929] teachers were regarded highly by the community. They dressed well, spoke well, were not seen guzzling booze in public etc., nor in any way did they lose our esteem. They earned our respect, and we wanted to be respected as they were. J.T. training seemed to us to be not only the beginning of a working life, but also the beginning of a way of life that might lead us to be respected

Aspects of school and teaching

Some recalled the approaches to teaching and learning in their junior teacher days.

- The curriculum of those days was, in essence, a mass of organised material to be memorised by children; a series of routine skills to be mastered. Miss McKay, [his supervisory teacher] a traditionalist, taught accordingly. But as young as I was, I could see that she did, in an unconscious way (and at times, more directly) take account of the wide range of differences in the abilities of children, and at times she talked to me about this. This had a profound influence on my later attitude to teaching. I recall that she questioned why children spent hours in object and model drawing and on modulator practice & tonic solfah ('Singing'). [but] She was an expert instructor in these things, 'I do it because I have to'.

- There was much formality, such as signing on & off by teachers in the attendance register & time sheet, & the routine marking of the class roll first thing in the morning before proceeding to the formal test in 'Mental Arithmetic', a set of problems written on the blackboard and covered with a blind. When they were uncovered, they were to be answered in a few minutes, all calculations to be made mentally. There were also regular tests in spelling and rote learning of poetry etc, with the strap for ill success & rubber stamps of 'Excellent', 'Very Good'; 'Good' for approved performance. Except for the mark of the strap, I still think these were by no means unproductive methods when used to stimulate memory and achievement.

- What I saw at G... School in 1927 was a good standard in traditional teaching - how to teach spelling, how to teach tables, how to teach geography... In essence, the solid values of a traditional curriculum for which I entertain a deep respect. This, I am sure, helped me immeasurably in my early teaching days.

- Friday tests (competition through the school) were probably our biggest worry. If you saw a child with a sum wrong or a spelling error you gave him such a rotten look that he knew he had to alter it.

- The first value I remember was my personal opinion of how restricted methods were used for Reading - it was regarded by children as the 'sleepiest' episode of the day and was instrumental in giving me grains of thought which grew throughout my career and made that my most absorbing teaching enthusiasm till my retirement. With the children in my J.T. Gr. 4 & 5. Each child had to be allotted 45 seconds oral reading per lesson - their names were ticked on the record page as they read and the H.M. would check the record each day after school. Any omission would have to be explained.

The role of the Inspector, usually as a force to be reckoned with, was well remembered by some respondents.

- Re the Inspector. The Grade V boys were housed in a church hall some distance from the main school. On several occasions a boy from the school would arrive to present Miss McKay with a stick of chalk - WHITE, the Inspector had arrived, GREEN, annual inspection. He never came near Miss McKay, a fact which she resented. In her view she had much to show. I agree. I learned a few things from Miss McKay about Inspectors.

- We had a District Inspector whom no-one liked (I hated him when I was at school). He used to appear without warning. But we had a few children who came by train from Seaton Park and if they saw him on the train they would belt for school and tell the Head. On the morning I returned to school after 3 weeks of sickness, he was seen. The Head, who knew I was not yet myself and had no notes prepared said "Disappear. I'll let you know when the coast is clear". Most unorthodox but how I appreciated it.

- All the preparation, cleaning up and generally putting everything in order before the District Inspector's incidental inspection was a surprise to me. However, when the detailed inspection was due there was a real flurry. I did not realise until then that the professional future of each staff member depended on his assessment. Personally I found the District Inspector quite a pleasant, helpful gentleman. His report on my work after sitting for half a day consisted of observations like '... is teaching ... quite well but avoid ...' The result of his detailed inspection was that I [a male] lost my Lower 11 and Upper 1 group and was given children from Upper 11 who were lagging in achievement and would be hard to promote to Grade 111. The Inspector explained that it would be a good opportunity for me to show my skill by bringing them up to standard.

- The inspection day (November) commenced at 8 am and ended at 6.15 pm - after school, assessment was conducted as a summary to all staff of the percentages attained for every subject for every grade. Incidentally, H.M.'s salaries were adjusted up or down as a result of those results. [1930!]

A few recalled aspects of their supervision and instruction.

- It was my good fortune to be appointed to the Infant section of the school. The lady in charge of that section was not only an excellent teacher, but also most sympathetic and helpful to me. As Junior Teachers [in 1929] we had to attend at a quarter to eight on Tuesday and Thursday mornings for 'tuition'. On Tuesday we had to go through with the Head Master a book on the techniques of teaching - this consisted of reading the book and making notes on the contents. In the first term the Head was conscientious and supervised us. However, when a new Head Master was appointed later in the year, he decided that we could do this 'tuition' as well without him - provided we had notes for him to initial (I later realised that this was for the benefit of the District Inspector). On Thursday mornings we went through the Education Regulations and the procedure for compiling the many statistics required by the Department. This was for half an hour and then we sat in on Staff Meeting.

- The Head was a 'stickler' for everything being done on the dot. He instructed myself and the other J.T. in the principles of teaching and the curriculum.

- I was given charge of 18 slow learners under the charge of a very able teacher nearing retirement who unfortunately was rather too fond of her 'glass' and was often the 'worse for wear'. She was very difficult to work for but the Head shielded me from her temper. I had to share a room with her but she usually sent me out. In the winter I had my little ones in the shed with wet coats all around (colds by the dozen). In summer I took them out under the trees in the yard. I had to attend three mornings a week (8 am) in the Head's room to study a book about teaching - Green & Birchenough (I think that's how it was spelt). I did not gain much from it as I just sat and read. I gained a certain amount of experience - the hard way.

- The Head treated me very well for he was a true teacher and was interested in my future and other teachers who went through his classes. Quite a number of us became teachers and we all agreed that he had a great influence on our future teaching careers.

- The Head was unique - prepared black board first thing - sat at his large desk continually wearing his hat and smoking his pipe. He both conducted his Gr.6 & 7 lessons and at the same time observed my progress in the adjoining room - his valuable assistance was to help with discipline by loud commands from his desk. I became very smug about my ability to discipline the children easily.

Others recalled aspects involving the students.

- Even though I was merely a Junior Teacher [at a school near home] many of my friends regarded me as a teacher. A false regard, but I was pleased about it.

- A Grade V11 boy put his foot across the aisle and tripped me. I fell on the floor in front of the class, sprang up, and belted him on the side of the head. The class didn't laugh, but he reported me to the Head who gave me a long lecture on discipline & corporal punishment. The day I left he told me he was glad I had cracked that boy, as he himself had felt like doing it quite often.

- The strap - so many lashes on the hand - was regularly used for punishment even by us J.Ts. and not just for disobedience or moral offences, but for errors in e.g. spelling or arithmetic above a required minimum. It didn't seem to cause any resentment and in fact produced a corpus of hearty folklore among the children, both of humour and bravado.

- I felt like a child returned to school after a year's absence. As there was no companionship from the staff I had my mates in the top part of the school. I played hockey with them, & they would wait for me after school & we'd walk or ride some of the way home together.

- Memories of my junior teaching year have faded a lot but two incidents I shall never forget - the first when a lass in Grade V11 would literally 'take a fit'. She would come to the front of the class, lie down and chew on the front of the raised wooden platform from which a teacher taught in those days. This happened fairly regularly and it was wonderful the way the Headmistress explained this to the class and eventually no one took any notice but went on with their work. This taking no notice by her fellow students soon caused the fits to cease. Another experience was when I had some money stolen from a pocket of a coat hanging in a cupboard. The Headmistress took the matter in hand and soon located the student culprit with the money in her cardigan pocket. The lass must have gone home denying her guilt to her parents who arrived at the school ready to pull the Headmistress to pieces. She handled the matter with her usual diplomacy and the parents soon retreated with apologies to her and

myself. It was ironic that I had a very similar experience on my first day of teaching at Y... later on, but was able to handle it myself.

- At the very opposite mode of behaviour [to the generally very formal school routine this male respondent was describing] was the conduct of some of the senior girls in Grade V11. These would have been 13 year olds, only 3-4 years younger than me. Some of them would ogle me by lifting their skirts under the partial cover of the desk to display to me their dark & voluminous bloomers, reaching right down to the knee. Out of school too! On my way home, I was not immune from related gestures from the girls, a naive blend of the shy and the bold.

Life as a junior teacher

- After the 12 months J.T. at Kilkenny school I returned to the Woodville High School and for the next two years was elected the Head Prefect of the School - this I put down to the experience and maturity gained as a J.T.

- Your questionnaire seems based on an assumption that S. Aus. had a more or less compulsory J.T. system at a date [1926] when I can only recall a J.T. year as a more or less academic catch-up year - and this despite being concerned with Teacher education from 1948 to my retirement. Perhaps being in one's 80th year is a long way from being in one's 16th year as a J.T.!
  P.S. I believe some students may have obtained matric but had to wait a year to reach Uni entrance age.

- Regarding successes and failures: I was not a great success as a relieving teacher. Inevitably I had to face up to disciplinary problems, but I never appealed for help. Often I abandoned the time tabled lesson and resorted to the reading of adventure stories. This worked pretty well. I found out a good deal about the effectiveness of the absent teachers - from the attitude of the boys, the standards of bookwork, proficiency in Arithmetic, Spelling etc. An area in which I feel I did succeed was in P.T. (DRILL according to the Time Table). Miss McKay (she was close to retirement) stayed indoors... Then it was organized fun with the basket balls and footballs. Miss McKay must have reported to the H.M. for I found myself in charge of the school football team (I was a reasonably good player).

- Early teaching was not easy with classes of 60. Present day teachers won't believe this. At Croydon Central I saw much of the 'inside' of the school system as opposed to my student High School experience of previous years. I spoke to skilled teachers of Woodwork. Art + Technical Drawing etc. for senior groups. My own [country] High School had had none of

this. The lunch room camaraderie was an uplifting experience for me - the handling of parents & problems was interesting & general teacher help for me was so encouraging. I enjoyed the work as a beginner but it was both physically & mentally exhausting. I was young.

- I was a Quorn boy. It was there that I spent my year as a J.T. The children I taught were the brothers and sisters of my friends and acquaintances. I also had a sister on the staff who rejoiced in the title of Supplementary Teacher. Two others were straight out of College, so we were not an experienced staff, but we did have a capable Head Teacher. Fortunately the whole staff accepted me for what I, in actual fact, was - a class teacher. I was never made to feel a junior. Perhaps I had advantages - my family was well known and respected in the town. The H.T. and the District Inspector were friends of our family. I did not have to become acquainted with a new set of people. Early in November my family moved to Woodville and I saw the year out at Alberton. There I had no fixed class but took lessons where directed. Having no class responsibility made me feel I was not earning my £1-18-4 per fortnight. I did not query the necessity for me to be a J.T. I accepted my lot and got on with the job.

- Sport. I walked some three miles to the West Parklands [from Challa Gardens] with the team members, for our inter-school matches. After the game we walked home. Some teachers did not co-operate with my sporting activities, and often refused to allow their students to play in the team because they had failed in their weekly academic tests - Four spelling errors meant no sport. The Head Master failed to stand by me in this matter. The most difficult teachers in this matter were ambitious women (I hope I'm not reported for discrimination).

- My situation was perhaps unusual in that in my home village, two brothers and a sister were at the small school and one brother was in the class I taught. My mother was a former teacher and a member of the School Committee. I perhaps already had some advantages such as being a fairly bright student - normally top of my class - and a had a natural or naturally developed affinity to young children. Moreover, I think children of the age I taught (9 to 11 years) are probably the easiest to teach, to interest and to control by other than harsh measures.

- The situation in Victoria seems to have differed from that in S.A. in that all/most (?) J.T.'s lived at home & taught at a local school. Thus I was able to continue my local activities and associations as before, & remained in contact with those who had been my contemporaries at High School. The challenge of a novel environment came only when in 1931, I went off as a

resident student in Melbourne Teachers College. And I took to the institutional life of the College at once.

- I was never invited to a Staff meeting but the Head asked for my program to be taken to the meeting to show the teachers. You can imagine this would not have pleased them. I think the teachers did not really appreciate a Junior Teacher in the school but they tolerated me and I didn't 'feel' I was a teacher, so the situation did not worry me.

- There were times when 3 teachers in the same room were one or two too many, and it was easier to give my prepared History lesson to a quiet room of 80 children. The other J.T. had the other 20 girls for basic lessons, but we got together for History, Geography & Nature Study. Most reading lessons were done outside in the trees or in a shelter shed.

- I must explain how I came to be appointed to two schools. Our home was in Fullarton and Parkside was the nearest Infant School. However, my father was transferred to Murray Bridge. The family moved before the school year started. I had been advised of my junior teacher appointment to Parkside so I stayed with my grandparents. After a short time - I don't remember how long - I was transferred to Murray Bridge Infant School. I don't remember applying for transfer but I may have done so on the advice of the Head. I was told that it was the policy of the Department to appoint junior teachers as close to home as possible.

- When I went to Thebarton Girls Central School I was given a class on an upstairs open balcony. There were desks, a black board and an easel, & a shelf for children's books. There was no equipment of any kind, & no school library. When the winter came the desks etc. were moved to a small landing which was at the top of the open stairs - concrete floor, no door and of course no heating. I wore my overcoat all day & my mother gave me a mat to stand on as she thought it was not healthy to stand on cement all day. I was there until the end of the very long year. My strong religious upbringing was one thing that kept me going until I could go to the Teachers College & really learn how to teach. I felt it was a trial that had been put on me and all I could do was to endure! The hymn 'I need Thee every hour' kept recurring and of course I never showed my real feelings to my family, and would never have thought to speak out to anyone on the Staff.

Personal encounters and recollections

A few respondents recalled anecdotes that threw further light on what it was like to be a junior teacher.

- Discipline was firm and respected. When, for my fuller experience, I was set to teach, under close supervision, in the Infant Class, my 6-7 year old sister was a pupil. I recall with delight her reproaching me at home 'Colin, I will call you Sir at school, but I will not call you Sir at home.' When one of her friends who knew me well spontaneously called me 'Colin' in class, she was quickly reprimanded by the supervising mistress.

- One day the much loved senior master said to me 'I've had enough of Matthews's bullying of the little boys. You must help me deal with him. Get your strap and come into the yard with me'. He then called all the children & summoned from them Matthews and a little boy called Boland, who was one of his victims. Matthews, I should explain, was a grossly fleshy big boy, the son of a prosperous local family; he believed himself superior to other children because of the wealth of his family & the local standing of his father. Boland, on the contrary, was an undersized boy from a poor home, but with intelligence, guts, & a shrewd mind...You can imagine the excitement & anticipation of the other children of something unusual about to happen. 'I think you have been bullying Boland' the senior master challenged Matthews 'See if you can beat him in a fair fight. Get ready the two of you to fight'. 'Oh, no sir, no sir' cried little Boland 'he's too big for me.' We both looked at Matthews, who for his part seemed to be wavering at the prospect of controlled aggression with fair play. Reluctance on both sides to engage. Says the senior 'Well you're going to fight and that will tell us which is the coward & who is the fighter'. He called to me 'Mr H..., you stand behind Boland with your strap & belt him till he fights. I'll be Matthews's second'. At which he gave Matthews a good belt across the arm with it ... I don't recall myself having to beat Boland. I merely said to him, 'Get into him Boland, he's no good'. At that I gave Boland a hard shove in the direction of Matthews so that he practically fell on him. Instinctively in self-protection, or self-assertion, this little underfed youngster, clenched his fists & gave the podgy Matthews a couple of punches in the belly. 'Stop him, stop him, Sir' wailed Matthews, 'he's hurting me'. A great roar of derision and satisfaction went up from the assembled pupils. Boland lifted his head & stepped up to us as erect and bright in the eye as a bantam cock. Matthews, head down, & actually sobbing, slunk off to the boos and indictments of the crowd. That kept Matthews in his place thereafter so far as I can recall. Boland achieved the confidence to use his natural talent ... in classroom & school yard. Was this reprehensible corporal punishment? I think not. In fact only about two strokes of the strap were delivered. It was justice achieved by loss of face and gave scope for the demonstration of innate qualities.

- The Head & the Inspector were watching my lesson on William the Conquerer. In the class a know-all child who was always reading history and was quite knowledgeable, constantly would interrupt me. On this day, just as I started, he tried to steal my thunder again. 'It was 1066, and he was going to do battle with Harald of England, Sir!'. Then I gave the details 'Yes. It was a Wednesday & William was wearing a yellow and brown shirt made by his mother. His initials were embroidered in the corner of the shirt. Around his neck was a chain, given to him by his aunt, and he wore his best friend's ring on his right hand. His horse was called Francis, and it was a beautiful black.' That shut him up! The end of my history lesson was quite happy. That know-all child was silenced for keeps. The Head and Inspector were pleased that I had researched my story, I didn't tell them that I had manufactured the details to silence the nuisance.

- These things may have little to add but they meant much to me. In Grade 1 there were 3 little boys who had 'Buttons' problems (little boys pants were buttoned to shirts). They could go to the toilet without any trouble but to do up the back buttons - no! Their mothers approached me with the problem & I agreed to 'cope'. At recess time when we teachers were all standing talking, up would run 3 small boys – 'Do up our buttons please' - I got no end of teasing - especially from the young male staff member. But when I was away sick for 3 weeks he was the one who did the buttons.

- One incident during the visit of the Inspector remains in my memory. He was questioning the children about people of other lands. One girl said 'The people of Holland take a lot of medicine' 'How do you know?' 'Because they need a large number of dikes in their country'. (a dike to Molly meant the little house at the end of the back garden path). This made me realise the fact that 'teacher' was talking a different language to 'taught' - that we cannot assume a scholar's impression is what we are really trying to convey.

- I learnt to knit so that I could teach that craft in sewing lessons. One bright little girl had started her knitted face washer at home and wanted to learn how to 'cast off' at the first lesson. As I hadn't learnt to 'cast off' myself, I had to suggest that she did a couple more rows. I was saved by the bell and learnt to 'cast off' before the next lesson.

Other responses

Two of the 1919 respondents wrote something here. One was brief as he did not feel that his experience - as a junior teacher in a High School - was a typical one. However, he did explain the rush at the time to train teachers for the commercial courses that were becoming important in secondary schools.

- I doubt whether I could be classed as part of the J.T. system at the time. I was aware of the hardship of many of the J.T.'s at the time. I, and others, were part of a recruitment for Commercial teachers. Pressure cooked - only one year at T.C. & did the rest of our Uni course by Correspondence.

The other one [who later rose to a very high position in teacher training and who played a prominent part in the Education Inquiry Committee] wrote at some length about the junior teacher system and about education in general as he knew it and as he saw it in the teachers he trained:

- In the mid 1930's, after 5 or so years as a lecturer at Adelaide T.C., I remember striding up & down in front of my B2 (2nd year primary student teachers) after the group had been on its Wed morning routine: watching a Demonstration lesson in a Practising School; observing two fellow students give a Criticism lesson - (a grim ordeal for the more sensitive students). The two student lessons were poor; the discussion by the group undiscerning. I stamped heavily at the end of each statement. 'I try to teach you learning theory. (stamp) I try to teach you methods & principles of teaching. (stamp) And the strongest influence on the way you teach is the way you were taught. (stamp) And that's not good enough.' (STAMP) A superficial competence. Some ex J.T.s thought they knew it all ... Monitorships & junior teacherships were a relic of the long-ago ages when men (not women though) became craftsmen, tradesmen on the job. Early last century it was still possible for young fellows to practise medicine who had gone around with a medical doctor to qualify after a year or two of systematic study... teachers who largely respected the methods & ideas of those who taught them, were often confident & competent, but could not see their serious limitations. Teachers... did not know how seriously disadvantaged they had been by their experience as J.T.s - nor know how seriously they were disadvantaging their pupils...Junior Teachers taught as they were taught, disciplined as they were disciplined, drilled by rote as they had been drilled by rote etc. because there had been no systematic experience of <u>education</u> about educating... just training for instructing... sitting at a desk looking at the blackboard & listening to the teacher (who did 90 plus percent of the talking in the classroom) & so they [in their turn] stood in front of the class using the blackboard - & doing 90 plus percent of all the talking. The junior teacher system could be looked upon as a necessary expedient - cheap labour; a useful exercise in training on the job - & on the cheap. Basically though, it was taken for granted that apprenticeship was <u>the</u> best way to train.

Four other people responded to the advertisement for former junior teachers to take part in these memoirs. However, none of them had been junior teachers. Three had been monitors and one of them then became a Supplementary teacher [see Chapter 7 for details of the Supplementary system] for a short while. The other was a Supplementary teacher. As has been seen, these were the only other untrained people besides junior teachers in schools in the 1920s and their recollections make for interesting comparisons.

They all filled out the questionnaire as if they had been junior teachers and aspects of the monitor and junior teacher roles were very similar in some respects and very different in others. Two of the monitors acknowledged that they had not been junior teachers. The other one wrote as if she had been but the records of the time clearly indicate that she was a monitor.

A major difference was that monitors did not require a secondary qualification. The three of them had obtained the Qualifying Certificate that marked the end of Primary schooling. One did a year or so at a High School but the others gained further qualifications by external studies:

- I did my Q.C. exam when I was almost 14 years in 1923 & then stayed home for a year, then began studying until I was 16 & then the opportunity came for me to go as a J.T. (monitor according to the Education Gazette of the time) at P...
- Studied for two subjects annually & sat for examinations in Mt. Gambier passing 5 Intermediate subjects and one Leaving subject. (She was a monitor from 1923 to 1927)

The reasons they gave for becoming monitors were very similar to those given by junior teachers:

- When I started school my aim was to become a teacher. In my country town the main employment was part time housework so I thought myself lucky to have a job as a monitor for only 6/8 a week.
- I had always wanted to be a teacher and when an opportunity came I was able … to begin.
- As Penola had little opportunity for employment & we had difficulty training for careers the Education Department offered a chance. I loved helping as a monitor before sitting for the entrance exam to Adelaide Training College.

Each of them felt ready to take on the role. Two of them had had a break from school but one went straight on in the school she had attended:

- Yes. I had confidence in myself. Obtained my Q.C. at 12 & spent part of the next year in Grade V11 [again]. Permission was given for me to teach as a monitor at 13 and a half yrs instead of at age 14

They found aspects of the role very satisfying and none of them recalled anything unsatisfactory or had any problems:

- I had always loved children so it didn't take me long to become interested in their ways & abilities & to find the life very satisfying. I had no problems in relating to the children, as at no time were there any upsets. Regards the town & people I had grown up amongst them and it was our nearest shopping centre.
- Witnessing scholars improve in school subjects and their keen attitudes towards learning. Had no problems.

Two graded themselves as 'Very successful' and the other as moderately so:

- I felt a success because I had the respect of children and was able to communicate with them, and friendships still exist today.
- I felt quite happy with my J.T. [monitor] time - never did the H.M. say I was not doing my work properly & never spoke of any other times that I was not being a good & satisfactory person in all ways.

None of them felt exploited nor did they feel that children suffered under the monitor system. Two of them were in the same room as the Head and the other recalled that the class teacher was always there to 'help & advise'. Two believed that the system [monitor?] had its uses and need not have been abolished:

- I think it was a good thing as it helped you learn how to manage the preparation of lessons & the management of children.
- I believe the junior teaching scheme would have been of benefit to the teacher concerned viz (1) to know whether he or she wanted to continue as a teacher (2) Assisted when entering Teachers College.

Like most of the junior teachers, these monitors found their experience both happy and useful:

- I was happy as a J.T. [monitor] & got on well with the H.M. & children. To me it was a useful time because it helped me to know more about teaching & the way to handle children.
- I was happy as I liked working with children & useful experiences gained for when I entered Teachers College.

As can be seen from those remarks each of these monitors entered the Teachers' College but unlike the junior teachers it was to a Short Course beginning part way through a year. In the light of their academic qualifications this was the only option open to them. They each found that their experience helped prepare them for practical teaching:

- We had an advantage re teaching & book work required. My Class teacher said I was the first to offer to do the first criticism lesson at Sturt Street that he ever had which was due to my previous teaching experience [4 and a half years as a monitor and one as a Supplementary

Teacher] I mention this episode to prove that experience before entering A.T.C. gives confidence. Not many students had previous teaching experience. [in 1928]

- It was a help when we had to spend days at Currie Street Practising school occasionally taking charge of a class with many of the other trainees watching you & after the lesson judging your efforts.

Only one of them commented - in a rather oblique manner - on academic comparisons:

- Without a very high academic education we were able to teach at children's level.

That one also made a comment that bears out what the respondent from 1919 had said about monitors and junior teachers teaching as they had been taught and the importance of higher education in remedying this:

- As a monitor in my home town where I had attended school under the same Head Teacher ... and assisted him during a period of four and a half years (1924 -1927), I can only say it was a great experience to help me in the future when I taught in schools of my own. In many ways his ideas were used in my first school. [as a Supplementary Teacher before A.T.C.] But changed after the experiences at Adelaide Teachers College.

The other respondent explained that she had never been a monitor and went on to describe how she became a Supplementary Teacher:

- By circumstances. Teachers were scarce at the time (1924) and the local people had tried in vain to have the school re-opened (it had been closed for several years) and were at last told that if they could recommend a suitable person to act as a supplementary teacher their request would be considered. I was approached [she was almost 17 and had passed the Intermediate] and decided to try the experiment. At that time I was quite happy working on my parents' property but I had a liking for teaching and had supervised the correspondence lessons of younger brothers and sisters and my mother had been a teacher. I felt quite confident of being able to fulfill the requirements of a teacher as it was the school I had attended to Grade V11 standard & I knew all the pupils & also all their parents etc.

She described her preparation for the task:

- I had several weeks in a Class V1 school with the Head Teacher, plus a monitor, to prepare me to take up duties as a Supplementary teacher. I was given all the assistance that I asked for and was prepared very well to take up my later responsibilities as a Teacher on my own.

She entered the Teachers' College in a special course that began part way through 1928:

- All in all it was a time of hard work as some of us were chosen for a shorter course and that meant cramming 12 months work into nine. I enjoyed most of it though. The worst events

were those fearful Criticism lessons held in the Practising Schools - Currie St was my Cross where the cosmopolitan assembly of urchins had named us the 'stewed ants'. If one had success with that lot there was little to fear elsewhere.

She also remembered the difficulties of some aspects of study at the Teachers' College:

- The Principal of A.T.C. was Dr. Schulz (with a long string of letters attached) and of whom most of us were scared stiff especially during his Psychology lessons. Anyone with a grain of sense made sure they digested his lectures for the next session. He had a cynical and sarcastic tongue.

However, she went on to say:

- Also found the College 'lessons' [i.e dictation, spelling, composition etc] much less tedious than the inexperienced.

A. 2:

VIGNETTES - LIFE AS A JUNIOR TEACHER 1931 - 1939

Just over half of these former junior teachers felt able to write something in response to the request for memories, anecdotes, experiences, successes or failures that would reveal more clearly what it was like to be a junior teacher through the eyes of those who had experienced it. Most of the others explained why they felt unable to write any more. A number believed that they had already written a good deal of appropriate material in response to all the earlier questions and that there was very little else to add. Others simply referred to the time span of between 50 and 60 years, a feeling perhaps best summed up by one respondent from 1931/32 who wrote 'Sorry but after 60 years I cannot remember much (more) that would be helpful.' One respondent from 1937 claimed both reasons:

- I have not got a good memory! I think I've exhausted myself answering the previous questions.

Those who did remember additional material provided much that was helpful for expanding the view of what had been described in Chapter 7 as a 'new' type of junior teacher - i.e. one who had to teach where and at whatever level suited the needs of the Education Department and who most likely had to board away in unfamiliar surroundings. Some described the social life of their new communities while others revealed further details about the boarding conditions that they had to accept. Naturally enough, many respondents had something further to say about aspects of schooling. Some recalled the formal approaches to teaching, learning and discipline while others remembered the children and the various authority figures with whom they had to deal. Others recalled personal incidents that further illustrated the realities of life in a period that began in a Depression and ended with the beginning of a World War.

The Depression

While there were only a few direct references to the Depression, its influence is very obvious in a number of the later vignettes, especially those relating to such problems as meeting boarding and travel or personal and leisure expenses. Two respondents from the early part of the decade remembered the immediate effects of the Depression on employment prospects:

- There were no places in the Department in 1934. Alan M... was 1st & I was 2nd in the [A] Course yet we waited until June for an appointment. Many B course people waited over a year - some found other employment & left the Department.

- In interpreting my responses to the various items in the questionnaire, I think it is important to understand the economic times which coincided with my secondary schooling and junior teachership years. The late '20s & '30s were the years of the Great Depression. Expenditure on education was restricted: probationary studentships (with a paid allowance) were abolished, there were no admissions of new students to Teachers College in 1933 & 1934...If I had not been offered a junior teachership in 1933, I would most likely have been unemployed, even though I had good secondary school qualifications. Therefore I was extremely happy to have a job even though it was poorly paid. (I well remember the Head calling me to his office to tell me I could go to W... as a JT, saying 'Young man, you are very lucky to have a job'.)

Two from 1939 looked back on how their lives had been affected by growing up in Depression years:

- I was born in 1920. Like so many children of my time I became a pawn of the Great Depression (1929-33). I wanted to stay on the family farm because already the love of country life - the richness of the earth and all its progeny, the great diurnal cycle of sunlight and darkness, the beauty of the natural environment - were deeply part of me. But economic conditions were such that there was no room for me. I already had an older brother working side by side with my father. Farm products were being sold for less than the cost of production: there was no future on the land. I therefore became part of that great exodus which sadly depopulated the rural areas of South Australia during the 1930s when young men and women left in droves ... When I finished at primary school the only course that seemed to be open to me was to stay at school. This meant attending a secondary school - a fairly unusual thing for backblock kids at that time - which my parents managed to arrange through prodigies of improvisation. Eventually this led me to the University of Adelaide. I applied unsuccessfully to the Education Department for an appointment as a Junior Teacher in 1937, and again in 1938, They said I was 'underqualified' in the first instance and 'overqualified' in the second. The real reason probably was that the clerk had lost my application. I was eventually appointed to R... in 1939. Although I had eked out a Spartan student's existence at the University with help from my parents and one of my older sisters, and by working in vacations (trapping rabbits, harvesting, bag-sewing, fruit- picking etc.) I felt I could no longer be a burden to my family. My reasons for seeking to become a J.T. were therefore economic as much as they were vocational.

- During those years of my youth it was natural to want to earn one's living - the amount of pay was not as important as it would be to young ones now. Our expectations were more limited I suppose because of those 10 years of hardship endured during that awful Great Depression & then the War was declared. - We simply lived - ate - dressed - enjoyed - &

quite likely prayed. And at the end of our student years we knew we were secure in being employed for at least 4 years! Had to stay or pay the 'bond' & that would have been a further hardship on our parents.

Aspects of country life

A number of the responses in the main parts of the questionnaire illustrated aspects of life in South Australian country towns in the 1930s. These longer extracts help to show in a more detailed way what social life was like for young junior teachers and how they adjusted to new environments.

- 1934 was the year the Australians were playing Test cricket in England and people in Australia would sit up well after midnight listening to the cricket broadcasts on the radio ... As in most places without electricity, a car battery provided the power for the radio, and great care was taken to ensure that the battery was fully charged. One family used to invite me out to their farm at week-ends so that I could listen to the cricket on Friday & Saturday nights and stay the night with them. The farm house was of galvanised iron, the nights were bitterly cold, but mallee roots on the fire provided us with warmth...Australia won the series winning the 5th Test by 562 runs and regained the Ashes. Naturally we listened to these broadcasts with rapt attention. (Upper South East)

- I pushed the bike from P... (in the Barossa Valley) to Eudunda for football training. After my first training run I was made very welcome by the President of the Eudunda Football Club, who was the proprietor of one of the local hotels. On Saturday nights there was always a room (on my own) available for me at the Hotel, and I sat at the proprietor's table. On Sundays somebody took me back to P.... I obviously could not have afforded to pay for accommodation and it was made clear from the beginning that all expenses were 'on the house'. I was a 'one handle of beer' man but my money was never collected by the barman. On Saturday nights there was usually a dance at one of the local small towns and I was taken by football mates. (Barossa Valley - 1934)

- Perhaps the most exciting experience I had at C... was spotlighting Kangaroos. These animals were unpopular with the farmers because they flattened large parts of the crops. So I was invited to go out with a party of farmers in an old buckboard. A bag of chaff was placed between the right side mudguard and the bonnet. I was given the job of sitting on the bag of chaff and holding the spotlight, 'and hold it still' they said. What an assignment! There can be nothing rougher than a paddock liberally strewn with mallee roots and limestone rocks. As the buckboard picked up speed in wild pursuit of the kangaroos it went up and down, I went up and down, and (would you believe it) the spotlight beam went up and down. And the

kangaroo kept changing his course, Shots rang out, and eventually the kangaroo was felled. Yes, that was a most exciting and exhilarating experience which I had the pleasure of repeating. (Upper South East - 1934)

- I had not been long in the 'village' when I discovered (most embarrassingly) how close-knit and inter-related were the families of the community. At the dinner table one evening, in reply to a question about the standard and abilities of a few local tennis players I had been practising with, I added a comment that I'd noticed one lady 'cheating a bit' by taking unfair advantage of 'self-umpiring' opponents' shots which landed close to the service and base lines. Dead silence. I found out next day that the lady was a married daughter of my landlady! No repercussions followed - but the lesson has lasted more than 50 years. Despite its smallness, the 'village' had two physical sections; North end and South end, with a marshy creek and unoccupied land in between. This division, as well as such things as religious denominations, sheep v cattle, pretty daughters and unpolished youths, the store and tennis courts up north and the school down south - etc. - gave rise to all sorts of minor jealousies, disagreements, even prejudices. It was a sometimes delicate obligation to preserve a neutral position, especially as I lived northside and worked southside - with a good mile in between. Perhaps it's just as well I was not an ardent churchgoer in those days - but was a teetotaller (I couldn't afford to be anything else, with only a couple of bob a week spending money). (1934 - in a River Murray town)

- The weekends were my own - but as often as not spent with the Head's family exploring the Flinders Ranges (Hans Heysen was there painting them) or with the local Methodist parson doing his rounds in the outlying little townships and sheep-stations. There was tennis on dirt courts and cricket on dirt wickets. (Far North -1935)

- I had had a sheltered, suburban up-bringing and I enjoyed my independence and the widening of my horizons. The Barossa Valley is a beautiful area, and I loved exploring the countryside (on foot) in my spare time. I learned about vine-growing and wine- making, and with an all-English back-ground found it interesting to live in a German Community. I remember the bus rides with the choir; the apple orchards where fruit could be picked as needed; and the rush (if rain came unexpectedly) by all hands to bring into cover the trays of fruit set out to dry. (1935)

- I have vivid memories of that town. I could have written a book on the old Cornish couple I lived with, or the wheat agents and their employees who were so hard-working and had such pride in their work, the horse-drawn vehicles going back and forth up and down the jetty with wheat - the ketches ('Falie' was one). In the not so busy times everybody played just as hard.

The small towns would turn on the most sumptuous balls, and our social activities included travelling many miles to attend them. (Yorke Peninsula - 1935)

- I remember with pleasure the visits to farms, drives on tractors, the wheat sheds piled high with sweet smelling bags of grain, the wonderful food, the exciting cricket matches, the frustrating tennis (I couldn't hit the ball if you paid me), learning to play golf on black scrapes, the lovely young friends and the 21st birthdays and the Balls and Barn Dances, (the delight of my life) the sumptuous suppers - the cream puffs. The 8" high banana cream cakes! The weekly visit of the 'Karatta' and the lumping and loading of wheat, learning to dive from that same wharf (and ricking my back in one too steep attempt), the joys of spear fishing for flounder on warm summer nights, long hot bush hikes. (Another Yorke Peninsula town - 1935)

- Social life was very simple. I had some quite nice friends. One interesting event was the arrival of the sailing vessels from Europe for the wheat race. There is nothing more beautiful than a sailing ship with sails all set ready for sailing against a pink sky. No. I didn't meet any of the sailors - remember my older sister was a nurse at W... (A nearby town) and 'boat girls' were not 'naice'! I went to only one dance (as I remember). A picture show used to come to town periodically (I've forgotten how often) and the Aboriginal people used to come over from Wardang Island on picture nights - they used to sit at the front and the locals sat in a group at the back of the hall. (Yorke Peninsula - 1936)

- Later [on the day of arrival] I went with the daughters of my landlady for a long walk. Before long, a couple of young lads joined us on their bicycles, and the further we went, the larger grew the bicycle brigade ... I could not understand this action, but - later I was informed that the children had been told that the new lady teacher, the first ever, was a very cross old lady of mature years, grey headed and very strict. I was just 17 and did not fit the description the children had been given! Hence their curiosity. (South East - 1936)

- There was little in the way of entertainment in the town. There was an occasional dance, picture show or concert. Most evenings after tea we played cards, either Euchre or Cribbage. We did not have electric light but used a Coleman Pressure lamp or an ordinary kerosene lamp. Only a few houses were connected to the electricity supply. Apart from cards there were sing-songs amongst the young people either at the church or in private homes. There was always someone who could play the piano for accompaniment and I often remembered this in sing-songs we had while I was serving in the R.A.A.F. (Mid-North - 1936)

- The most memorable aspect for me was living in a German community whose ways were very different. Most children spoke only German at home and only learnt English at school. Although the people on the whole were very kind, I really felt an alien as their language and culture were like living in another country. It really was being thrown in at the deep end and I must have been pretty adaptable to have survived a year of it. (Barossa Valley -1937)

- There was very little social life in the town - the odd dance which didn't really interest me - I enjoyed a little tennis with the younger folk. I was invited to the home of a large family 5 miles out of town, travelled by horse and trap - had a refreshing week-end there and climbed Mt. R... Remember how I enjoyed the change of food there - they served up rabbit - I was so tired of mutton and potatoes week in, week out - very few other veges. (Mid North - 1937)

- Every time one family killed a pig their dad made garlic sausage & as they wore no shoes I can still smell the room after they left as they had their food in their pockets to carry it. Also they helped in the sty & never bathed. (Lower North - 1937)

- My greatest shock was cultural - I had not had experiences of living away from a home of middle-class values, music, literature etc. - now I was in a rather non communicative situation ... The situation in the town was almost feudal - one large factory - privately owned where most of the population worked (and where most of the children saw their future)! The owner was a fine man who played the role of squire very well to the benefit of all the community. (Eastern Adelaide Hills - 1938)

- One of the big days in the district was when the family killed a pig. The children would stay at home that day and every bit of the pig would be turned into something - pork, white pudding, black pudding - I can't remember what else but it was a big day. The Lutheran element in the community was interesting. Whilst I was there a young couple were married in a hurry and had to stand up before the congregation and confess their sin. Dancing was frowned upon by strict Lutherans. Their Youth Group played such games as musical chairs, stepping the mat etc. My friend was allowed to go to dances with me in the hall across the road from her parent's home. She was supposed to sit and watch but one night she danced. Her mother saw her through the open door and next day she was in disgrace not only because she had danced but had done so in the dress she wore to church. These things were strange to me. (Barossa Valley - 1938)

- Young teachers going to small country towns were the centre of attraction and were never short of a partner at functions. I remember distinctly that not long after I arrived and it was discovered that I went to church, the minister commented that he had a considerable increase

in the numbers of young males in his congregation! Few people had cars but occasionally a couple of bachelors who were around would take us for a trip to the Hindmarsh Water Falls. We also spent many hours hiking over the country and along the beautiful natural creeks - when I say 'us' I mean myself and the two girls with whom I boarded and a few other friends at times. (River town - 1939)

- In my first season of football with one of the local teams, I usually played on the wing. One week I played at full back because the usual full back was sick. The opposition full forward was much older than I was, in his late twenties, and a tough hard drinking, red-headed Irishman. The first couple of times the ball came near us, I managed to beat him to it as I was faster than he was. Next time I was in front again, but I could hear him breathing heavily behind me, and just as I was about to grab the ball, he thumped me behind the ear. I can remember feeling really shocked that anyone would do such a thing; at High School we'd always been taught to play gentlemanly football. I was really naive in those days. (Eyre Peninsula - 1939)

- The local people were not well off, but I was kept supplied with fruit and nuts and mothers always sent me a piece of German Cake each week and made me a large slab to take home in the holidays. When I first went there I felt that the people were country bumpkins. I left with a feeling of admiration for them ... I never visited any family in the home situation but they were not visiting types. I feel, now, that probably they were far too busy about their work. (Barossa Valley - 1939)

Boarding conditions

As has been seen in earlier sections, a number of respondents had mentioned the effect on their lives of the boarding arrangements that were provided for them. Some were prepared to reveal even more details, particularly about the bad aspects, of their boarding places, including the very interesting opinion of several that those who took in boarders could have made very little out of the very large slice of a junior teacher's pay that generally went towards board.

- My boarding conditions will always remain with me as rather horrific. Ablutions (daily) were made in the parents' bedroom, using their bowl and jug. Once a week a tub for bathing. Clothes hung behind doors or kept in a suitcase. Fear of incineration as the daughter whose bed I shared read with a candle on her chest. The man of the house contracted an external cancer on his arm and spent most of his time in the kitchen where meals were prepared and served. He died 3 weeks after I left, so his condition had become somewhat unbearable for those in his vicinity.

- Away from the main house was a separate building with three rooms - a bedroom, a storeroom and a garage. I shared the bedroom with a man who helped in the family trucking business. He was very keen on greyhounds and card playing (gambling) Often; I would come home from school to find one or two greyhounds asleep on my bed. Whenever there was a dance in the local hall, my room mate enjoyed a game of poker. The table would be covered with a blanket and a hurricane lamp provided the light. They would play until dawn. Somehow or other, I used to sleep ... My room mate was a rough diamond with a heart of gold. He asked me why I didn't play golf with my friends. I made a non-committal reply. Next week he presented me with a golf bag and a set of sticks. He was a very perceptive man.

- I boarded at the local hotel. The people were reasonably nice, especially the publican who made time to talk to me. It was a bit of a shock for a while. I had been brought up in a very protective way and had never heard anybody swear before or seen a drunk which was a bit scary when you don't know how to handle the situation.

- The lady of the house did her best to act as a substitute mother, and I did my best to help her with the dishes and other little tasks as soon as I felt I was accepted as one of the family. I rather think that families who took in junior teachers did it from the best of motives - to help keep the school open. They would not have made much profit from the board money - I paid 16/- out of my weekly 21/-. Therefore usually only kindly responsible people took on the task.

- The 'home' was an iron shed - partitioned into 3 rooms by Hessian. A lean-to kitchen, bathroom and my room were additions at the back. The Hessian had been covered with white lime wash which made it non transparent and clean. The bathroom had been fitted with a second hand bath. I think we depended on a well for water and there were several poultry yards and a cow. My hosts were well educated people who had lost their business through the 'Depression'.

- I boarded at the home of an Irish widow, Mrs K..., with two daughters. Other boarders were a female primary teacher and an older man who worked in a shop. The school teacher whose name was Z... was most upset when a neighbour over the back fence called her cow by the same name! The value of my board far exceeded the 20/- per week, including weekends, which I was charged. I don't know how the lady managed to make ends meet. The main disadvantages of the arrangement were fighting off the approaches of one of the daughters and putting up with the snoring of my fellow boarder who shared the same room.

- In S... in 1936 there was no electricity. We used a kerosene lamp in the kitchen, from dark until 10.00 PM when everybody went to bed by candlelight. (I used their candle until I got into bed, and then my own candle for reading, writing or knitting etc.). At the end of May I went to a party in the town with a friend, and after an enjoyable evening came home and went to bed by candlelight. The bedside table had been moved and before I realised it my candle had ignited the old lace frill above the mantle-piece. I smothered it out, and tried to compose my confession for next morning. I said 'Mrs H, I have a confession to make to you. I have burnt the lace in my bedroom'. She said 'But it is April the first. You are fooling!' I said 'It is April 1st, but I am not fooling'. She said 'Oh, but it is very old, it doesn't matter' - and didn't even look at it until later.

- The thing I resented most was that my home in the city was convenient and easy to live in. In the country I was no good to my landlady because I couldn't milk a cow and because I hated having a bath in the laundry and boiling the copper. (Once a week) Nobody prepared us for the (boarding) conditions we were to encounter. Nobody investigated the type of board we were to have. That didn't worry us then as we had a job to do and accepted the conditions.

- I remember more about the boarding house than teaching - because I paid low board (the full amount of my salary - if you could call it that) I was expected to help in the house with wiping dishes and odd things etc. No one told me that until the landlady let me have the full burst of her tongue calling me lazy etc. My one redeeming feature (in her eyes) was that I was clean. At least I did not have to suffer any sexual harassment from the landlord (he was a sweet old man) - This I suffered at later boarding places (as a teacher) where I was the only boarder - at two different places where a young woman boarder seemed to be fair game for a middle aged landlord.

- I will just add a little about the situation I found myself in at M.... After I'd settled in at the farm where I boarded I gradually discovered that my hosts didn't really want a boarder. No-one in the town did so for the whole of February there was no J.T. The Head was desperate and so were the parents of Grades 1-3 children. Eventually because the parents of a Grade 2 child realised their child was unhappy and being neglected they offered board. Later, I was invited to the home where the previous J.T. had stayed and soon found out that she had been a 'townie' - not at all used to any inconvenience and complained about country life. They kept her for a year but refused to take the next J.T. After they got to know me they said 'if only we'd known what you were like we'd have taken you.'! I would have liked it better there (right in the town), they had a girl my own age, a bathroom and bath heater and no school children etc. The mother where I boarded needed help in the house not a boarder. She had no conveniences in the house - no bathroom, no water laid on in the house or laundry.

The kitchen fire smoked, no sink, no electricity. Fortunately my parents didn't have some of these things either in various school houses and I could adapt to the situation but for the last 8 years I had been used to a bathroom. When I asked for a bath on the first Saturday they gave me a laundry tub and a kettle of water from the stove. The Gr. 6 boy from the family was a bit cheeky and kept running past the window saying 'I can see, I can see'. The toilet of course was what seemed like a mile from the house.

- At M... I boarded with an aged couple - big house - market garden. Met him only in passing in the kitchen/dining room. She was kindly enough but rather gloomy and I guess, poorly educated. She treated me as a superior being and I found this embarrassing and lonely. I ate by myself in the kitchen while she sat by the wood stove and made some conversation. My cut lunch was alternatively fritz and cheese sandwiches.

- I boarded in a railway cottage which was one of four joined together. Only iron partitions separated the kitchens. This was very embarrassing when the man in the next cottage came home drunk - and every word could be heard by us.

- We had no electricity at all (I had come from the city). No running water. Saturday night was bath night when the copper (outside) was filled and lit. Other times, baths were available with a day's notice being given so that a Kerosene bucket of water could be put on the wood-stove and heated all day - then carried to the bathroom for me. My laundry was done for me but I had to do my own ironing with a box iron (again something new).

- Living in the head teacher's house made life very difficult, as did teaching his son.

In the schools

Several commented on the Junior Teacher system itself:

- Junior Teaching in the Thirties.
  Attitudes Parents and teachers accepted the system as normal because apprentices had to get experience and the J.T. system was regarded as an improvement on the older monitorial system...The fact that E.D. regs stipulated that JTs were to receive a weekly period (1/2 an hour) from an Eng. Publication 'Green & Birchenough' - A Primer of Teaching Practice - suggests that the S.A. E.D was well aware of the need for some teaching instruction for J.T.s. The idea wasn't developed to its full potential because few Heads carried the instruction over into the classroom, by demonstrating or assisting. One problem was the 'carry over' from the payment by results which was a feature of early education in S.A. Inspectors came for an

incidental inspection for a few days early in the year and later carried out a detailed inspection visiting all class-room teachers with a view to writing a report each year. A battery of tests in Mental, Spelling & Arith was given and all results recorded. The skill marks awarded influenced teachers to strive for results and with the Qualifying Certificate in Grade V11, this attitude was re-inforced. With teachers encouraging so much rote learning to get through the weekly segments in the Course of Instruction, the Junior Teachers were influenced to teach as they had been taught and by what was happening around them ... this was brought home to me in a week of practical teaching at Sturt St. School with Don G... He stopped me in my tracks by taking a 'swipe' at the aims in my Lesson Notes - even these had become mechanical with the preface To Teach --- e.g. To teach the Geography of S.E. of S.A. He showed me what other Dem teachers had not picked up - that my aims lacked a variety and depth - which made me look at what I was trying to present and apply in my lesson notes and in my teaching.

Status Despite acceptance and inclusion as a 'staff' member a J.T. was always self-conscious that experience and knowledge of what was required in teaching and performance was limited by a number of factors. Trying to teach among mature trained teachers was daunting at times and the older aware students soon realized that the young teachers were serving an apprentice role. This was re-inforced by 'dress' because most men teachers wore 3 piece suits which were beyond the means of lowly paid J.T.s who could not afford to dress in style.

- What of the SYSTEM? I have mixed feelings. Probably it was reasonable for the junior teacher as it did give him/her the opportunity to find out if they desired to continue. I think the E.D. received value. Most junior teachers worked hard and gave of their BEST. What of the pupils? In the days of set curriculum, set text books and a rigid timetable, maybe they were reasonably taught. The aim of education was 'to get them through'. It was not that easy at P... because of the language problems and the disparity between e.g the child of a Lutheran minister and that of a labourer on a farm.

- I think my appointment was unfair to too many people -
    1. Those people in the Education Office who in conscience were aware of the shortcomings of the J.T. system - as it was applied.
    2. The H.T. for whom I was a new experience for which he was not really equipped.
    3. The parents who were entitled to expect a qualified teacher for those 3 grades for the year.
    4. And the poor little J.T. herself though of course it was not all doom & gloom - far from it and I think in the long run that year of my life did me more good than harm.

- On looking back through those 50 years, being a Junior Teacher was rather like being a senior secondary student in charge of a few little children & encouraging them to learn. Perhaps in bigger schools & different Head Teachers the situation was different. In retrospect I would say now that it was an introduction to what teaching would be like - but then I knew that from being a student at a school for 10 or 11 years. I quite honestly think it made not an atom of difference to my teaching ability & a further year at school would have been just as satisfactory.

A few made comments that allowed for a comparison between junior teaching in country and city schools. One from early in the period contrasted his time in a country high school with the following year at the Adelaide High School:

- I had two years as a J.T., and what years!- 1931 - B... High School ... H.M, Female assistant and myself, all first year on the job, and it was the first year of the re-establishment of a H.S. in the town, replacing the old Higher Primary. Hence my being given senior classes without any help being available. This cannot have been satisfactory. In fact one of the Inter girls told me in later years of my peculiarities. I was far too young to carry those responsibilities. I can remember one occasion 'showing off' to the whole school my incomparable powers of skidding on my bicycle ... while I was on 'yard duty'... I am quite sure I made a mess of teaching Maths at Intermediate level. It helped that I could play sport at a good level. As in all country teaching situations in Australia this is a big advantage. 1932 -A.H.S. this year introduced me to the deeper texture of staff relationships in a large, prestigious school and to great responsibilities with classes taking Public Examinations. I remember twin girls alternating attendance at my class in Leaving Arithmetic (which I had never studied myself previously!). I remember cycling to and fro between Grote & Currie St schools, lunch time exploring the Market, a confrontation with a pert young Intermediate lass that ended with her flouncing off to the Senior Mistress and her removal by the Head from my class, playing table tennis in the staff room, warming myself on winter mornings with the staff at Currie St ... men who each in their own way made their mark on me & on education in S.A. A great year!

Those appointed later to the Adelaide High and other metropolitan secondary schools were rarely given the opportunity to teach. Two at A.H.S. recalled their time there in the mid 1930s:

- I feel my masquerade, as a real JT must end here. I was your perfect non-JT if ever there was one.

- At A.H.S. I learnt from seeing the office administration from close quarters, from daily trips to the Education Office with correspondence, and from seeing the great Reggie West from closer quarters than I had as a student of the school. the 'Green Room' at A.H.S where senior staff played cards amongst billowing smoke at lunch times, remained much the mystery it had always been to me as a student - mainly because on opening the door, one could hardly see a darned thing!

Several female respondents even seemed to have been somewhat envious of those who went to the country:

- I feel that my experiences as a junior Teacher were not typical when I contrast them with stories of my friends' experiences of boarding away from home, having quite a heavy load of teaching etc. I lived at home, attended my usual church, played for the same tennis team, kept in touch with my friends from University & school days and for a few hours a day attended school, when in between doing minor jobs I had time to study Latin 11 and attend lectures four times a week. I expect I earned my 13/4 but only just, but it was NOT a fruitful year.

- When I went to Teachers College, and compared my experiences as a J.T. with my peers, I felt I had been cheated, as they had had such a wonderful time socially and were well-esteemed in the community there. My social life had not changed at all.

One who did go to the country commented on the same aspect:

- I think being a J.T. in a city school and living at home may have had some easier aspects, but there were complementary advantages, especially socially, in being 'thrown into the deep end'.

Others recalled their dealings with children:

- Some of the students in my small Leaving class were older than I. I can vividly remember how well they treated me, calling me 'Sir' with a twinkle and not an atom of malice or resentment. I took it all for granted at the time, of course.

- I recall that in my Leaving class were two 6ft tall students who had previously studied with me in upper high-school years. This was, in my mind, at the time a potential threat to classroom control. As it happened the rather unusual situation did not create any difficulty.

- Think that I was too young to accept the discipline that teaching demands. I wanted to enjoy myself and not push a bike (which I had had to purchase on time payment of 4/- a week, I think) a mile, and put up with young children who were at the least likeable age. 'Please Miss, he's pinching me', 'He pushed me off the desk', 'He put a blot on my book' etc. These complaints were the bane of my life. No wonder I wanted to teach in a High School.

- Probably the memory I have (and feel and regret rather strongly) is of a child - a very slow learner - the sort who always has a dribbly nose etc., whom I was supposed to help and with whom I had no tolerance or sensitivity. Having always been in the top stream academically I was not aware of children with special needs - nobody really pointed out to me that I should be more understanding and in hindsight I am remorseful at how difficult I must have made life for her. Nobody told me and I was too inexperienced to realise.

- I was able to go home to my boarding house for lunch each day and I shall never forget the day I had put a child behind the piano for some misdemeanour and went to lunch forgetting he was there. I spent sleepless nights expecting to be reported by irate parents but nothing happened. However, it taught me a good lesson and such punishment was never repeated.

- And poor little Billy (Grade 3) who couldn't read or write anything intelligible - I think he must have been dyslexic (but of course I didn't understand that then) but who was helped by two motherly little Grade 3 girls ... I wonder what happened to Billy? I never found out. Lovely friends I had, but with poor correspondence (on my part) and different careers, and lifestyles, and the War, all seem to have faded into memory.

- I remember Eddie, who hated wearing shoes and socks, so waded in the creek on his way to school, because if their shoes and socks were wet, the children could take them off; and Margaret, who asked to be 'kept in' to read library books, because daddy would thrash her if she took English books into the [Barossa Valley] house.

- I will never forget my dismay on finding 8 children having their first day at school, with tears, wet pants and all. How they were taught I can only guess at now, but somehow they learned, probably damaged for life! One boy had fits, another new and frightening experience. And it was a shock to find that some children did not know land from sea on a map, putting towns and mountains indiscriminately anywhere. My attempts at sewing were a source of great amusement and/or annoyance to the mothers. Hand sewing is at least easy to unpick.

- I remember the Grade 1 students most clearly maybe because of their endearing 'newness' - perhaps because I had to 'fit' them into school life. I still remember the 'wags' of the class solemnly tripping out to tell tales on each other - one that someone swore, then he had to deny it. Some of the small children had to walk a long way to and from school, and a school day must have been long and strenuous.

- Most of the children attending school were from outlying farms, so an assortment of transport was used. One family (German) walked 5 miles, and they were in fear & trembling of being 'kept in' because they had to be home in time to milk the cows. Undying gratitude was received if I managed to get them a ride with a neighbouring farmer.

- There were the children I taught, a little younger than myself, who have since proudly shown me their own children and even grand children. They remember that like Owen B... and even dear Miss Edith S..., I occasionally had cracked them. One tells me that I caned him - and looks at me severely.

- It worried me (a 16 year old [female]) staring down a fourteen year old bully, six inches taller than I was, to get him to obey me, but I didn't let him know it.

- Looking back it was rather an unusual year - it was a relaxing way to go through the transition from school to work. I had returned as a student in Leaving Honours and after a few weeks received my appointment - so I walked out one afternoon wearing school uniform & returned the next day wearing 'civies' as a member of staff. My friends became my students and I took for granted their acceptance of my new role. While we worked during lessons we still enjoyed sharing jokes and gossip. My 'alternative' job as office girl provided some funny moments like the time I was asked to bring a cup of tea & a biscuit for one of the Leaving Honours lads sent to the office for disturbing the Maths class - it was all I could do to refrain from spilling the tea on him. The most difficult situations were at Senior Socials & Sports Days - where I had to conduct myself as a member of staff and not join in the fun as a teenager. It was a memorable year - my father died in the April & World War 11 was declared in September - I grew up quickly.

- One day in school while the H.T. was conducting Woodwork classes out in the shed, I was left in charge of all the other children in Gr 1 - V11. There was a little Gr 1 girl, not exactly a model child, who was being difficult, so I told her to do something (can't think what) and she said 'Damn you, I won't'. Somewhat astounded I said, 'I beg your pardon Betty' so she kindly repeated her remark. As every one in the room looked on to see what I would do, I simply sent an older pupil to fetch the Head. ... He promptly told Betty to go and stand in the

porch until she learnt to be good. To this order Betty once again said 'Damn you, I won't'. Somewhat annoyed the Head put his arms around Betty to carry her out but Betty had other ideas. She twisted both legs around the iron framework of the dual desk and so, the H.T., not to be outdone, dragged Betty and the dual desk right across the room and out into the porch!

- One of my most vivid memories was seeing one of 'my' Grade 111 boys - aged about 8 - driving four working horses (harnessed to a plough) around a large paddock opposite the house where I boarded, one Saturday morning. He was a shy lad at school, but I got him talking about the names of the horses, and how his dad had taught him much of the farm work - which no doubt he preferred to the three Rs.

One wrote at some length about the importance of the three Rs and the treatment of those who found the basics difficult:

- This is not so much an indication of a J.T.'s lot as an example of the importance of mental arith, arithmetic, spelling & dictation at that time. Every morning there was a spelling test and a mental arith test. Errors in spelling had to be written correctly three times and spelt to the class before the children went to recess. Any child with more than two errors or who could not spell his corrections correctly stood in a line facing a wall of the school building. They held their corrected work in one hand and their recess food in the other - they were not denied their recess in the open air but lost their freedom. Teachers were on duty outside. As soon as a child thought he could spell his errors he came up to his teacher handed him his day's corrections and spelt each as requested. If correct he was free, if not back on the line. Of course Friday included dictation from the class reader and arithmetic. Tables were treated similarly to spelling. There was of course, art & poetry & history - rigour with enlightenment! Spelling & dictation were however, hell for the few who were very poor spellers. The Inspector's dictation always came from the set readers in which difficult words were heavily underlined. Great was the joy if the Inspector's choice was one that had been well tested in class.

Several respondents well remembered the insensitivity of certain Inspectors:

- I can remember Inspector A.W. (Panther) Pitt was in my room to give Gr 1V boys tests in Written and Mental Arith. The kids did exceptionally well, 85% and 87% respectively which compared more than favourably with most other classes, and I expected perhaps a 'Well done'. But not so. However, as he was going out the door he stopped and pointed out a piece pink P.K. chewing gum paper on the floor whereon he came back and gave the class (and myself I suppose) a talk on tidiness. As it turned out it was the only piece in the room. As a

sequel, when I was leaving school on Friday afternoon making for the railway station with the football team, it was pouring with rain. Mr Pitt had just gone out to his car, a Buick Tourer, and the canvas roof had collected the rain. He gave me an appealing look, but I derived some pleasure from hurrying past.

- I discovered that the Inspector who came around once or twice a year was not there to test the children but the teachers. As pupils we had thought (and been told) this about Inspectors. When he eventually came I was quite disappointed. My class had all their books up to date and ready for inspection. However, all he did was ask them did they know what 2/6 was. Nobody did and he held up the coin and one of them said it was a two shilling piece! He explained that it was a half a crown. I thought this was a very cunning way to test a teacher - the children were all country born and bred and nobody used halfcrowns any more.

One recalled such an Inspector having to apologize to her;

- During my term at Escourt House there were several cases of an infectious disease - diphtheria I think - and the teachers were barred from the hospital for about 3 weeks. I was sent to Grange Primary and since the Grade 2 teacher was away sick I was given her class - a much larger group than I was used to and without any form of assistance. The Inspector arrived while I was there and was critical of some aspects of my work. Later when he found that I was a mere J.T., which no-one had thought to mention, he apologized for his criticism.

Treatment by the Head was canvassed in some detail in Question 3 but some respondents had further memories of the way they were helped, treated harshly, neglected, or even exploited by their Head:

- My Headmaster looked on me as a special project - somehow or other he was determined to mould a callow young male into a teacher. Twice a week the Head went through my shortcomings and always had 10 - 20 points for discussion from my 'crit' lesson e.g.

    1. You are still standing too close to the class. Stand back and keep the whole class under observation.
    2. Collective nouns are singular. On two occasions you used a plural verb.
    3. Ask one question at a time. Elicit the answer. On several occasions you moved on to another question without pursuing the original.[and so on] There were many questions but he had a purpose & in retrospect I respect his faith in me.

- The Head was a professional teacher in every way (I think his father or grandfather had been an Inspector in the S.A. Ed. Dept). He believed that what he and his staff were trying to do mattered - and knew that the country children needed and deserved a serious grounding in the basic skills ... He especially delighted in his singing lessons and required us to attend to this aspect of the children's education. He read stories and much poetry to the kids. Mr B... and his staff discussed education and our problems after school and in his own home with a civilised drink if we wished.

- I went home for Easter. The people I was boarding with said that they would visit 'Mother' and pick me up at the station on Easter Monday night. I got out at Tanunda - no-one to meet me, waited until after 11 PM & then set off with suitcase, a large bunch of flowers and a borrowed bicycle that I could not ride. I got the local policeman to drive me to M... I should have gone on to Dorrien, the next station [she had mixed up the 'Mothers' who lived in different towns]. Next morning I was late for my 8.15 am study session - thought I could do it on the Wednesday instead. When I explained to the Head what had happened the night before he wrote that things that happened the night before should not affect my attendance at school. (Sounded as if I'd been out on the razzle dazzle!) However, I never again missed an 8.15 am session. I was anxious to get to A.T.C & would not liked to have had to do another year as a J.T.

- Being given English lessons by the H.T. in front of the whole school - and having to take it (or else leave the job). This didn't happen often. Being accused by the Head of putting too much sugar in my tea! He was not a bad man, but somewhat foolish, and had a voice like a bull. I had to teach in the same room with him. It was small. The Head telling me that I wouldn't stay in school teaching, saying I would end up as a Member of Parliament. (I was a CSIRO Chief... definitely not an M.P.) It was the War that got me out of teaching. I am sorry the Department wasted its resources on training me, but not sorry otherwise.

- My 'low point' was during my 6 week stint with 73 Gr 1V girls in a small crowded room. It was tough grinding work trying to teach and mark the work. If the girls had not co-operated I would never have survived. I began to doubt my choice of teaching as a career and often felt discouraged and physically worn out at the end of the day. The H.M. 'let me down' by not giving support and occasionally giving a 'hand'. I was an example of exploitation, as if I hadn't been on the staff a relieving teacher would have had to be made available. The headmaster's commendation of 'I won't forget you for this' at the end of the ordeal did not compensate. I didn't realise it then but I had been 'used' and paid 17/9 a week for 6 weeks when a reliever would have been paid £4 - plus boarding allowance

- There was only one room in which to teach so if I made a mistake and the head noticed it he would immediately correct me in front of the children, which would bring smirks from the older children. I had to be very careful in what I said to the children as some would go home, and repeat what I thought was something quite innocuous. A few days later the head would have me on the mat to explain what I meant. At that time teachers held a very high position in the community and this gentleman (having come from overseas) felt like the local squire, and did not take criticism kindly.

- I was given a class of 14 children by the Head ... There was no class-room for me, so imagine my surprise and dismay when I learned that my Grade 1V students had to share a room with 20 plus Grade 3 children. There was not even a curtain between the two grades. I had a blackboard on an easel, and the use of half a cupboard for storage. No doubt the woman in charge of Grade 3 was as frustrated as I was, but she was very pleasant about it - to me! I suspect she had a few grizzles to the other women on the staff. We both found it hard to hold the attention of our groups when something interesting was happening a few feet away. Some of my children had been in that teacher's class in Grade 3 in 1930 and may have doubted where their allegiance lay. For a while it seemed like Bedlam but eventually we coped somehow. I took my flock outside ... whenever the subject or the weather allowed. There we could chant tables or spelling to our hearts' content and not worry anyone else.

One respondent had the unusual experience of seeing her Head get into difficulty with the local community:

- The H.T. had been in the school for several years and had been involved in the community - however he and his wife had had some disagreement with the local people the year before I arrived and virtually had nothing to do with anybody. Feeling against him grew progressively worse until one day in mid-year I had to take the whole school in the shed for a day while 'an Inquisition' was conducted in the school with angry parents demanding the H.T.'s transfer and some of the hierarchy from Head Office including the School Inspector, adjudicating. A sad day for my H.T. He did see the year out however.

As has been seen a number of female junior teachers did not have very happy experiences in Central Schools. One who was used as a reliever remembered how that role concerned her on most mornings throughout 1938:

- I was on tenterhooks every morning until 9.05, by which time I could guess from the time-book what member of the large staff would be absent. I then knew pretty well where Miss Maggie Flett would send me to do the best I could, impromptu. There was no chance of

building up a real relationship with students, nor of giving prepared lessons. The Boys' School was a separate entity as was the Infant School. Miss Flett presided over Girls only, primary and secondary, but on occasion I was 'lent' in an emergency to the Infant School. These were the odd bright days, because I could handle the children instinctively without knowing that I was a sub-standard substitute.

A few respondents had vivid memories of their first day at school:

- Dropped at the school by mail bus at 8.30 a.m. Greeted by the Head who said something such as, 'I know that you are not prepared and have never taught, but it is better to dive in than to sit on the jetty all day. Here are the lessons for Grades 4 & 5. You start when the bell goes.' I had never thought about a quiet lesson for one class while I taught the other, or how to teach composition. Fortunately, being a comptometriste, I knew my tables. When Geography came I asked them about their district, which they were eager to talk about. At the end of the day, ready to drop, I remember thinking 'One down and 300 or so more days to go! I've weathered this & I'll weather the rest.'

- I can recall my first appearance before my class of 30 first year students. I had been supplied with a roll of students written up in the traditional roll book that I later came to know so well, I thought this was at least something positive I could do - call the roll - at least I knew from my own school days that teachers were supposed to do that. Everything proceeded according to plan with bright eyed students answering proudly to their names until I came to the name of V. Modystack which I pronounced as it was spelt. There was an immediate shout of laughter which I could not understand until V... explained that it was pronounced Mo-dis-ta.

Personal encounters and recollections

There were a number of recollections about aspects that impinged on the personal lives of young junior teachers. For some of the women these involved sexual harassment or hints that they might be being led astray, and, like several of the cases mentioned earlier, the following episodes caused considerable worry and concern to these young, inexperienced junior teachers:

- During the year, my brother, eight years older than I, and a teacher, was appointed to a nearby school. This was a great bonus for me as most weekends he would pick me up after school and we would go home for the weekend which undoubtable made the year easier for me. It was, however, the cause of the only sour note in that year. An elderly gentleman who really did not know me well took it on himself to visit my father in my home town, and tell him that I had got into bad company and was 'going to the dogs'. My parents were very

upset, particularly as the man said that he thought that if it was his daughter, he'd like to be told. Mum and Dad were on the doorstep that evening, sceptical, but wanting to find out what it was all about. I think my jaw dropped two inches as I wondered what on earth I had done to deserve that! We called my landlady in and on hearing this, she went to see the said gentleman. It seemed that the accusation was based on the fact that he hadn't seen me at church for a while - actually of course I had been home. I wondered later whether he had seen me drive off with my brother and feared the worst!

- Town gossip when I accepted a lift by horse and trap into the town with an old farmer who was a friend of my grandfather's.

- Another problem that really worried me was the attention paid to me by the Chairman of the School Committee. I was afraid of being alone in his company, but did not say anything for several reasons:
  (1) Who would believe me?
  (2) I might be dismissed - after all, I was the stranger and he held positions in the town.
  (3) My moral code was different. (The following year, the girl who had preceded me as J.T. and was in College, asked me what I had 'got off him'. She had scored a wrist watch and various odd shillings.) Actually I heard similar stories from other girls - even after they had gone out as qualified teachers. So sexual harassment existed then. My defence mechanism was to make sure that I was not alone in his company.
  (4) My parents, I was sure, would not know how to cope with the situation. They might complain or withdraw me - and I would lose my chance to be a teacher.

For others the most pressing personal concerns were about lack of money:

- My two years as a J.T. meant that I was dependent on my family until I was 22 years old ... Added maturity but the financial sacrifice was considerable. In answering the questionnaire I mentioned that I paid £1-16-0 per fortnight board. I know that the School Committee paid an additional amount as a supplement.

- The school had warranted a J.T. long before my appointment but no-one could be found to provide board at less than the pay a J.T. received. This was the case in other places as well but at C..., the impasse was overcome when the Head Teacher married a local girl and his mother-in-law who ran the local store/post office agreed to board a J.T. for £1 a week. So I cleared about 4/- a week. Fortunately there was not much in C... to spend the 4/- on - the occasional dance cost about one shilling, the annual fee to join the cricket club was 15/- and I

was a non-smoker and a teetotaller. So I was able to afford the train fare to and from Adelaide during term holidays, and when I went home for Christmas I had amassed the princely sum of about £5.

- Even in 1935, a healthy young man with appetite to match, could not keep suitably dressed, join in community activities, pay for reasonable board and lodgings on the pittance provided ... my services as a free-of-charge pianist at town functions were accepted in lieu of (entrance) money. Young ladies were paid even less. How they survived remains a mystery!

- The negative aspect of my J.T. year was my lack of funds. I got by with the help of my parents and the generosity of local people. I was most embarrassed when a student approached me at school one day to advise that I was 'losing the seat out of my trousers'. For the rest of the term I wore my best and only other pair of trousers to school.

Some had vivid recollections of particular incidents:

- But my year at C... would not be complete without reference to a couple of my deeds on the cricket field ... During the time I was there I took 30 wickets for just under 100 runs at a remarkable average of just under 3 runs a wicket! About the third match I played was a semi-final. Our opponents batted first and I had the new ball...the batsman turned the first ball sweetly to square leg for 4. My next ball was slightly shorter and pitched outside the off stump. As the batsman played forward it swung at the best possible moment, missed his bat, and knocked one of the stumps out of the ground. The C... team went wild. They told me afterwards that this cricketer was the best batsman in the Association and frequently made a century. And I had clean bowled him for 4. No wonder I still remember it 56 years later!

- I was seconded to look after an Education Department State Centenary Display at the Wayville Showgrounds in 1936 ... It was at this that I learnt of Departmental Red Tape. After the first month I submitted a travel claim for tram fares from Parkside into the city and thence to Wayville. However I was deducted £1 because my school was in the city and I would therefore have had to travel there in the normal course of events. What upset me was that the claim was honest and the £1 was more than a week's pay. I must give credit to Dr Fenner who paid me £1 for working over the Easter Holidays.

- My worst memories - taking the morning 'fall-in' and the magpies swooping from the gum trees and pinching the caps off the boys' heads & taking them to the trees - a magpie flying around my room (I am terrified of birds) and having to get a little boy to chase the bird out -

and me shaking like a jelly! - Walking home in the dark after school in the winter and falling over the bull (and me a city girl!)

- The thing I remember very vividly was returning after second term holidays in the train opposite a very sick baby. About a fortnight later I contracted a very severe attack of measles. My marvellous landlady nursed me with tender, loving care. I returned to a school with 4 pupils. I had given the measles to every child who had not already had them. Mothers with several children in the school did not bless me.

- One event which occurred in South Australia during the summer of 1937-8 affected the early part of the 1938 school year. There was a polio epidemic and schools opened later than usual. The staff at the M... High School prepared sets of assignments for Intermediate and Leaving students. These were chromographed and collated and students came at their leisure to collect them. The school's total stock of chromograph trays was called into commission. The jelly was melted in a sunny spot after each page had been copied the required number of times, then cooled for resetting and use for the next set of copies. I had the task of producing the copies (without blurring) and keeping the chromographs in commission. It was a busy fortnight indeed.

- The things I learnt at M... were not always connected with school lessons:
  1) A farmer's son explained to me how pigs were killed at the abattoirs.
  2) A lad who walked 3 miles to school & then 3 miles home again & who often had to snare a rabbit for tea, still found time to gather wild orchids to bring to school.
  3) Another lad, using his father's binoculars from a farm about a mile away, noticed that the school flag had been left up, walked back to school, took it down & then put it up again next day without any fuss.

Others recalled their personal growth:

- During the year at V..., several folk told me that I had 'come out of my shell' considerably ... I learnt a tremendous lot from the children. They seemed to know more about life than I did, and they had been brought up in a down to earth, practical manner. I was thrilled that they trusted me, and accepted me, despite my ignorance. I must admit that I learned to look and listen early in the piece. To show how naive I was - One Grade 3 boy was late one morning and said that he had to take a cow to Mr Belling's. A few days later the same thing happened again. When it occurred a third time, I told him that he'd used that excuse before. The lad looked nonplussed and a classmate helped out by explaining that Mr Belling was the only farmer who owned a bull. I was nonplussed then, but fortunately did not pursue the matter.

- I had come from a very restrictive home caused by religious beliefs, father's fatal illness, and poverty. The J.T. year opened up a new world for me. I played sport for the first time, I learned to dance, I met interesting people, and made friendships that still continue. I do not regret that year in any way.

The War

As with most dramatic events of world-wide significance, there are some respondents who remembered with exactitude what otherwise might have been of little importance a day later, let alone 50 years on:

- I do not remember many incidents. I do remember the lovely September day when war was declared and wondering just how my life would be affected.

- We listened to the battery-run radio - especially memorable as we heard the war declared so solemnly that the daughter of the house burst into tears.

- 1939 - was leading up to the war - my H.T. was an Englishman who had migrated...I remember the impact of "Declaration of War" on that district and on the children in the school.

- My memories of 1939 (in the Barossa Valley) are extremely happy, and I shall never forget when war was declared, 2 brothers immediately went to town to enlist. One, Ray Graetz, was selected to march in the Victory Parade in London at the end of the war.

A. 3:

VIGNETTES - LIFE AS A JUNIOR TEACHER 1940 - 1945

Well over 80% of these former junior teachers felt able to respond to the request for additional information that would help to provide a better understanding of what it was like to experience that role. About half of the rest simply left the space blank but others explained why they could add nothing more. For several it was simply a matter of the lengthy time span but a few had other reasons that explained why the experience as a junior teacher did not feature strongly in their memories:

- Not really possible after 49 years.
- Looking back, which is a very long time ago, it's hard to remember very much more.
- Sorry, 50 years on, memoirs are vague. A lot of water has passed over the bridge meanwhile.
- It was a long time ago, followed by more fulfilling times (College, War Service etc.) I had no further contact with that community & I remember little of that year - a few family names are recalled when they receive publicity.
- It's a long time ago - 47 years! Of course much of my thoughts were of impatience to turn 18 years of age and join the R.A.A.F. I sometimes think that junior teaching was secondary in my thoughts. Not a bad way to pass the months to enlistment.
- I have not strong memories of my short junior teaching career as I think would have been the case had I moved from home and started in a strange school. I knew the parents and children and they knew me...

Several others referred to the time lapse in a quite different way:

- I enjoyed the experience of bringing almost forgotten episodes to mind and drawing conclusions from them. I hope that my recollections will be useful to you.
- I was rather flattered to receive the attention you gave me in regard to a part of my life that I hardly ever expected to be focussed on again.

Both of those respondents wrote at some length in this section, as did one other who tackled it too despite some misgivings:

- It has been a pleasure to complete the questionnaire. I hope that it is of some help although it's almost 50 years and memories are dim.

Of course not all of those who did respond in some way wrote a great deal. Some were content to add a paragraph or two to fill up the remaining space on the last page of the memoir document. Others went on to the blank sheet that had been provided. Several added pages of their own, generally two or three, but there was one contribution of nine pages, another of five and one of four. This wealth of material caused something of a problem in that it was difficult to decide what to leave out. What has been chosen provides much that is helpful in further expanding a view of a system that had been branded as exploitative, in the interests of neither the trainees nor the pupils and worthy only of abolition. As with

the concrete and cultural data, some of the vignettes support issues raised against the system while others show that some junior teachers of time did gain from the experience and that the interests of their pupils were not always overlooked. At the same time the recollections throw further light on what it was like to simply live and work during a war, especially in the country. There are also some deeper insights into those areas of most immediate concern to those young people - what happened in the work place, the conditions under which they had to board, and what kind of social life was available.

Wartime

Naturally enough the war loomed large in the memories of many respondents as they recalled the austerity it brought, the gradual realisation of its seriousness, the personal emotions it stirred up and how it forced the Department into measures that were to lead to a general condemnation of the junior teacher system.

A couple linked up World War 11 with the Depression:

- Some of the children [in 1942] came to school bare-footed - it was not long after the depression & then the war came with its scarcities.

- The dominant memory of the JT year [1943] was the whole austerity aspect following the years of the depression when little money was available for anything.

Others provided vivid insights into how deeply the war had affected both the social and educational fabric of society.

- These were the war years. We were catapulted into a new way of life and grew up very quickly. We found we had to fill the gaps caused by other young people leaving their jobs to enlist. One of the things I remember most vividly was being given wool by the CWA Forces Comfort Fund and teaching the girls in Grades V1 & V11 how to knit socks, scarves etc.

- As well as knitting for myself...[I] was caught up in knitting for the Red Cross - as this was 1940, at the beginning of World War 11 - endless socks, scarves, mittens etc. contributed. There was often evenings when a few friends would meet and knit for the war effort. This carried over to the school also. The Gr V, V1 & V11 girls often knitted socks etc. Probably the heels I turned for them when they were knitting socks, would amount to dozens and dozens...It was rather a sad time as a number of boys from Riverton High and local boys were joining up and going off to the war. War was something out of our own experience and it sounded very exciting and a great adventure little did we know!

- The country was gearing up for the war effort and the able bodied men of military age were joining the armed forces and leaving the women, old men and boys to get on with the normal activities of the community. As a male junior teacher, therefore, I probably had more opportunity to take a leading role in sport (football and tennis) and social activities - choir, drama...life in that year [1940] in that village was peaceful - almost an age of innocence. The tremendous losses of the war had not yet occurred and the "boys in uniform" were still writing cheerful letters. In the school we collected waste - scrap iron, aluminium etc. and the girls knitted socks and scarves for the soldiers. One of my jobs in fact was to teach knitting to the girls in Grades 1 & 11.

- 1940 was the first year of the war and many experienced teachers of Science and Mathematics entered the forces as education officers and into meteorological services as a matter of urgency. So their places were necessarily filled by young Junior Teachers who felt, I think, that it was a kind of National Service and the other problems of Junior Teaching were not greatly in evidence. We, in fact, ceased to be Junior Teachers but rather became untrained emergency senior teachers. The students and parents were glad to have their courses continue and I guess that much was forgiven and colleagues became even more helpful.

- It was 1941 and the fruit growing community in which I taught was facing the prospect of losing many of its young men to the service. Socials were held in the local hall from time to time to farewell those who enlisted and I was often asked to sing at these functions. World War 2 was in its early stages and people were optimistic that it would soon end. The older generation in that settlement were still mainly concerned with the working of their properties and market prospects. As yet, they had not accepted that their wives and younger children might be working the properties for several years, unaided. Like the River Murray placidly flowing past the settlement, the community...went quietly about its daily round, but the undercurrents of change were already there.

- 1943 was the year of my [male aged 16.2] junior teaching and this was during the war. The enlistment of many teachers had resulted in a shortage of staff, and hence the employment of 16 & 17 year olds as teachers responsible for full-time teaching of secondary students, including PEB candidates at some country high schools. This was an opportunity which I appreciated, and on the whole I enjoyed the experience. I feel sure that an appointment to a large city school would have been less enjoyable, and may even have been unpleasant since in many of those schools members of staff were made well aware of the "pecking order" and junior teachers were not infrequently "put in their place". This was not to say that heads and teachers generally were unsympathetic, in fact the secondary service in those days was not unlike a very large extended family; however the hierarchy of authority was well defined and

well understood. Fortunately for me, this hierarchy was not emphasised in the school to which I was appointed as a JT.

- I can remember one townswoman saying that it was good to have a tall strong-looking girl as a teacher! (I later appreciated this when facing a class of 40 students). Only young boys or old men were in the district due to War Service!

- The community where I worked was small, isolated, very conservative and dependent on its own energies for life and liveliness. War-time brought about typical inbalance and tensions within the community.

- My head master had one lame leg, no children of his own and was a bigoted Englishman. The school was close to a pocket of German extract folk and as it was wartime, he took a sadistic pleasure in punishing and humiliating the German children. The stick was wielded often and this used to upset me [a female].

- The children were the offspring of workers in the vineyards and cellars, many of German extract. It was wartime and feelings were not always friendly in the district, but the children showed no sign of this in the school.

- The people in the town spoke German dialect except when I was present. Japan had bombed Darwin and World War 11 was going badly. It was uncomfortable to be part of a German household - mainly because <u>they</u> felt alien in Australia. [This female thought she might have been sent to this particular town because her name may have been considered German by the Department although it was actually of English origin]

- As it was wartime we had [in 1942] "Air Raid Precautions". The fathers of the children had dug trenches across the road from the school (a narrow dirt road with practically no traffic on it - no petrol!). On a previously learnt signal (a hand bell I think) following a telephone message relayed by the postmistress and conveyed by word of mouth, the children had to stand and, on the order they had been taught, jog trot across the road and into the trenches. This was great fun! I, led by Miss G - (the Head), brought up the rear.

- As it was wartime, while I was a J.T., we had to do air raid drill. The parents had dug trenches and we either had to get under our desks or make a bee-line for the trenches at a given signal from the Head. We also had to keep a tin of food in the cupboard in case we weren't able to reach home. The children were all very sensible at these times and luckily we did not have to do this in earnest.

- It was wartime and austerity prevailed - I remember distinctly the discussions in the staff room about a newspaper article suggesting that women should wear dresses the length of their bust measurements to save material and hence aid the war effort. Comments from staff a bit ribald. A matron lady - a very kind soul - stated "I am the only one here who will be decently clad - Denise (me) might find it a bit draughty", great laughter!

- The troop truck convoys going through the town to Alice Springs on hot days made a racket [in 1943] - probably 50 -60 Army trucks (with personnel). And the road north of the town was not bituminised...I [a 17 year old male] did my JT during the war years and in a year when the war was in balance. There was a fair bit of gloom although I still recall that the farmers were still pretty affluent. For some reason a song of that era stands out probably because it was sung all the time "Give me a girl in my arms tonight". I can still remember some of the words

"You can stop knitting and purlin'
For I'm going to Berlin
Give me a girl in my arms tonight"

- As my JT days were experienced during late WW11 my most vivid memories of non school activities were the passing of troop trains through the railway town - local CWA were renowned for their feeding of troops passing through at all hours of the day and night.

- I remember learning First Aid/Home Nursing at W -, [a school near the main Army camp] and being very conscious of troops leaving the Army camp for service overseas (at College the male students went off to war as they turned 18 - some of my contemporaries were killed).

- The strife of the war was going on the other side of the world. There was anxiety over friends away in the forces. It was Rommel's offensive in North Africa. A great friend of our family was taken prisoner of war by the Italians. My mother rang my landlady and asked her to keep the paper from me that day as our friend was in the casualty list. My parents wanted to save me the shock of seeing the news in the paper. They wanted to break it to me themselves.

- This was 1945, still the war years. Petrol was rationed and transport between towns non-existent. So it was that to get to W -, [a distance of about 20 miles from her home] I used to arise at about 4.30 a.m. to get a ride with the cream lorry, drive a long circuitous route through various towns picking up cream cans before arriving at W - some four hours later & I was fortunate that the cream pick-up day for that route was Monday morning and early enough to allow for my arrival in time for school.

- Perhaps you would like to know something of the year the war ended and how we coped with it at Mt C...,. Most of the farms had been assigned Italian prisoners of war as labour. They were issued with casual "uniform" working clothes of dull green, so they could be easily identified. "Our" farm prisoner was Tony, who spoke no English. He had been captured in North Africa. I had met few foreigners in my life. They were sad and lonely young men never permitted to congregate with prisoners from other farms. Tony had a bedroom by the cowshed. He was never allowed into the house, his meals were taken to him. He would spend his evenings with his guitar, singing Italian songs - sad, nostalgic. After he had been repatriated, he wrote and asked my landlady's husband if he would sponsor him for immigration but the request was refused! Such was the ignorant suspicion of foreigners at that time. The day the war ended, after the atomic bomb drop, we were given the day off school to celebrate. I hitched a ride to Willunga Station and caught the train to Adelaide where I joined in the celebrations in Rundle Street.

- One of the events I remember was the end of World War 11. The news came through just before school started & everyone was so joyful - teachers (some of whom had husbands away) & students whose fathers and brothers had been away for years. Work seemed the last thing to be considered so about 10 am the teachers & students marched to the main street the full length and back then every one went home. Some of the children didn't remember their Dads & had never known a time when there wasn't war.

Boarding and social life

These longer extracts help to show in a more detailed way than was possible in the earlier sections what out of school life was like and how the various respondents adjusted to new environments. Some of these cases of poor board and lonely conditions tend to justify the view put to the Inquiry that mothers did not like their children of 16 or so going away from home to the country and that some young people who would like to have become teachers did not enter the service because of the likelihood of having to board far from home.

- There was precious little social life during the week in the small farming community [in 1940] where everyone went to bed when it got dark & there was no electricity at the farm house where I boarded, & so I went to bed too, with a candlestick on my chest & my Latin texts for company. No wonder the Inspector found me immature. There wasn't much stimulus to make me grow up. [a female]

- I was given board with an 80 year old woman who tried to treat me as a child - ("You will go to bed at 9 o'clock! No you can't go out tonight!" etc.) Then after about two weeks she went off to stay with her daughter and left me to look after her rambling old house. My father came up and arranged more suitable board. [a female]

- Board was good but primitive by today's standards. The toilet was way down at the bottom of a sloping path; there was a bathroom but only tank water and no heater. The copper was lit for baths on Saturday and bucketed into the bath - for the rest of the week we got a dipper of hot water from the kettle on the wood stove. As there was no electricity the irons were flat irons, the wireless was a battery one & the batteries were charged every six weeks. There was a cool safe but no possibility of an ice-chest. The house had no telephone but the people in the post office would take messages etc. There was no store - the nearest shop was at M...[several miles away] - the mail van or walking was the only way of getting there. But we had a good time - plenty of sensible food, fresh air & company. [a female]

- My boarding place was right on the edge of the town with paddocks outside my window. I had nothing in common with my landlady nor her husband (who was not often home but drank a fair bit when he was!) They were well-intentioned but one would hardly say interesting. There was an underground tank with a pump attached and to get a hot bath one had to prime the pump then fill kerosene buckets of hot water and take them to the copper. [a female]

- I got rather fat during my junior teacher year. My landlady was determined to feed me well. She had a cow and I had rich cream with milk every day and she plied me with sweet biscuits. She looked after me too well! The bathroom was on the far side of the house from my room - at the end of the verandah surrounding the house. There was no hot water laid on so I took a jug of hot water around the verandah to the bathroom each morning and had a "sponge" bath followed by an invigorating "sluice" rinse in cold water (there was no shower). On cold winter mornings this was a spartan experience! [a female]

- There was nowhere to buy food and I remember the hunger every afternoon until I went back to my boarding house for sausages 6 days a week. [a female]

- The lady with whom I boarded was in great awe of school- teachers. So she set the table in state for me in the dining room and there I ate my meals in silence. After a few days of this I asked if I could eat with them in their homely lean-to kitchen. She was a wonderful cook. I walked home at lunch-time and had a large hot meal. Then it was purgatory trying to keep

awake in the afternoons. Have you ever had lamb's fry cooked in butter? Delicious and very fattening and I put on a stone or more in that year. [a female]

Another respondent who went to the same boarding house in the following year recalled a very similar experience.

- The lady with whom I boarded at M... had had a large family and nearly all of them had left home. So she delighted in serving me huge meals and very delicious ones. Consequently I put on much weight and would struggle not to go to sleep at school in the afternoons. When I first arrived she had me sit in state in the dining room while the rest of the family ate in a little lean-to kitchen after all I was "the teacher" even though I felt like a school girl.

- I lived in the town in the only place that would take boarders - no electricity, no running water, no bath, no phone, kerosene lamps, (I still recall that the railway station was lit up on express nights by carbide lights in 1943 - the smell still lingers). I had to give all my food coupons to my landlady and got little food in return. To have a bath I had to get an old tub, stand it in the back yard, wait till dark and hope the water was hot. [a male]

- My first boarding place was an experience I will never forget. Bread was baked on Monday out of home ground flour but you did not get it to eat until the next day. The only green vegetable was boiled "beetroot tops". Light globes were 25 watt & I was supposed to be studying, as was the other boarder so we bought our own stronger globe but had it removed. They kept cows but all the milk was skimmed and there was certainly no cream. I ended up with gastroenteritis. The next place was the opposite. I was spoiled rotten and what's more paid less board. [a female]

- I'd never known anyone like the man in whose house I boarded - a local character, barman at the local pub whose every second word was a swear word - a great leg puller, but I shared with a local girl, a telephonist, & we got along well, the food was good, house comfortable but HOT (iron) in a heat wave.

- My food ration coupons were given to my landlady. One thing I'll say for her was that she was a good cook, of German origin and very very house-proud. The experience of living away from home was probably the hardest adjustment I had to make, and remains in my memory as being more difficult than the time spent at school. Despite its proximity to the city, Mt C... would have to be the most parochial community I've ever come across, very inter-bred families, newcomers regarded with nosy suspicion. Had I spent the weekends there and become involved in their church, followed the footy, joined the tennis club etc, it may

have been different. I think I was regarded (not by the children) as a bit stand-offish, but actually I had so little in common with those folk that had I got involved socially, I would not have fitted in. Lighting was candles-to-bed or kerosene light, neither good for reading! Ironing was done with "Mrs Potts" irons, flat irons and washing by boiling the copper. No electricity on that road! So I took my laundry home each weekend! Yep! I certainly grew up that year! [a female]

- My time as a J.T. was pleasurable...I boarded with the G... family as did all J.T.'s before and after. Mrs G. was my father's cousin (although prior to 1942 we'd never met). I don't think I was given any preferences; as any of the J.T.'s I've met always spoke of their time boarding there in the same glowing terms. Being city bred (and never having been in the country for more than a day anyway) my year in the country was an education. With mainly free weekends I was able to take part in seasonal grape picking, fruit picking, hay carting, chaff cutting, milking (separating, butter making), biking or hiking to various places of note (now on the tourist calendar) changing me from a greenhorn to someone with a background of country life, which was an asset... [for later appointments]

- The local lads always felt that the female J.T. was a change from the local girls and were often a nuisance. [this respondent went on to the Teachers College but at the end of her third year there recalled that she "...became engaged and in January 1948 married the Head Teacher!"]

- All the young people had left the town to enlist. There were few, very few, people of my own age & as I didn't drink (in those days!) there was nowhere to go and nothing to do during the week, If I wanted to play football I had to get a lift to a nearby town (20 miles) & thus training was out of the question. Cricket was a little better as we had a team and used to travel by horse and buggy. Friday night the freight train used to bring icecreams and they were all sold by Saturday am. [a male]

- The young girls of the town tried hard to make a `catch'. Our behaviour was watched closely - we were expected to set an example by the HM & community. [a male aged 18.6]

- The most difficult part was to know how to accept and handle the "crushes" that so many of the young girls developed. [a male aged 17.7]

- It was a very exciting time, living in a country town, within bicycling distance of other towns. I [a female] boarded with a town leader for one term - took part in community life and progress, met many people, and was treated as an intelligent grown-up. It was heady stuff.

The age factor

Another concern raised at the Inquiry was about junior teachers just out of school themselves being required to teach, often at a level that they had just completed and to students of their own age, at a time when they had no idea of handling children or of imparting knowledge. A number of respondents recalled how they coped with this and other aspects associated with being given adult type responsibilities. Others simply remembered how the experience helped them in their own growing up and maturing.

- My first difficulty was managing the transition from the brash, socially inept, sometimes bumptious schoolboy I had been a few months before to the accepted staff member addressed as "Sir" by boys not much younger than I was. Learning to control the youthful high spirits which might be looked on with indulgence in a schoolboy was not easy. I became friendly with the two or three boys of my own age who formed the Leaving class. On one occasion we were skylarking with much laughter and noise in a small upstairs room when the Head Master appeared at the door. I think I might have been standing on a table. There was a sudden silence. We resumed our places. Mr Cant went away, having said nothing. On my arrival at school next morning, however, he drew me into his office where he told me gently but firmly that if I repeated the behaviour of the day before, I would not be going to College.

- The strange thing, when starting as a junior teacher, was adjusting from being a H.S. kid to being addressed as Miss R -, and I found this most difficult. I remember during the first week as I walked up the aisle, one little girl said "Hey Pat" and I said "Yes" then realising that she was talking, not to me, but to the girl next to her.

- One felt inadequate and lonely. In remote regions many junior teachers had to grapple with problems of self-knowledge that belongs to a much more mature age. The maturation from 17 to 21 is very great. One was too young to approach the younger with kindness and/or empathy. [a male aged 18.2 teaching Leaving Honours for part of the year]

- Since I was only about 6 months older than some of the secondary students, there could have been problems, but because I came from a large family with many different interests I coped well. Of course I am now introduced by men of 66 plus years in terms of "This is my old teacher..." Not particularly flattering to a 67 year old!

- Because I [aged 17.7] was a better than average sportsman I could do most things better than they (the students) could and this together with the enhancement of being asked to play (and eventually doing so) league football for Port Adelaide made it easy to have their respect and the confidence in myself to carry out my [secondary teaching] duties successfully.

- I remember big boys "playing up" when I supervised them and controlling them though I was scared but apparently did not show it. It may have helped that I was very tall. [a female]

- One anecdote that will always remain in my mind was when I was in the secondary room trying to look like a teacher. My brother "piped up" & said "Look out sister, don't crack your face". You can imagine how I felt!

- Another thing I recall was about having to teach my younger sister. One day I was at home and was chastising her for some misdemeanour on her part and she turned to me and announced "You're not Miss S - now".

- I felt very nervous being Secretary of the Welfare Club, as I had no experience in this type of thing at my age. The woman where I boarded gave me good moral support in this direction.

- My inexperience of life was a handicap. Although I was 18 years old, I had rarely been out with a boy (I did not know "the facts of life" until after I left school). I had never been to a dance. I had been closely protected; I had never had much money to manage. I learnt a lot in that year and had my first experience of real loss as one of the local women with whom I had established quite a close friendship lost her life under tragic circumstances. This was a community tragedy and I learnt the value of community.

- For me, the experience of cutting free from parental restraint was, I believe the most lasting impression of that year. I had been brought up rather strictly and had never been allowed to see a movie or attend a function where dancing was a part of the evening's amusement. During my junior teaching year I ranged far and wide on my push bike seeing movies, attending dances and generally learning how to entertain girls in a rather modest way. I matured that year and because of this, was able, I believe to settle down to hard study the following year. It was a year I learnt to live my life, and in that it was important. As regards my profession, I don't think it was all that important. I hope I didn't do too much harm to the children I taught that year.

- It was a year in which I could feel a bit more grown-up and learn a bit about myself. The junior teacher role was an ambiguous one. I enjoyed the sport and social events, but although I considered myself an adult, I was rather uncertain of myself at times. At the local dances the senior boys from the school had much more social poise than I did. This made me feel gauche and self-conscious, so I had to try all the harder to stand on my dignity. [female aged just 17]

- My leaving home at the age of 16 was obviously of much greater concern to my caring mother than to me. I have reason to believe that she wrote in advance to the minister (Methodist) of the town where I was sent and I was soon invited to join the church choir, which I was happy to do. I have little doubt that the minister, landlord or landlady, headmaster and others, while not exercising an over supervisory role, would have become involved in some way if I had shown signs of deviating from what in those days were commonly agreed expectations of behaviour. Like others of my age at that time, I was relatively innocent, ignorant, inexperienced and ingenuous. This may have been a protective advantage in those simpler days. [a male]

Particular incidents

There were vivid recollections of particular incidents - some amusing, some that could be coped with but others that were unpleasant and that well illustrated a number of the points raised against the junior teacher system at the Inquiry.

- At Escourt House - one incident about the spoilt brats. Disobedient and cunning! The children had to have ten minutes out of bed every hour & after school a half hour "running around" - some children had arms affected but most were fairly mobile. One day I went to get my bike out of a large shed when the door was closed by the children who gleefully announced that they'd locked me in. I told them to open the door and spoke to them through an opening. Suddenly an iron rod came through the crack and a yell "Look out, you'll get this in your eye! We think you aren't a teacher. You are just an ordinary person". I thought this intended insult was a compliment! Apparently I convinced them that I was a TEACHER as they opened the door and "bolted". Escourt House children were [really] mild and sweet.

- Sometimes a young man met with that he never saw before. And little Robbie (now a successful contractor...) was one of them. He couldn't undo his braces to go to the toilet. So several times a week he'd appear at my table, his little shirt over his tummy - and hand up "Please sir - wanna go toilet".

- One episode which stands out in my memory is when I lost my patience with a little boy who I was sure knew the answers to what I was asking him, but who wouldn't (or couldn't) tell me. I slapped his face - horror! I cringe when I think of it, and I guess it was one of the disadvantages of youth and inexperience. The mother came to the school and complained to the HM, who handled it pretty well, I think - as far as I remember; supportive but correcting. The relationship with the family thereafter, however, was rather shaky.

- Many friends made then, from both staff and students have remained close friends throughout the years. We often laugh about such things as my failure to stop a boy's constant chatter in class so I stuck a 2" piece of "sticky tape" over his mouth. *Please note - this would be termed "abuse" these days or "assault".

- I remember a very frightening experience when I was on yard duty and an older child had an accident to his eye. A piece of wire from an old bicycle tyre used in the playground as a base for rounders came out and pierced the eye lid - miraculously not the eye...I was able to call up the head master who was at lunch in the school house next door. But I don't think a raw teaching recruit should have been exposed to that sort of experience - nor should children been left in such inexpert care.

- It was summer...and having to walk through paddocks in long grass, and because I [a female aged 16.3] was not really well, I became somewhat paranoid about the possibility of encountering snakes as I walked to and from that school bus. I purchased a kit that contained a blade and some `condy's crystals (potassium permanganate) that I was going to treat myself with if I was bitten by one of those reptiles, but as far as I remember I did not ever see one...My sister found the kit one day and roundly teased me.

- I [a female aged 17.5] can still feel the apprehension I felt on the days when I was in the school alone at lunch times. (I guess the HT did hurry back after his lunch).

- One especially unhappy recollection is of one boy who hid under a railway crossing and pelted stones at me as I rode home on my bike. I didn't feel that I was generally unpopular but rather that he had problems that I was unable to help with (his subsequent life has been consistent with this). Another recollection is of a sports period each Friday morning. We always played rounders and the two captains (different ones each week, I think) tossed. The winner picked his first team member and always picked the Head who was a good player. The other then said "I s'pose I'll have to take Mr H -". This was justified but it hurt! I guess this underlines one of the problems with the J.T. system - they were at a sensitive age, and were trying to do their best, and were too concerned at little (or big) failures...I was probably

over-tense, and this might have contributed to voice/thoat problems, which helped my decision that teaching was not for me. [he resigned later that year]

- My appointment to K - High School was a rude awakening. Not only was it my first time away from home but also my first time off Eyre Peninsula, my first boat trip (Minnipa to PT. Adelaide) and my first trip to Adelaide, but it was to open up an entirely new aspect as to what teaching was all about. I recall the first assembly when I [a male aged 17.7 and straight from Leaving] was asked to address the students, many of whom were as big as me, some bigger, and a few older. What I said I have no idea - I know I felt very small and insignificant. Later being taken to 1st Year B class and introduced as Class Teacher. There were in excess of thirty 12 and 13 year olds in front of me, many of them tough little nuts...I had never marked a roll let alone entered one up. Never collected bank, lunch money, excuse notes, homework books, and later written reports. All these were only incidental. I had no idea how to prepare lesson notes, make out a programme, and keep an exam register. Thank the Lord for Courses of Instruction and set text books. They fed me and from them I fed the students from 1st Year to Leaving.

- At the country High School I [a male aged 18.2 teaching Leaving Honours English] worked reasonably hard, at Unley, very little. At Unley, I do not recall having been solely responsible for a subject. My main duty was to teach the head prefect Intermediate French in six months. He was successful. On the whole I regard the last six months at Unley as largely a waste of time.

- My first day at Unley High School! Soon after my arrival, the HM took me to the door of the women's staffroom, explained to those inside, who I was, & left me to fend for myself. Later I realised that the HM rarely entered the inner sanctum of the women's staffroom! I thought it strange that all the women were crowded around one table while the other was completely unoccupied. I sat down at the unoccupied table not realising that it was reserved for senior staff. There was some suppressed giggling and then one of the junior women suggested that I had better join them because I was sitting where Miss H -, the most senior woman, normally sat. When the senior woman arrived back from their classrooms, I was introduced to the said lady, and was glad that I had been rescued in time. At the beginning of lunch one of the junior women told me it was the custom for the JT to have lunch with the Leaving Honours class & took me to their classroom, where I knew no-one. However, when Miss L -, the second most senior woman noticed my absence, she came and rescued me and took me back to the staffroom. She explained that it was normal practice only because JTs were usually ex students of the school, who had just completed their Leaving Honours year. These incidents are trivial of course, but they are indicative of the kindness shown to me throughout that year.

- I [a female aged 16.10] arrived in P - on a very hot day by the rattly old mail utility - one week before school opened because the Head Teacher had an extra week's leave to attend a special school of training and I was not informed. No board had been arranged - luckily a local do-gooder took pity on me. The Head had [in fact] arranged board for me but he was not there & the household I was to stay at was on holiday still...The only way home was to Bowmans by bus & thence by train - no bus for a few days so I didn't get home 'till Friday & I had arrived on Monday.

- One afternoon I [an ex-serviceman aged 20] was left with only 15 children - all girls for craft. The Head would not let me take these out of his sight. He gave me a lecture on the lack of wisdom of young men being alone with girls. I was a bit mystified - I couldn't see what I could do with 15 of them. Certainly he made sure neither he not I was left alone with a girl OR girls. "Children are very good at concocting stories" he told me grimly!

- Many things remain in my memory:
    - Although I paid £3 per fortnight for board, I was charged 1/- to iron my trousers. I discovered that they ironed themselves if laid flat under my mattress between several layers of the "Advertiser".
    - The day the Governor came the experiment I was performing for the Leaving Chemistry class exploded - everyone went to ground in a hurry.
    - The cold nights helping to water friends' fruit blocks to earn money for clothes will live long in my memory.

- 1940 was the year Old Rowley won the Melbourne Cup at 100 to 1. I remember because the Head went over to the pub to listen to the Cup on the radio (schools were not thus equipped in those days) and he didn't come back. He was either celebrating or drowning his sorrows. I didn't find out which, but it meant that I, now barely 17, [a female] was left with 36 students for the rest of the afternoon. I scrambled through somehow. He was a good chap & I didn't really hold it against him.

- I was an orphan and I lived on the Esplanade at Henley South. As a J.T. I earned 12/6 a week. To get to Somerton by public transport I had to leave soon after 7.15 to catch a tram to Adelaide and then a trolley bus to Somerton. The cost was 10/10 per week so that left me with 1/8d. This was impossible, so I had to ride my bike, except on rare occasions. The winter winds were terrible & so was the rain and the northerlies. The wind seemed to change to give me a head wind both ways. However, the physical exercise didn't harm me. It made me tough.

- One day I was embarking on a Nature Study lesson about potatoes. Young Schulz piped up "My father's digging potatoes today. Can we go and see?" "How far away?" asks I. "Just over the hill" (the rear yard of the school) was the reply. The Head said yes so I conducted my first excursion - no ED permits - just a reasonably sensible 17 year old girl and 25 6-7 year olds did the half mile on foot. Dad Schulz was a good instructor and a great lesson was had by all.

- About three years ago, I was invited to attend a re-union of those who attended M - High School during the middle to late 1940s. I found it a most interesting if painful experience. The Head and one of the teachers was dead; which left two of us to bear the burden of middle-aged reminiscences. The most positive thing was the absence of malice they held towards us. Obviously my attempt to seem older had worked better than I knew, for most of them seemed surprised to learn that one of my students was older than I, that I had been only three or four years older than the youngest of them...Predictable they were full of tales of their pranks and my eccentricities, but it was clear that they saw their school lives as not unpleasurable interruptions to what they regarded as reality. The language teacher - who has had a distinguished career as a linguist..., was particularly hurt by their indifference to what she had tried to teach. As for me, having fewer expectations, I was less disappointed, but whether their complacency is an indictment of the JT system or of secondary education in general, I am unwilling to speculate.

The system

Some respondents commented directly on the type of faults in the junior teacher system that had influenced the Education Inquiry Committee.

- Junior teaching in my view, was the sudden transition from student to teacher without preparation or training - in short, a sink or swim exercise. Classes were instantly assigned to the new J.T. on arrival at the school and a bewildering sequence of timetables, programmes and familiarization of classroom procedures had to be absorbed quickly. Learning to work smoothly with two or more classes so that time was shared between them in teaching, supervising, or marking, was a gradually acquired skill.

- It was a sudden transition from student (being taught) to teacher. It was largely a matter of copying the style and methods of the teacher who taught me.

- A note on Junior Teaching. A teacher needs a rich fund of life experience to draw on to do the job well. When I got to College... we were well trained. This was the type of background one needs as a basis for successful teaching. The narrowness of a teenager fresh from school - it was not right to expect such young people to tackle the job at all adequately. A trained teacher needs at least several years to find her/his feet in the new job - to acquire a style and confidence in using it. Junior teachers were certainly a source of economy for the Education Department!

- I suppose my main memory is of how nice little kids are, and how willingly they give their teacher their absolute trust. I recall feelings of frustration in not being able to do the job better I remember being unable to keep the children interested and busy, a problem I expect could have disappeared with [some] training...

- I had very much wanted to do my junior teaching year in the city at the school I had just left but the "powers-that - be" sent me to a little country primary school and I had no choice but to obey. We had little money to spare but my mother helped me get some clothes together & off I went to a "foreign" country! - It was a long way from home in those days.

- My main gripe about that year was that I had decided to do infant teaching and really should have been better advised. I have spent all the years I have taught with infants but often felt like a square peg in a round hole. I had gained 6th credit in Leaving English and I know I could have done better to have had a career in Secondary English and History...I guess I could have survived the extra years in College, but money was scarce at that time and I was anxious to opt for a course that would not be too long. However, with better counselling I would have been better off in secondary work. How can a child of 17 or 18 know this?

- Even though I became even more determined as the year went on that secondary teaching was the only kind I wanted, I was fond of the small creatures in my charge, and must admit that I never approached a day then with the foreboding which was a feature of my life in later years in city high schools. There were some sweet Maltese and Greek children whose names and faces I can still recall, after more than 50 years.

Others saw certain advantages in such a system.

- There is one single outstanding fact that I [a male aged 16.2 when he began] think should be taken into account in evaluating the whole teacher training system in those days. And it is this: that it was only through this system that poor students of those days were able to get the privilege of attending university and getting a degree. There were extremely few scholarship

places, and I had no chance myself of getting such a scholarship because of my circumstances. I had twice been promoted in my own primary school career, and reached high school when I had just turned eleven, three years younger than the average age in those days. I was always among students who were physically much bigger than me. And also more mature. I got my Leaving Honours year, in those days a year AFTER the Leaving matriculation year, when I had just turned fifteen. The zeal for study that had been with me throughout primary school had by this time left me, and I had no chance of getting a scholarship, or of even returning to school because of my parents' financial situation (my father for most of the thirties - the Great depression - had been an unemployed carpenter). [he then went on to describe a very interesting career and concluded "I have told you all this to make the point that...by accepting the position of junior teacher in 1941, I have had opportunities and experiences that I could never otherwise have had"]

- In my situation [a male aged 16.3] at least, the junior teacher system seemed to be an accepted part of the career training of teachers. My school had had J.T.s previously and in addition it was not uncommon for senior students to spend an extra year at school while awaiting employment or studying one or two Leaving Honours subjects by correspondence. These students often took on minor teaching roles such as assisting in the Science laboratory. So when I was appointed J.T. it was a natural and accepted event. I became a member of staff. Rules of behaviour were set down for me, how I was to act at school and out of school (my private life) by the Head and my teacher (the Senior Master) from the previous year. But there were also clear standards set by both my parents and the townspeople. I knew that I was under constant surveillance. This was less harsh than it would be today because of our more permissive society. I recall an illustration. In an attempt to curb the talking habits of a young 1st Year girl student I took off one or two marks from her weekly test paper. She was a very good student and of course was very put out. Very soon her mother, who was a long time family friend, was around at my home giving my mother a piece of her mind. I think they fell out for some time.

- My appointment [a male direct from Leaving] to a large country primary school with a secondary top allowed secondary aged students an opportunity for some secondary study. Obviously curriculum breadth was limited because of the range of year levels, abilities of students, educational resources available and my own orientation to my own recent studies. I remember, however, undertaking excursions (limited) and developing courses with a focus on rural activity. The latter was aided in content and credibility by my own background as son of a farmer.

The comments of several others well illustrated the point put to the Inquiry that at an impressionable age, young junior teachers were likely to come across certain teaching habits which would help to perpetuate the existing outlook and methodology, and through their lack of knowledge of educational problems, be likely to copy the current methods - some certainly bad - being used in schools. Some respondents accepted the way things were while others recoiled from certain forms of teaching and discipline.

- The generally accepted view of teachers, parents and indeed the community generally seemed to be that the first step was for a teacher to establish his authority over the students. The woodwork teacher was quick to advise me [a 16 year old male] that this could best be achieved by inflicting corporal punishment on the biggest boy in the class as soon as the opportunity presented itself. He went on about how he had carried out this procedure the day before. This kind of anecdote, together with advice (given during conversation, rather than formally by superiors) and role modelling, contributed significantly to the thinking of trainee teachers. Hence `discipline' became a key word in the philosophy of most trainees, who accepted conventional wisdom - the discipline of good behaviour, of organized learning (subjects requiring facts and skills to be learnt), of tests and examinations, of teaching and learning methods, and so on. Role models, i.e. successful teachers, were those who `had good discipline', and those whose students did well in public examinations. These influences were generally reinforced by memories of our own teachers, at least at secondary school. In retrospect I don't think this was all that bad but it was not all good either. In my opinion, most trainees accepted the conventional wisdom & in consequence attached too little importance to educational theory/ Similarly; little importance was paid to the feelings of students as such. A further point! Our observation and past experience confirmed that `weak' teachers were not respected by students, were not on good terms with them and were unhappy and worried.

- My Senior Master said to me [a male aged 16.9 straight from Leaving] before I taught my first lesson of 1st Yr Arithmetic in 1945 "There's a big boy in that class who might give trouble. The first time he opens his mouth, stride down the aisle and belt him over the head with the text book". I did this about half way through the lesson and it had the most salutary effect on the lad and on the class. Durell's Arithmetic book was big with a hard cover. I imagine the parental reaction if a teacher did that today. My single student in Leaving P.E.B. Arithmetic was bigger, taller and older than I - but he passed!

- I [a male aged 20, ex-serviceman] found it hard to come to terms with discipline as it then existed. I had to send children to the H.T. for even the most minor of misdemeanours. His remedy? Invariably the ruler around the legs. He forbade me to do this (even if I'd wanted to) but assured me that when I became a trained teacher I might find it necessary - sometimes - and if I did, he'd recommend the use of the golden "Savings Bank" ruler rather than the departmental rulers he sold from the book cupboard because they were stronger and less likely to break. Mr A's punishment for my children (and his) who did poorly in the morning spelling test was one smack for each error. I had one little lad who regularly got 10 smacks. I suffered with that boy and must confess there were occasions when I didn't disclose the spelling results...In my J.T ship I learnt the value of order but made my own resolution about the use of the ruler. Some of the old order was repressive bordering on the sadistic; much of it was good sound training sadly lacking today. Friday tests were an institution. We got those going as soon as school went in. Even Grade 1s had a spelling and sums test (on their little blackboards), then the H.T. tabulated every result in a big day book and he'd talk to me about ways of getting a better percentage. Then at the end of lunch time the merit cards would be given out. To the children these were like Purple Hearts. But I saw enough of the heart-ache and despair of the children who never got one, to put me off this sort of thing for good.

- Each Friday morning tests were conducted in the basic subjects & I [a female] can recall the satisfaction it gave me to see a class for which I was responsible collect the shield for getting top marks. I must say that they were some of the brightest Children it has been my pleasure to teach so I don't take much of the credit.

- I [a female aged 17.6] was surprised by the apparently negative attitudes to teaching of some of the staff e.g., one who regularly welcomed Friday as `Good Friday'. The young enthusiastic J.T. was rather shocked by this. In the main the primary school was [in 1944] the formal, traditional school with Friday tests, honour cards, marching routines. I had no difficulty in deciding that infant teaching was to be my only choice in the Education Department.

- Monday morning assembly - Salute the Flag (monitors for hoisting) and National Anthem. Every morning assembly (Goodness help the latecomers!) March into school reciting tables (it worked), Start off with spelling tests, the words to be known were listed the previous day - correct them quickly or stay in at recess. Friday tests on the week's spelling & dictation & arithmetic (a popular day for absences, but I think it was for shopping at S -) Using a blackboard had to be learnt and I had to try copper plate writing as students had to copy all my moves. Reading, Writing & Arithmetic (in fact all book work) meant constant patrolling & assistance. "Busy-work" was kept for students with time to spare.

- At R... I [a female] found the methods very archaic. Children used to stand in the yard for the first 10 minutes & recite/sing tables & /or spelling from brown paper charts. I thought it was the most depressing, unexciting mode of learning.

A few respondents in quite different situations described the nature of their junior teaching duties.

- I was in charge of Grades 1 - 3 & each day began with spelling, sums, mental & reading. I set the `babies' to work on making letters on small blackboards or writing figures etc., while I set work for the other two classes...When Grade 2 & 3 were fixed up with their work I went to the `babies' who needed more attention...After recess we had such subjects as poetry, history, geography & moral lessons. A good deal of this was done with stories - history consisted of stories with a strong moral tone behind them, geography was stories of children of other lands...In the afternoon there was a story or perhaps pastel drawing, writing lesson etc. There was a good deal of teaching through play method.

- The work at Escourt House was quite strenuous. We had Wednesday afternoons free from teaching as this was visiting time, but much of that was taken up with lesson preparation and attention to handicraft materials and patterns. One other aspect of the work was to be able to adopt to the two areas of the hospital. The children in the rheumatic fever section tired much more rapidly than the orthopaedic patients, and needed frequent rest periods. Many of the children had to be kept flat on their backs, so each one had a special support for books and papers, all of which needed to be issued and collected each day, and picked up frequently when they fell off the beds. This was a vastly different experience from normal classroom teaching, but one which I never regretted.

- Teaching at T - Tech was more relaxed than the styles that I had become accustomed to at C - College and at A - High School as a student was. Curriculum and teaching methods were not controlled and dominated by the narrow P.E.B. syllabuses of the 3os and 40s as they were at High Schools and Colleges. There was less emphasis on examination results as a measure of the teacher's and the school's success. I probably did not recognize this at the time but I have no doubt that these early impressions and observations influenced my [later] thinking.

As has been seen, Inspectors played a major role in the system but despite their awareness of this noted in the cultural section, few felt the need to say more about them, and as in previous periods, the recollections were not particularly favourable.

- I did a lot of art work around the room...I had a lot of art training...This display got me into a spot of trouble. I had visited a neighbouring town to attend a dance and quite a few J.T.s were there from surrounding districts. One young man (a bit dishy) asked me to dance and then gave me a description of the Inspector's visit and how he had been served with a description of some "smart alec" female who was good at everything like art and poetry and music and that his efforts were not appreciated by comparison. I felt terrible. He hated me and I thought he was rather beautiful. I hoped he wouldn't find out but he did, because he didn't dance with me again. What a way to find out what the Inspector thought! Competition does nothing for a woman!

- My final impression was one of incredulity - on the last day of the school year the school was inspected. I had to teach a nature study lesson, an arithmetic lesson and a spelling lesson. At the end of all this the Inspector (note the capital `I') solemnly advised me how I should go about these tasks in the future - and this was my last day as a J.T.!

- I was terrified of the inspector, who in private was probably harmless enough, but he generated the same distress as Ben Gates at Unley High where I had the misfortune to begin my school student life. I wasn't used to this domineering male figure and he upset me.

- I remember Mr Leach, the Inspector, because he spent so much time with me, checking out my boarding arrangements and helping me with the records I needed for my country dances in my rhythm lessons.

Treatment by the Head or a supervisor was canvassed in some detail in the cultural section but a few respondents had further memories about how they had either been well treated or exploited by those in charge of them.

- After welcoming me, the H.M., ...an eminently reasonable man... informed me that I would be require to assist teachers in the subject rooms, to observe an occasional lesson, to help in the office and to observe and learn as much as I could. He would allow me time for study if I wished to enrol for an evening class, which he encouraged me to do. He assured me of the willingness of the staff to guide, assist and advise me. At the time I did not realize how lucky I was to have such an enlightened Headmaster.

- I should have made more use of my time as a JT in advancing my studies than I did. My Senior was a bit disappointed that I didn't get 1st Year Accountancy with the University under my belt in that year. I guess I was having too good a time to tie myself down to a lot of study.

- Both the Heads [she was transferred] were pleasant enough but not very helpful. Both had domestic problems at the time & expected me to be on duty by 8.30 for yard duty - in fact I did all the yard duty. They both disappeared for morning tea at 11 - had lunch at home - & afternoon tea at home in the short afternoon break. I had to stay after school until all the children had left. I didn't resent that at the time but have thought since that they did expect a bit much.

- There was a wealthy family whose children attended the local school, and I remember that the Head Teacher showed a degree of obeisance to them. After all, he could, having as a pupil their very bright daughter, whilst I had in my class, and just commencing school, their less than average abilities son.

Recruiting, appointments and transfers

- I [a male] would like to make a comment about the method by which I was recruited or directed towards teaching in the Ed Dept. The then Superintendent of Secondary Education, the late Mr Edgar Allen, made a practice of visiting country high schools and talking with the HM about likely recruits. In my case he came to P - High School and asked me to take him for a walk around the school during dinner hour. We walked for nearly an hour and during that time he spoke about my wishes and possible future career, giving in detail my future prospects and general career. I recognize that numbers nowadays are much greater than they were in 1939 but there was always the feeling that the top man in the system cared and this feeling remained for many years. After I left the Dept I was conscious of the anonymity of new recruits to the service as far as the administrative heads were concerned. I think there's a need to redress this inbalance which I believe has diminished the Education Department.

- Towards the end of 1940 I [a male] had applied for a Junior Teachership, among other jobs, but had been told that I was unlikely to receive an appointment. Early in the new year I accepted a position in the State Public Service that I was offered and began work in the Government Statistican's Office. My duties were repetitive and boring. They included filling envelopes, ruling vertical red lines on large ruled sheets, getting lunches and running messages. This was tedious stuff after Antony and Cleopatra, Culture and Anarchy, the revolutionary Romantic poets of the early 19th century, Virgil... and heated arguments about religion, politics, communism, and Spain and the civil war at Adelaide High School in the previous year in Leaving Honours. Relief from the boredom came quickly and unexpectedly. I received a letter within a week of becoming a clerk asking me to call on Mr Siebert in the Education Building with reference to my recent application. I hastened to find him. I was offered an appointment at a Boys' Technical School three or four miles from where I lived at

Black Forest to begin almost immediately. I remember asking how I had become so fortunate since I was given little hope not long before. The reply was that the Headmaster had requested another J.T. and I was next on the waiting list. I resigned from the Public Service next day. Many years later I learned that a relative used to play bowls with a very senior officer of the Department (of whom there were very few in those days) and had mentioned my name one Saturday afternoon. I shall never know whether I earned the position on my examination results or through influence. I like to think that, if the latter had been a factor, my relative...would have approved of my later career in the Department.

- I did my "Leaving" in 1941 but passed only two subjects. How I missed the second Maths 1 I don't know as I had a wonderful teacher. In those days I think it wasn't absolutely necessary to have passed the Leaving as long as one had done it. Well, at the end of January, 1942, I had gone back to High School and had been there a week when I was called to C - Higher Primary School. [a female designated as "A" course in the 1942 Gazetted list of junior teachers]

- At the beginning of the school year of 1941, my friend and I [both females] had not been given junior teacher appointments, and at the urging of our former teachers, we rang the Department several times to enquire about the delay. Finally both appointments came through (my friend's to a city High School, mine to a country one-teacher school). I was given a voucher for my train fare. And was told to catch a certain train and that someone would be at the Clare station to meet me. When I got off the train not a soul was to be seen. Finally a man who came along with some milk cans took me down to a garage in Clare where I hired a car to drive me seven miles to the school...On arriving there, the teacher, Mr B - was not expecting me and received notification about two days later.... Easter was approaching and I could not afford to go home: my father was out of work and we were very poor. I came home from school on the Wednesday night and my landlady took a phone call, came out to me and asked if I knew I was leaving the school as a Mr S - from Clare had rung to see if she would board his daughter, who was to be teaching at the school after Easter. Of course, I didn't know anything about it. I went to the school and told Mr B -, - he didn't know either and made a special trip to Clare to see if any notification had arrived by post - nothing! Everyone was upset that I was leaving. Word came through after Easter that I was supposed to start at H - School on the Tuesday after Easter, with instructions how to get there by bus, after returning to Adelaide by train. The story was that Mr S - was an influential man and had pulled a few strings to get his daughter transferred (nearer home).

- As I [a female] was so happy at F..., I was shocked to be told one day that I was to be transferred to W... as the number of children had dropped at F... and there was a teacher needed for Grades 1 - 11 at W... It was going to be a long way from home & off into the unknown for me. Transport was difficult - a friend drove me to Blyth where I caught a railcar to W ...

- I [a female] was certainly unhappy with the unexpected move from N... to Y... The people at N... had accepted me as part of the place. Board was home from home and I had made dozens of new friends. The move came about because the HT at N... had joined the Army and the school was to be closed. Y... was a different place. The people were not so outgoing.

- I [a male] was a bit peeved when I found out early in 1943 that I would be required to do a second year as a JT - but all that I was told was that I was considered a bit young to go to Teachers College - I was barely 17, which was the minimum age for entry. I privately suspected, but had no evidence, that the Head Teacher at L... did not give me a good report to the Inspector - maybe he needed to cover up his own shortcomings! Nothing was discussed.

A. 4:

VIGNETTES - LIFE AS A JUNIOR TEACHER 1946 - 1950

Almost 90% of these respondents felt able to supply additional information that would help to show even more clearly what it was like to have been a junior teacher. About half of them were prepared to write up to a page and a half of free flowing memoir and another 30% wrote two pages or more. Of the rest, about equal numbers wrote either a great deal (up to 4, 6 and 9 pages) or only a paragraph or so to fill up the space under Question 6. Several of those who were unable to respond to this section simply left the space blank but others explained why there was no more:

- Enough is enough!
- There has been a lot of water under the bridge since then and so many questions were difficult to answer truthfully. I've already done my best.

One respondent wrote 'Please turn to the attached pages' but [later, it would seem] added:

- Sorry. I didn't get round to this.

As with the previous period, the large amount of very interesting material caused a problem in that it was very difficult to decide what to leave out. What has been chosen provides much that is helpful in expanding a view of a system still needed by the Department and those candidates underqualified for the College yet very much in the shadow of the condemnation it had so recently received. As with the concrete and cultural data, the vignettes show something of the few changes that were possible in this period and a great deal about what remained much the same as it had been at the height of the campaign against the system. Of interest, too, are the insights these memoirs provide into the areas of most concern to respondents who were junior teachers at a time when the system was on the verge of the radical changes that marked its final phase.

Post-war years

The War was over and only a few recalled any of its direct effects:

- ... perhaps because their world was not too widely spread, nor their pockets allowing it to be so, I would say all were keen that their children succeed and have a better future particularly in view of the War just ended, where loved ones had fought to save the country we had and to improve its conditions. [1946]

- [After describing the generally poor physical condition of the school]... the science/projection room was the enclosed verandah/porch of the old stone building. It had an entry door and one tiny window which could rarely be successfully opened. How the secondary students coped in

there I'll never know, but no-one seemed to complain. Perhaps the War years had taught us to improvise and be satisfied with whatever we had. [1946]

- The widow with whom I boarded first had always boarded the J.T. and regaled me [a 16.8 year old female] with stories of my predecessors: the good teachers and the less successful ones. World War 11 had not been long ended so my German background & the fact that I'd attended a Lutheran school immediately earned me black marks. [1949]

Boarding

These longer extracts help to show in a more detailed way than was possible in the concrete section what this aspect of out of school life meant for those who were required to live away from home. Some respondents recalled quite difficult situations while others enjoyed good conditions.

- The private house in which I [a male] lived looked upper class from the outside but for some reason it was never finished - no paving, no plumbing. I shared an outside verandah room with a son. An early lesson. Don't tell a land-lady the food you like for part way through your list she'll ask 'Do you like kangaroo tail soup?' You say 'Yes' and continue with your likes. Later you learn your mistake - the guns in the corner and the stag hounds in the yard have only one purpose - to kill kangaroos. Now kangaroo shooters can collect many tails which cannot be sold. So ingenious wives of kangaroo hunters have many recipes using kangaroo tails - stews, casseroles, mince pies and above all soups. I've been a conservationist ever since. A bathroom with no taps. Shaving water from the kettle on the wood stove in the kitchen but how to have a bath. No-one was letting on so after 3 days I asked. Answer 'We usually put on the 'fountain' and the cast iron kettle on the stove Saturday night'. My thought 'Oh hell!' Come bath night I took the fountain and emptied the water into the iron bath and I nearly got to the bathroom with the kettle only to be told that 'We usually find that one container of water is sufficient'. Ever had a bath in which you have to lift your leg to find the water?

- A word about boarding. There had been an agreement, before I[a male] had arrived, to board the new teacher for a term each. The first involved a daily bike ride over corrugated road to a pleasant home. In the second term no board was available so the head teacher took me in. I taught one of his sons, and after a day working with the H.T. (not always free of tension) and trying to study by kerosene lights, I found it a situation less than ideal. In Term 111 I boarded in a third home in the town, a fairly poor house, although they had their own lighting plant (32v). The people were kind but again living with some of the pupils caused a little discomfort at times, but not as much as some of my contemporaries apparently suffered.

- ... Nobody met me [a male] so the Station Master phoned people and the Chairman of the Committee came in, grumbling, stating that he'd 'have to put me up'. I was soon moved to a farm … It was difficult to bath as the bathroom was used to brew beer! My landlady read a letter I was writing to my parents, and, as it was not flattering, I was evicted. I had left the letter half written, thinking that nobody would read another person's correspondence - it was just not done! (Naive?) My next stay was at a house - empty except for my bed and wardrobe - next to my landlord's house. This was 3 miles south of the town, and I sent for my bike, and rode the lonely miles of sand to the township.

- I [a male] have strong memories of liking the school day well enough but of feeling rather lonely in out-of-school hours. This was very much contributed to by the austere boarding conditions - the 'landlady' periodically would leave a note of what to do or not to do (never did speak to me about such) and which I would crush and burn. (They were petty matters really!) I fancy I tried to become the ideal boarder - making my bed, cleaning the room, chopping all the household wood, running the messages, going to bed at 8.30 PM every night. I was always pleased to ride the 9 miles to my home town on a Friday evening, singing all the way.

- I was unhappy at the initial boarding place which had been assigned to me, as the people were very impersonal and involved with their business. I preferred family life, so after the first week I moved to a farming family where I slept in one room with three [other] young males.

- Boarding experiences were fun! The first place was with a widow and her 3 daughters (rather Gilbertian). I was a helpful lad around the small property as I had been brought up in a country family. But it was not long before I was relied on to do all the milking of the cows and be the general factotum. In return I was allowed to drive the girls to local dances in the landlady's very nice new 'Rover'. It was rather difficult though to put up with three back seat drivers. A parting of the ways saw me move into the town and take up residence with the local barber who turned out to be the supplier of after hours grog. A very nice chap though but when he was hospitalised for a lengthy period I was taken in by a very nice lady with a lovely family about my age or somewhat older. Husband unfortunately came home drunk rather too often and proceeded to take all and sundry apart (physically). I remember almost nodding off to sleep while hearing reading on many occasions - little wonder.

- I had written to the Head to say I was coming by bus, on the Monday before school. I actually arrived before the letter: so, the Head did not know of my coming. No board had been arranged; so we walked to the local boarding house & <u>begged</u> to be taken in! The boarding house held two teachers, two land/stock agent clerks, the Council steno & the blacksmiths off-sider. So, I had a

group of bods, more or less my age to live with. This was a big advantage. The landlady was tough i.e., hard-headed, but very kind. I shared a bedroom with the blacksmith's offsider. The amenities were barely adequate - no running hot water, as we expect these days. I was ill during the year, for a week, with tonsillitis and I suppose that was the worst part of the year.

- My private board with an old-fashioned upper- middle-aged widow (who always had 'the teacher.') was comfortable & I [a female] really probably felt very protected - (although only one bath a week set me back a bit!) But I made up for it on weekends [at home].

- I [a female] was very lucky to have a wonderful boarding place - three generations of the one family - the younger son being three years my junior. I was made to feel very much a member of the family. When the only woman of the family was ill in the last term I was not asked to leave - although was told they would understand if I did. I stayed & did all I could to help and they would take no board from me for the whole term. My landlady had been a teacher and although she did nothing directly to influence me she always encouraged me to discuss things with her when I felt the need. I was the 3rd J.T. she had boarded and she knew the lack of support we had from our H.M.

- I was fortunate after the first two months to board with a very dear lady in her late fifties who more or less adopted me as another son and [later] treated my own children like her own grandchildren.

- I [a female] guess I was lucky - I was able to board with family friends on a dairy farm (imagine that to a city girl) approx 5 miles from the school. I used to ride my old push bike on a graded road and in winter on the school bus to the school.

Living at home

As has been seen, in this period the Department attempted to fulfill a promise made in 1942 to place junior teachers at home once the abnormal staffing conditions imposed by the war were overcome. One respondent recalled a very different reason for living at home, two others appreciated the opportunity but another, on reflection, had mixed feelings about it.

- As no-one at S... was prepared to take in a boarder in 1947 I [a female] had to travel daily from my home at Col. Light Gardens. I took the 7.15 tram from the terminus, then the 7.58 train arriving at S... about 8.40. Light the fires with twigs & gum leaves, quickly dust both schoolrooms and prepare for the 9 a.m. start. School ended at 3.45 but there was no train until 5.10 so it was usually 6.30 by the time I got home again. I usually remained at the school during

that time to prepare things for next day, & I often perused the old roll books, registers & day books, they fascinated me. The rules said no more wood on fires after 2.30, but the Head always put a large piece on for me then because I had such a long wait.

- The year had special significance for me [a male] as it was the last time I was at home with my parents. Dad died in the first few months of my teaching and mum shortly after so my association with the town ended.

- In Winter the school always had a wonderful wood fire burning. After rowing myself [a female] across the river, from home then cycling through the freezing cold and frosty mornings, it was a treat to sit by that fire already lit by my Head, and thaw. That was the year of my chilblains, the worst I ever experienced! I can recall many incidents while rowing across the river. The puntman always left the boat tied on the appropriate side for me in case he was on the other side waiting for a full load. I was lucky sometimes to be able to use the punt as well. He often mended punctures for me too. One night after a wonderful concert at the school, my mother and I walked to the punt, and much to her consternation, I insisted we would be quicker getting across if I rowed since the punt was on the other side. She wouldn't believe I could row for that one light we could see, but we managed and it was a great finish to the night.

- When I [a male] look back on that year, I think it was made too easy for me. I was living at home. I think I would have matured more if I had roughed it well away from my own stamping ground. Even though I had boarded while at High School, it was not the same as living away from home as an adult. I knew the children, the parents and the headmaster too well. I may have received more criticism if I had not, and it may have done me some good. I may not have signed the bond of those days and so wasted four years of my life...I left the Department after three years without regrets but I think now maybe, I could have become a success - maybe!

Social life - town and district

Some had pleasant memories of the town in which they lived or boarded but others found it hard to come to terms with the different life styles that they encountered.

- You may wonder why I refer to the L... Primary School as 'country', but in 'my' day (1946) that's how we thought of it. Twenty-two miles from the city via a very winding, foggy road was quite a trip and a visit 'to town' was seldom and called for quite an effort. The townspeople could go via bus but from my home two and a half miles away, the only way out was by train. Only rich farmers could afford cars. I had walked to and from school as a pupil and now did so by bike. My pupils did likewise. Sometimes we would get a ride with the milk- collector if we

rose early... I knew from childhood experiences what a relaxing delight it was to get a ride home (in heat or rain) for which there was no hesitation because each knew the local inhabitants and farmers, and remembered to say a polite 'thank-you'. There was a local cricket pitch and football at Mt. Barker ... Sunday visits were paid. Most parents had grown up in the town, and saw one another married. Pre-viewing of the bride's trousseau, and kitchen evenings were the norm, 'tin-kettling' was afforded the newly-weds, when the wife would be expected to show cooking prowess with supper provision and the husband suitable drinks of ale!... The 'Great Eastern Hotel' was the men's meeting place for darts and a drink (especially at the end of the week) and an S.P. Bookmaker would hold a bet on the Saturday races heard by radio. All the goings-on would leak through to the children and all families would be aware of 'who was who' and character suitably judged. Just as we knew who was worthy of respect for his contributions to Council or animal breeding, for donation of property for a town swimming pool; so did we know who drank too much, who didn't keep the house well, or who was intelligent or not-endowed with a great thinking capacity… so that off-spring had varying back-grounds of inspiration.

- I can remember the casual life people led in that small place, even though dairying was their sole mode of living. Many children were often late because they had to help with the milking but they always caught up their work during the day. I spent many evenings having dinner at my Head's place as well as with many parents who were kind enough to invite me.

- Most of my memories of J.T. are mixed up in the life of a small country town. Such activities as spotlighting, country dances, sport, travelling to football on the back of a truck with a tarp over it to provide some shelter from wind & rain, (members of both football and basketball teams travelled together) partnering a deb. At the district annual deb ball, bike riding, swimming up the local creek - water hole... but over all of being accepted into a close country community and being made to feel welcome in it.

- I joined in the local sports, playing in their teams. These were still the days of petrol rationing (1946) so transport was per an old truck with stock hurdles on the side and a tarpaulin covering. We sat on planks resting on kerosene tins. Rough roads, dust galore, plenty of noise from the tins, and sore tails from the jarring bumps - what a way to go! The same transport was used to go to a dance in the next town, about 10 miles away.

- I find it hard to separate the Junior Teacher appointment per se from the shock of being plummeted into a totally different life in a small country town... I had only vaguely realised that kerosene lighting, unsealed roads, seemingly endless expanses of mallee, and widespread small town parochialism, really existed.

- I had never lived in a hamlet before and it puzzled me at the speed at which news travelled, especially items about newcomers to the town. I was thrown closer to people from many different economic groups. We met on the cricket and football fields and social functions. I didn't know then that my puzzlement about situations like;

  - One can be a member of a football team and yet be banned from a social function,

  - black bastards if in opposition, good guy for a black if on the same team as the speaker, and [my] friendships with Aborigines and Afghans, would steer me towards courses, the names of which I'd not heard.

- The mail truck [by which he travelled home and back at the end of each term] was manned by a driver and a helper. The truck would stop at the mail boxes and the helper would leave and pick up mail and goods. The speed at which he could do this depended largely on how long he'd been in the pub. On one trip he was able to service the first couple of stations then became legless and we [passengers] did his job but were still charged full fare - bloody rough I thought. We travelled to cricket venues by private cars and to football matches in a charabanc. On one of these trips I saw my first tanked head teacher. Perhaps he had reason to be for the charabanc was cramped and as cold as an ice box. Cramps in both legs in a cold confined space can be agony.

- The town in 1949 was a transhipping town employing a relatively large labour force some of whom had just been released from gaols in Victoria. While these characters provided the steel spine of the local football club they didn't make for a settled social life in the district. Several Gr 8 lads became involved in pilfering from railway premises & were thought to be in league with the former gaol birds.

- It was not all gloom. [this was the male 'evicted' from his boarding house] I enjoyed the sport, days with the ... family which were homely, and an occasional dance. I didn't enjoy the 'booze' mentality, and I kept that aspect from my anxious family.

Others recalled a variety of interesting personal encounters with the opposite sex.

- My [a 16.5 year old female] biggest problem was avoiding the man of the house when he'd imbibed too freely but I was brought up to expect that you had to deal with problems and I was too shy to complain. Besides, he was the Chairman of the School Council.

- I [a 17.4 year old male] was the 'target' for a few young girls, most, happily, respectable. One lass of about 16 or 17 did appear one hot evening and entered my room when I was working after school. She divested herself of her clothing and made rather suggestive statements - to say the least. I did manage an honourable escape. This story was told to a few of my College pals

(who went on to 'high places' in the E.D.) and they felt me rather odd - or so they said - for refusing the 'charms' of this 'lady'! Seriously, I believed then as I do now, that J.T.'s could be placed at what I consider moral risk in isolated places. Later, as a Principal, I met the nicer of these ladies again - as a respectable parent of senior secondary students. It was an interesting situation, but the little town of ... was never mentioned.

- I [a male aged 17.6] hated having to go to the Girls Tech on messages.

- One second year girl had a crush on me [a male aged just 17] and gave me her photo.

- It was a time of social contact in the country towns and I [a female] enjoyed the dances, balls, picnics, walks, tennis etc. There were of course boyfriends and 'dates' which at 17 made life exciting. All told a great experience and no regrets.

- I [a female aged just 17] was very keen to take on doing the School bank, as the Savings Bank Clerk was very attractive ... and we eventually became engaged!

- I [a female] was lucky that there were other young people of my own age who were very friendly and did all they could to make me feel I belonged. It was at a wedding while I was there that I met, and later married, Tom.

- The most significant item that occurred was that I [a male] aged 17.3] found myself attracted to a particular girl (student) in a fourth year class. She had returned to school after a year of employment to acquire her Leaving Certificate and therefore was a little older than her class mates. By the end of the year our friendship was known to many although we believed that we had been very discrete during the year (couldn't have teacher dating a student), but nothing was said to either of us. We both became teachers, and later married!

- Always remember the first day. Two nubile 12 - 13 year old girls in Grade 7. One (a German lass) gazed at me [a 17.4 year old male] frostily, the other gave me a 'come on' beaming smile - at first glance - had to keep hands off (of course), but interesting in retrospect.

- To tell the truth the only really memorable thing about that year was a torrid love affair I [a 16.8 year old female] had with the landlady's son, a fate which befell many young women of course. I feel uncommonly lucky tho' to have escaped from that as well, so the J.T. scheme must have kept my thoughts (or at least some of them) focussed on a worthwhile career.

Finances

The financial exploitation of young junior teachers was an important feature of the case made by opponents of the system before the Education Inquiry Committee. There is a strong feeling of financial hardship in most of these recollections about the pay.

- I [male] worked for 1000 pence a fortnight which included living away from home allowance.
  - £4/3/4 allowance
  - £3 for board
  - 8 shillings for travel (mail truck)
  - 1 shilling to send clothes home to be laundered,

  And the remainder was all mine, about 15/- for the fortnight.

- The financial dead loss: travel costs were paid to take up the appointment but not to return to Adelaide! This meant that I [male] paid two return fares in May and September, and a single fare in December. I forget the actual amounts involved, but I was able to save £3 for the whole year. The fares involved a sea trip from Port Adelaide to Port Lincoln, and a rail or road bus trip from there to Y... In my case, and also for all Eyre Peninsula unmarried teachers, shipping timetables meant that one would have been in Adelaide only from Saturday morning to the following Thursday evening were it not for the magnanimous Government that allowed teachers to return on the Monday evening ship departure, and so did not have to start till the Wednesday - a whole day late. This was hard on my head teacher who stayed at home for the vacations and had to take the whole school for that first day. Relievers? - No such animal in those days.

- I [male] don't remember being poor, despite the £140 a year that I received. Nobody else in the boarding house had much money: certainly they didn't seem to have any more than me. We went to dances, swimming, tennis, etc.

- I [female] don't remember what the fortnightly salary was. Certainly, I never bothered with a cheque book or bank account. Once I'd paid board there was little left so that was kept in a pickle jar in the bottom of the wardrobe.

- I [male] think my weekly 'salary' was £3/16/8 and that weekly board cost me £3 (I had to do my own washing and ironing etc) I supplemented this income by weeding the garden of my hosts (1/- an hour) or chopping firewood. My lunch was provided by the Head teacher and his wife. In return I did their gardening which took about 4-5 hours per week after school. Of a Saturday night a group of us younger folk would pay 1/- for a ride on the back of a covered truck into

Bordertown `to see the pictures'. After buying a halftime milk shake, paying theatre admission & catching the Melbourne Express back to W…, not much of the weekly savings remained.

- I [female] was paid 30/- a week & I gave my mother 10/- board. My tram pass cost 15/- a month & the train monthly ticket was about 30/-. [She was the one who had to travel, as no board was available in the town] Not much to spare but we always made it to dances - perhaps by sewing our own clothes & taking cut lunch.

The system

Some recalled the difficult physical conditions in the school.

- Other than the old two room stone building the remainder of the [Area School] l complex was made up of wooden portables. There was an office but no staffroom, and no staff toilets. There was a patch of asphalt between several of the buildings - the rest was a sandy bare yard - not very inspiring after N... High School a few months earlier. My classroom for twenty children was about 12 ft square. It just held 3 rows of desks, two rows of 3 and one of 4. There was just enough room for my table and chair between the chalkboard and front desk of centre row. We could not fully open the classroom door because the fourth desk in that row projected too far forward. We couldn't put a fourth desk on the opposite side because the heat of the old upright cast iron fireplace used to scorch the wood of the desk, being too close, as well as half roast the children sitting in it. Mallee roots have great heat, and even on a cold frosty morning no child wanted to sit in that seat. So, we had to restrict the opening of the door. I wonder how we'd view such situations today re safety. In summer the room was a real beast. It had one long, slender pivot window in the back corner on the north side through which the sun's rays beamed with strength. On the south side were two vertical sashes. It was impossible to get a circulation of air or even a flow of fresh air when children generated a great deal of body heat.

- The W... School comprised two main classrooms of solid (brick & stone) construction with a galvanized iron lean-to, with a bitumen floor, on the northern side. An area near the entrance was set aside for bags and cases & also contained some forms (seats) and water troughs. This end was partitioned off with stationery cupboards (regulation sloping tops) from my 'classroom' ie. the other half of the lean-to. A blackboard was suspended by a wire from a screw driven into the top of one cupboard. In winter there was no heating - apart from the psychological impact of the crackling of the wood fires in the main classrooms - and in summer air-circulation was limited by the windows of the lean-to being stuck up with paint. This lean-to doubled as a changeroom for visiting adult football teams. (the town oval was located across the road from the school)

- I [a female] used the schoolchildren's toilet - the furtherest cubicle was reserved for me & I can still see little girls' faces, almost standing on their heads, peeping at me from beneath the door which didn't go down to the ground.

- Dust storms [in the Mallee] were an evil to be tolerated. The grit permeated everything, worst of all the shelves in my little porch which housed the children's exercise books for specific subjects. It seemed to get in everywhere and even when shaken out before use, the pages developed brown patches from sweaty hands.

Far more recalled the way that they were treated by their superiors, their colleagues, the students and the parents.

Treatment by the Head or a supervisor was examined in some detail in Qu.3 but a number of respondents took the opportunity to say more - usually about unpleasant aspects. Most of these comments also well illustrate a particular criticism of the system - that at an impressionable age, young junior teachers were likely to come across certain unfortunate views about teaching and be influenced by poor teaching practices.

- I was never asked into the 'Residence' [of the Head] next door or even offered a cup of tea & it is only in recent times I've realised that, as there were no facilities in the school, I went the whole working day without a hot drink.

- One day while running from demonstrating a folk dance to wind up the run down gramophone record, I [a female] caught my foot in a hole in the asphalt and sprained my ankle. For the first time, I found some compassion in the Headmaster. He got out his tourer car and drove me home, sending my bike home with one of the neighbouring farm children.

- A Head Teacher who didn't seem interested in his work. The lack of guidance [given] in preparation, in teaching, in making educational games and activities. The H/T '<u>taught</u>' me [to]
  - Omit singing, art, P/T from the weekly program and life will be easy.
  - Routinize as many activities as possible.
  - Don't change things.

    (He could write from memory a year's program for Grade 4 - 7, in outline for the year, in detail for the term, almost perfect to last year's program. His words not mine.)
  - Follow rules and it doesn't matter what kind of animals sit in the seats. You can train them.

  [but] The kids were enjoyable, exciting. They taught me that I had chosen the right career. [a male]

- I [a female aged 16.7] realize he [the Head teacher] was a man who should not have been in the position - he was an alcoholic. Unfortunately, as was considered the proper thing in those days the parents did nothing about it. Many a morning I received a message from his wife to please take the children and set them to work - he would usually arrive about an hour later. He never acknowledged I'd done anything to help him. Well I remember his indignation the day he didn't arrive until hometime & I had already dismissed the children. He asked what right I had to do that!

- The Head Teacher was careful to keep all Dept. Rules but for him teaching was only a living. His wife was a very nice lady & they had 4 smart children... The Head was fond of drink & also [of] a flighty young mother from the Railway cottages. There was always a murmur of scandal about him but nothing outright was ever said to me. I realise now that his wife was desperately unhappy. [a female]

- I just remember going home each week after a session with the Principal & his criticism of my week's work saying that I was definitely resigning after the next pay day but here I am forty years later still a member of the Teaching Profession... [a female]

- I had attended the same school for all my primary schooling ... and many of the teachers were still at the school. In fact the Yr 2 teacher I was with to start my J.T. had been my Year 2 teacher many years before! ... I felt quite nervous at time with [her]. She was a bit of a tyrant and a legend but a good teacher. I remember she was a hard 'task master' with me at times but I accepted this. [a female]

- I could get along with the 'Head' all right and accepted his suggestions, but on some occasions I felt intimidated. He seemed to have a bad temper and if something I did was not quite right, I was told, rather bluntly the error of my ways. [a male]

- The fact that no teacher on the staff had any previous experience with a J.T. created some difficulty for me. I believe the expectations of my position on the staff were sometimes unreal. I was always driving myself to attain what was expected of me and the pressure was sometimes high - maybe it is fortunate that at the time stress had not been invented. However, when I had completed the year - and the HM said well done, I had a real sense of achievement. [a male]

Some got on well with the students but the recollections of others support the view of critics of the system that too much responsibility was being placed on inexperienced and immature young people.

- Class control was not difficult... However, on occasions I [a 17 year old female in a High School] had to discipline students and I found it very difficult to refrain from laughing - it seemed an unreal situation for me to be in at my age. So, often I undid the strength of the harangue by cracking a smile. Perhaps in the long run it helped relationships with students - I think they realised the difficulty I was in and saw the humour of the situation and helped me.

- The Leaving Class had a self-organized team/class association in existence. They decided that, like it or not, I [a 17 year old male] was going to be a fellow member - I was never asked my opinion as I remember. Organized trips (always by bicycle) included day trips to Quorn, visits to nearby sheep stations, hiking in the Flinders Ranges including one never to be forgotten climb of the Devil's Peak. Because of my boarding situation, they always organized my lunch. All of this could have led to difficulty in the school situation - However, I appreciated the fact that next day at school they each made a positive point of addressing me as 'Sir'. Never did any member of that class create any difficulty for me in class/school control situations.

- Because I [a 17 year old male] had been a student at the same Boys Tech School for the 4 years previously the relationship with students who had been 'my mates' the year before had to readjust. I remember meeting twin boys I had grown up with... [Who] on seeing me on the first day greeted me with 'Hi, Brian'. In my new found authority I replied 'Mr L... to you Colin and Grant'. ... Once I was one of 'them' but now was 'one of those'. I can remember knowing all the hideaways about the place so yard duty times were a plague on the students.

- While on yard duty a fight broke out. There must have been a hundred plus lads yelling encouragement. I [a 19 year old male at a Boys Technical School] had to move through the yelling mass to break up the stuggle to cries of anger from the enthusiastic crowd. I eventually managed to get the combatants through the throng of boys and to the office. It is the only time in my life when my knees turned to jelly.

- I [a 17.10 year old female] can remember the weekly Assemblies held in the big double rooms and how strange it was to be sitting with the staff, our chairs on a small dais, facing the students whereas for the previous five years I'd been in the student body. I can remember going into classrooms to deliver books or papers. The students had to stand for staff members and say 'good morning'. In my first week I tended to get behind the half-closed door, or dive into the nearest cupboard with a mumbled greeting issuing from the depths. I felt somewhat abandoned when the one Commercial teacher had sick leave. It seemed like 6 months but I suspect it was six weeks she was away, and I had a list of work to achieve ... Poor students! Poor me! (I suppose it wasn't all wasted time, as I had done well in all subjects in the previous years) but whether I communicated it well?)

- One Italian boy gave me [a female] a hard time, and I did my best to avoid him whenever possible! At times when things were not going well I felt inferior, but kept hoping that after my College years had shown me some of the things I needed to know, the situation would be better.

- I [a male] recall how attached some of the students became towards me, and how proud I was at being accepted as a 'TEACHER' at the school.

- At first I [a 17 year old male in a small primary school] was 'too friendly' with the kids and was put straight by the H.T. on how I appeared before them, conducted myself - never hands in pockets, for example. As I learnt a few tricks and skills and tried to do it the way the H.T. did I settled into a more satisfactory, and satisfying, school role.

From the recollections about treatment in the community it would seem that some parents were not as concerned about having their children taught by junior teachers as evidence put to the Inquiry would suggest.

- I [a 16.8 year old female] felt that I was a 'real' teacher, in this tiny community and this was a reflection of how the community saw its Junior Teachers. I don't think that they placed too much value on tertiary education, nor even training. It was just assumed that infant grades only really required a 'nice young girl' to teach them irrespective of her education or training.

- Funnily, tho' untrained, I [a male] was accepted as the 'new chalkie'. Presumably no mention of my untrained state conveyed by the Head. There was some status elsewhere: a kind of tacit acknowledgment that I/you had achieved more than those who had done less, e.g local football club - very indifferent player (me) yet great tolerance - may be quite irrelevant - may have been just their natural friendliness. Local dances - went to all of them that I could get to - again tolerance, sometimes friendly acceptance etc.; no (apparent) social barrier.

- I [a female] felt grateful for the attitude of the parents of the children who caused me most frustration. I sensed respect from them if not from their 11 & 12 yr old children.

- I [a female] don't think I could have found a more friendly or supportive group of parents, who were often assuring me of their support and approval for what I was doing.

- There was a Federal election in 1949 with much discussion on the merits of various political parties. At one point I voiced an opinion: there was a deathly silence. I'll never know if my remark was so ridiculous that it didn't warrant a comment or if it was unthinkable for a woman to have an opinion. I suspect the latter.

- Although my personal experience was good, I think it was largely because of my background. I was used to country people, could handle a horse, readily washed and dried dishes at dance suppers (or anywhere else) & didn't mind 'having a shot' at anything. I can imagine how devastating it would have been for a city girl (As bad as it was for me in the NEXT year [at ATC]). In fact, the girl at H..., (next small town south) committed suicide. Adult teachers were alerted to watch out for loneliness and depression at nearby schools and we were urged to ride between schools at weekends to meet with one another. [There is no record in the Education Gazette of a Junior Teacher at H... in that particular year nor are there any reports of any junior teachers having died in this period. This respondent returned to teach at the same school after College and it may well be that she was referring to something that may have occurred when she was an adult teacher. While this comment remains something of a mystery, it does relate to one of the major criticisms of the system at the Inquiry - A McG]

One respondent recalled how he tried to involve parents in the classroom - clearly an idea before its time in 1950:

- Parents weren't encouraged (but not expressly forbidden) to come into the school. I invited one or two to talk to the children but I soon realised that this was going too far - parents didn't want to be involved or so the H.T. said. I didn't press the point and we quietly went our own educational (or schooling) way.

Inspectors were remembered for a variety of reasons.

- During one week I noticed that routines were changed. There were singing and in the stone room [the Head Teacher's room] And the walls and boards were decorated by the Yr. 8 student who had a flair for chalk drawing. She also tizzied up the art work of the less fortunate. The Yrs. 4- 8 had P/T, unheard of before. There was a flurry of activity in the woodwork room; even the HT was working on the lads' models. His usual position for woodwork sessions was bum on seat, fag in mouth and kids came to him. The following week we were visited by an ex-secondary teacher. [the District Inspector]

- The only assessment was made by the Secondary Inspector, Mr. G..., who looked something like a gorilla (and had a temperament to match). There had been an article on the relatively new 'Area Schools' and I had questioned the HM about these schools. He must have told the Inspector who said – 'I hear you have expressed interest in Area Schools?' I said 'Yes, Mr G..., I found the article very interesting.' He said – 'Would you be prepared to teach in one?' I said, 'Yes, I'm sure I would'. He went purplish and snarled at me 'Then you are of no use to the High School Branch. We expect loyalty from our teachers! You are probably only fit to teach in

Primary Schools!' The Senior Master [however] said that in his mind I had been fairly assessed. - (I taught in Higher Primary and Area Schools for the next 24 years). [a 17.3 year old male in a high school in 1946]

- The visit to the school by the District Inspector was a rather worrying experience. I can recall a comment made by the D.I. stating that I was too serious and didn't smile enough. The truth was, I was too scared. [18.4 year old male in 1950]

- Remember how inspectors were people to be dreaded - On the all-important day one of my dear little girls wrote in her diary 'Our visitor has different socks'. Yes he did look down at his odd socks, laughed, & seemed a much more human figure to us all. [16.4 year old female in 1947]

- I can remember the Inspector coming and perusing the books of my littlies and treating me with great respect. [16.10 year old female in a one-teacher school in 1949]

- Yes, the School Inspector came, and there was the usual terror beforehand ... He showed an interest in what my classes were doing - ... but the thing that impressed me most about the Inspector was that at the end of the day he sat and played the piano to relax for a while. To me [a female aged 16.8 from a small country area] he was a symbol of a sophisticated, urbane male - unlike any I had ever seen before! I can't remember a thing about any educational discussions we may have had, but he was a great boost to my morale & my determination to venture into a bigger world.

As has been seen, in this period more junior teachers were likely to be given supernumerary responsibilities. Several of them described in greater detail than was possible in the earlier sections what supernumerary duties entailed.

- Can't remember specifics of J.T. year - just general. Great fun teaching rhythm - folk dancing to the girls. Give and mark spelling, mental tests (4 - 6 or 7) - I with 2 grades, Mr H... with 2 grades. Make sure your children are listening to you. Reteach (slow children) subtraction Grade 3 T.U. (tens & units with borrowing). Geometry or algebra year 8 or 9 - while Mr C... had other 2 grades. Slow children reading - Infants - one grade at a time. Or Tables - over & over. Whole school - morning exercises - not every time. Mark Compositions (any Grade) correct spelling, full stops, capitals, & any 'poor' English - seen/done etc. Just general work - all enjoyable & no great responsibilities. Set timetable for being in each of the 3 rooms - but not same subjects each time. Tchs [teachers] used me wherever most useful & often changed children's lessons to make most use of me. [female supernumerary in a higher primary school in 1946]

- The 'free milk' supply was brought up from the Farmers' Union Milk factory every morning in big cans just before recess & I had the job of scooping out the un-homogenised, un-pasteurised (horrors!) un-treated, whole, natural (totally disgusting!) contents into the children's cups (brought from home) some containing cocoa etc. In winter it was delivered hot. (Today's mums would probably overthrow the Govt. if it was suggested their children should be subjected to 'fresh' milk!) [female supernumerary in an infant school in 1947]

- Although only a J.T. I was included in all aspects of school life. I took part in the inter-school visits that Area Schools participated in at the time although these only affected secondary students. I also went on one organised holiday with secondary children in vacation time. I worked with secondary teachers to organise the school socials at the end of term and also helped organise the dancing classes held pre-social week. I also took a role in training for sports day by working with the teams in my house during lunch times. During the third term the HM was rushed to hospital with a perforated ulcer & issued instructions that I was to take the Latin class - First Year - but it included his own son - I had only scraped through Leaving Latin the year before. But the kids were beaut & the Head's son was quite nice about pointing out the mistakes that I made. .... It is easy to say now - but I feel that it would have been more satisfactory to have had a small class of my own. [this female in an area school in 1948 taught and observed in the infant section in the mornings and in the primary section for the rest of the day]

General reflections on the experience

Most respondents reflected on pleasant aspects of the experience but a few had very different memories,

- Looking back, I think it was the lovely 'Family' atmosphere we had which I will never forget, and which I think is the best for total development... For me, privately, my little group will never grow old.

- I have been a member of many school staff groups in the 43 years I spent with the Dept but the first group [as J.T.] is by far the most indelibly implanted in my mind. I can still recall with pleasure the day to day organization of that school and the personalities of its staff. Throughout my teaching career I often recalled comments/advice they had given. Therefore there is no doubt that (a) I was content, (b) the experience was valuable and (c) the learning process was real. I find no reason to be surprised that I remembered their practical advice long after I had forgotten (thank goodness) the theoretical and impractical junk they crammed down our throats at Teachers College.

- When I look back over 1946 and reflect on it, I am sure that even though it was a difficult time I had made up my mind that I was going to make a success of the year come what may. I had been born and bred in a harsher part of the mallee and was well used to fending for myself in lots of ways. Perhaps this attitude helped me achieve my goal whereas others may not. I never regret having spent the year as a J.T. but I really felt that my efforts could have been rewarded with a better salary. (Fruit pickers were earning twice as much as I was and I felt that a profession deserved a better recognition.)

- My recollections of that year in '46 are pleasant and happy. I believe it was a good preparation ground for the career of teaching - a trial period if you like - if you made out, you went on. If you didn't you looked elsewhere for a career.

- Junior Teaching showed me an educational situation much less formal than my own pupil days. I had spent 11 years in large [city] schools and had never experienced the circumstances of children being addressed by their Christian names. Nor had I realised that so many year levels could be accommodated in such small numbers, and in one classroom. The family-like structure was a great, and pleasant, surprise. As far as the task of actually teaching the children was concerned I have nothing but pleasant memories. Work on the classroom floor offset my perceived disadvantages of the cultural shock of a totally new lifestyle, in a remote situation.

- My year as a J.T. launched me into a most rewarding & satisfying career that I wouldn't have missed for all the world and would repeat again every time.

- I find it difficult to recall the events and experiences of 1949 but it was probably one of the most difficult I'd experienced, apart from the first few months of boarding school... I was a very young 17 year old, [female] anxious to do a good job... In summary, within the school system where I set up standards to achieve, I felt I always fell short and gained little satisfaction. On the social scene, with fewer constraints, I felt happier. I consider the year, as a J.T. was a valuable learning experience both educationally and socially.

- When I think back to the actual lessons I gave as a J, T, I realise what a static little world we were locked in to. I taught exactly as I had been taught - using the same materials - ghastly messy pastels that squashed under little feet; sheets of glossy paper which were to be folded in unimaginative origami by little pairs of hands in unison (a hopeless task for many); laborious chanting of tables etc. It says much for little children that they could come along so bright-eyed each day for what must have been pretty boring, unimaginative lessons. There's not a lot that's memorable about my early teaching efforts.

- But how wrong that system was - or the way the system operated by the time I was part of it [1947] - and so many J.T.'s were younger & further away from home than I was.

Some respondents had vivid recollections of their recruitment into the service and their introduction to junior teaching.

- When I interviewed (or was interviewed) in the Education Department Office I was told that they had thought of appointing me to Roseworthy but a need at U..., [a town far from Adelaide] was greater. Pure bureaucratic expediency without a second thought for the applicant as a person. The interview was in no way an assessment of suitability for teaching, nor any explanation of the advantages and disadvantages of employment in the profession; a teaching appointment was automatic such was the shortage, subject to a quick once-over with a stethoscope on the chest, a brief examination of one's teeth, an eye test (at which I discovered I was short-sighted) and a rough hearing test. In the last named, 'sixty two' was 'whispered' with more decibels than one could reasonably expect. The doctor ... employed by the Department looked suitably bored with the procedure. He seemed more interested in me working hard and passing exams than my state of health... Back in the Office, I was handed an appointment slip with a quaint footnote 'Junior Teachers wishing to resign must comply with the conditions set out in Regulation XV1.8.' Months later I found out that this simply meant giving a month's notice but no-one bothered to tell me and I must have been too over-awed to ask. [This respondent attached to his memoir a copy of his appointment slip on which '£80' was scratched out and '£100' written in by hand. The notice also told him that 'Suitable board for you has been arranged by the Head Teacher at 27/6 per week'. A copy is in Appendix 14]

- [This female had been working as a short-hand typiste for some three years when] ... a vacancy [arose] for a Junior Teacher at my home-town, two-teacher school of L... How long I had nursed the desire to be that person [the assistant] ... ever since I 'took in' between 5 and 7 years of age, the work of Miss F..., our immaculate teacher, with superb handwriting, boxes of aids so carefully prepared... When I expressed my desire to fill that position as a teacher my Mother said 'You wouldn't like it'; Dad said 'The pay is poor - it's not much return for the secondary education we gave you', and my brother, whose little son had just started there wondered what sort of training I'd give him. Nevertheless, I boldly decided to ask for an interview with the Education Dept. They were short of teachers after the War and I could be as good as any-one, given the chance! The towns-folk hadn't been too happy with the past run of coming and going assistant staff anyway. The Department acknowledged my experience with infant nieces and nephews, my music and voice production, and I had a 2-year Home Science certificate which covered not only cooking, laundry and general home care, but also first aid (all of these in practice as well as theory for the Examination)... [and] there did, in due time, come the advice

that I had been accepted... [after two years as a J.T she went on to become a T.U.A. at that school for several more years]

- All my fellow 'Leaving' class students expected to work for 'the company'. None of us did! So, we were desperate to find a job, appropriate to having completed the Leaving Exam. (Which was a big event at the time!) 3 of the class (of 110) went into teaching. All became J.T.'s - 2 in the town, I went 60 miles away to a small town. I did not have a vocation to teach in 1947!

- I arrived at the school after preliminary planning. Upon arrival I met the staff & was presented with a great pile of 'Teacher texts'. H.M. listed the subjects I would take. When he had finished I offered – 'Mr F..., I know nothing about Geography.' 'Of course you don't', came the reply 'but your first lesson in Geography is not for 40 minutes. That's why I have given you your text books now!'

- My appointment arrived some 5 weeks after school commenced. [In 1946] The ... Area School was short staffed and I was used to fill the gap that would have been filled by a trained teacher. I had slightly less than 1 week to be ready. (Appointment arrived on Monday; I had to travel on Saturday) The staff of the School had been waiting since the first day for a replacement. The class was supervised by the female Art/Craft Teacher until my arrival. This meant no Art/Craft lessons for Gr V111, X1 or X girls for those opening weeks. I was shown around the school prior to assembly on the first morning. The female Art/Craft teacher took me to the Grade 111 room, spent an hour showing me the records, work children had done, and some of her own private free work from earlier days as a teacher in primary classes, and left me to it. No staff member ever came to spend lesson time with me to see how I was coping, all of them including the H.T. taught full time. The H.T. did get me into preparing lesson notes which I found helpful. He seemed more concerned as to whether I could sort the 'Matter' from 'Method' & 'Aids' I felt it would have been more use to have discussed the content of my lessons. I was [also] given the task of classifying and cataloguing the library. With little time to spare other than lunch hours it seemed as if it would take an eternity. The Gr 1V & V teacher offered to take my class for P.E. with his - a group of almost 60 - while I used that ½ hour on 3 occasions during the week. I never did finish it and no-one came to see how I was managing. They, like me when I started, had little idea of the Dewey System. The job was frustrating as the books were constantly borrowed for varying lengths of time and were often snapped up before I got a chance to process them. I couldn't blame the children, but it sure made things awkward.

- Socially and emotionally I was immature - my self-image was very low - I had happily taken two years to do the Leaving and certainly chose Junior Teaching for, to me at that time, it was the lesser of two evils, and I did want to be an Infant teacher. The other evil was leaving N.H.S

to go to A.H.S to do Leaving Honours! With hindsight it is obvious that I should have chosen the latter. However, although I'm sure as a J.T. I was very mediocre - I had a wonderfully patient and supportive H.M.... I think that I was incredibly lucky in being placed where I was & with that particular H.M. I, no doubt, would have been crucified in another more negative situation like some of the others experienced.

- The J.T. had its good points but headmasters should have had to operate according to clear guidelines, one of which should have been that a J.T. could not be given responsibility for a class. If that had been the case my year as a J.T. would have been much happier and of much more value to me.

For two respondents, the existence of a junior teacher system was of particular value.

- In a sense, Junior Teaching was the key to escape the confines of small town country life, especially for girls like myself who were expected to stay at home after leaving school or at most work in the local co-op store or telephone exchange. Getting married was seen as the only acceptable ambition - all else was just frivolous, except that the locals always held the school teacher in high esteem, and so to want to be a teacher had a certain validity. Why one needed any training remained a bit of a mystery to most though. I know that if there had not been a Junior Teacher Scheme, I would never have had the opportunity to go on to tertiary studies. My parents needed that time to be convinced that careers for girls were to be contemplated.

- I was brought up in a loving but fairly strict atmosphere. Convent educated to Leaving level. I knew I wanted to teach but Dad wanted me to leave school and earn a living. A deciding factor in my father's permission to do Junior Teaching was that I would be given a token wage for the year - fully refundable to the Education Department if I did not teach for the Dept for two years after my graduation. My mother was totally on my side wanting me to go on to my ambition to teach. I was exactly 16 years and 11 months when I started as a shy, unsure of herself person. I had never been away from home before. By the end of the year I was able to make decisions for myself, felt fairly sure of myself and ready to go to Teachers College. In short confident. [this respondent had noted earlier that becoming a J.T. was '... also a way of gaining some freedom from a fairly strict Italian home.']

Particular recollections

Many respondents recalled their thoughts and feelings in certain of personal incidents.

- At lunch-times on winter days those who wished could join me there [at the open fire-place in the corner of the classroom] to chat and eat and many of the 'big' girls came regularly. Somehow the 'little room' was an enticement - with colours, my chalk illustrations all around the blackboarded walls (some, fairy-book pictures just for pleasure - some a picture of an oasis or whatever we had been talking of). Mothers' Club was attended by all within walking distance (it was envied as a social occasion by those far out). The mothers voiced their desires for best aids for their children's learning and had fund-raisers or busy-bees... I was expected to be Secretary to the Mothers' Club held in our classroom monthly in the afternoon when children of Grs 1 - 3 had been dismissed for the occasion. They could play in the yard, minding pre- schoolers and wait for mothers, with whom it was a change and a comfort to walk home. The afternoon teas were bliss! Sponge cakes with local cream & strawberries filling them were a delight to me...

- The mail came each day ... by train... On the second day there, to my amazement, was a letter for me. A dear aunt, who knew how devastated I'd been on learning of my posting to tiny K... (when I'd been hoping for a seaside town of some size!) wrote to tell me to be positive about my coming year. She told me of her teaching days at Avenue Range, Mt. Schank and Coomandook - all tiny country schools - where she had made lifelong friends. Her wisdom and thoughtfulness have stayed with me and I often send off a letter to my young acquaintances starting a new way of life in the hope that it will be a comfort and encouragement such as my aunt's letter was to me.

- To be part of the staff room [at the school he had attended] was a real highlight - being able to sit there and have lunch with Paul, and Mac, and Jack and Clem, and George and Frank, Clarrie [his former teachers] and... That was something. You really got to appreciate them... They were human after all.

- The incident that I always recall was when I stepped off the train the Head Teacher who met me enquired 'Mr K...?' It was the wrong pronunciation [of the name] but I was so nervous that I said 'Y-Y-Yes'. For the remainder of that year, in that town I was 'Mr K...' [wrongly pronounced].

- A science teacher was absolutely furious with me. I had typed exam papers for him without checking on some of the terms, and words and spellings. Those of purely scientific nature of which I had no knowledge. Needless to say I didn't rely on guesswork again.

- I would have revelled in my sewing lessons with the 5 grade 6 & 7 girls if they'd been under different circumstances. It was hard to cope with & encourage them while I still had all the grades 1, 11 & 111 as well.

- I [a male] remember the Year Two's - four boys and a girl - the girl suffered through my inexperience I'm sure. The boys were all bright and incredibly neat writers. The head marked their writing test and he gave two of them 10/10 which he'd never done before! The girl appeared slow compared to the boys and I'm sure she received more negative attention from me because of my lack of understanding.

- Two days after school began, another (German) lad in Grade 6 (7?) 'Sang' out that I [male aged 17] was a 'Schafkopff' (forgotten the spelling for sheephead). Anyway, I declared my limited knowledge of German and made the (stupid) mistake of chasing him around the school yard - without success. (Even tho' I was fit in those days) Most undignified - learnt a lesson there! Come here Boy - CRACK. (Can't do it any more, tho' so much more efficient)

- One very harrowing experience well remembered by me and related as a warning to others in later years was as follows - A well dressed lady in a late model car arrived at the school at lunch time on a Friday about two weeks after I started as a J.T. Several children greeted her and her son embraced her. She came to ask me if she could take her son to Jamestown to buy some particular items of clothing and that she would probably not get back that afternoon as she also had a doctor's appointment (Jamestown was 7 miles away and the 'regional capital'. At the time the H.T. was at home having lunch and I was doing the usual duty stint. I had no qualms in letting the mother take her son. Father arrived to pick up said son after school. Great alarm and I must admit that I have never been so roundly abused in my life as I was by that father and I do believe that I received little support from the H.T. in this case or the police and the wider community. Why? Well, unknown to me there had been a rather infamous (at least for those times and in such a 'close' community) divorce and custody case in the previous year. Needless to say I had been told nothing of this or given procedural instructions for such events. Many months later the boy was located in Sydney with his mother but I don't think I was ever forgiven for my ineptitude by many. The wonder to me was that I cannot recall any departmental inquiry into the matter. Was there a cover up to protect the H.T. or the innocent (J.T.)?

- On one Phys. Ed. occasion I was encouraging each child, Yrs 1- 3, to complete a front somersault on to chaff bags (no foam mats in those days) when one girl 'threw' an epileptic fit. I thought she was dying and sent a lad for the H.T... Said the lad; 'She'll be alright. Just make certain she doesn't bite her tongue'. Whereupon he placed his dirty handkerchief in her mouth. Such is life!

- I've always regretted my failure to get one little lad to be a participating member of the class. It was my first experience of a poor little soul so brainwashed by parents and religion.

- Keeping order always worried me... probably wanted people to like me too - so always trying to be 'nice'... [as a J.T.] I loved being the one who was told what to do instead of doing the telling - loved making the tea and having no responsibility etc. etc. Was once told that this was the result of being made a Prefect [at boarding school] too soon. However, could just be a flaw or at least a definite quirk in my character - Not 'Teacher Material'. [this female resigned at the end of the year]

- I [a male] remember one of the staff members drawing my attention to repetitive remarks I made during my lesson presentation - saying to me that I used the term 'Right now let's get on with our work' on numerous occasions during lessons and I was unaware I was saying it so often. Then helpful hints about questioning techniques and not relying upon the first student who put up his hand to answer a question. [he was happy to have this kind of advice]

- If I wanted to get home... for the weekend or holidays I had to ride my bicycle 9 miles to the station to catch the train. On one occasion the trains for the Sunday were cancelled. I couldn't get back until Monday by train and bicycle and 'clocked on' at recess time - about 11 o'clock. The Head thought I should let E.D. office know so I wrote, pointing out that I had been unable to return. For this I was 'docked' half a day's pay (for being 2 hours late) which was about 5 shillings and 4 pence.

- I remember the 'saluting the flag' weekly ceremony, the stiff straight lines of assemblies, the drill sessions of P.E. Strangely, I also remember the crackling of the newly lit fire on cold winter mornings and the H.T. (45 ish) and I joining the boys to kick the football at lunch times, I remember hearing the little ones read and helping with their craftwork. All in all, I am grateful that I was a J.T.!

- There are some things I remember clearly which gave me experience for later years. One was a teacher who would lose her temper when a child couldn't or wouldn't grasp a new word or concept - I was still close enough to my student days to remember how difficult some things were. I became very careful in my explanations! ... The Head made me realise teachers need to continually update their knowledge & I never missed an opportunity to attend inservice or training conferences. He was sincere but all the sincerity in the world doesn't help if your knowledge is inappropriate.

- Many staff had been at their respective schools [this male was in both a High and a Technical High as J.T.] for a long while (15 - 20 years) and were the mainstay of perpetuating the school 'traditions' to us new-comers. There were traditional 'jobs' which some considered 'their right' or 'field of expertise' outside of teaching duties, e.g. 'keeper of the milk & tea fund' to 'training

the interschool tunnel-ball team'. Perhaps it gave them a sense of belonging, there wasn't much prospect of promotion or transfer in those days either, but teachers were a lot happier and more contented than those in today's similar situation were!

- I [a female] remember being asked to help with the equivalent of Learn-to-Swim classes though all I could do was dog paddle myself. ('Just watch that no one drowns.')

- I [a male] attended my first S.A.I.T (Teachers' Union) meeting that year and can recall one speaker, a teacher about to retire at age 65, and I thought how tired he sounded, having taught all those years.

- Although not far from home, there was little communication. [1949] I remember attending the church service one Sunday afternoon where the minister remarked that he had a funeral next day. I discovered that it was my aunt's funeral.

Two respondents related stories about other junior teachers with whom they had come in contact.

- When I think back on Junior Teaching, I remember one that was posted to G... High School while I was [a student] there. He had been a top student at one of the city schools and knew his work, but his discipline was tested for about a week, until the head prefect had a quiet word to the Head. A couple of the second year boys did not notice the Head at a window near the back of the room. They were marched out by the ear and taken around to the office. The word got around and the J.T. had no more trouble.

- When I was doing my Leaving a J.T. was appointed to my school. (1948) I didn't know her because she had come from the Catholic school. The poor girl was given a first year class for S. Studies. On Thursday mornings I had a free study period which co-incided with her S. Studies class in the library. Chaos reigned for a full 40 minutes. Those youngsters would have finished first year having gained nothing from their three periods of S. Studies per week. No member of staff ever came in to quell the uproar or support her in any way. On three occasions (in the 50s) I served on staffs which included a J.T. The first lass was a pleasant young person, well accepted by all of us. I can't recall her duties. The second one had a very divisive effect on the staff. She was a very mature, self-assured ex-student of ours who showed a natural talent for teaching. She quickly established herself as a close friend and confidante of one section of our staff, leaving the rest of us with the feeling that we were being discussed by this ex-student & her new friends on the staff. The ill-feeling aroused by her superior attitude to the rest of us was so great that when, in the following year, another J.T. was appointed, (this time not an ex-student) the staff room was declared out-of-bounds for the poor girl. The toilets were only accessible through the

staff room so she must have been forced to use the students', something which would not have helped her establish herself as a member of the staff in their eyes. She always seemed to be marooned in the office helping the secretary. I think she learnt more about typing than teaching.

As has been seen, two of these respondents did not go to the Teachers College but became Temporary Unclassified Assistants as part of the emergency scheme set up to deal with the shortage of trained teachers after the war. Both referred to their lack of professional training in different ways. The one from 1948 who accepted a T.U.A. position in the school where she had served as a J.T. for over 18 months recalled:

- Twenty years or so later, [the] Recruitment Officer for the Dept. re-capped my beginnings as a teacher... 'You never attended Teachers' College?' 'No'. 'Nor did a short-course?' 'No'. 'Or matriculated?' 'No' .... 'It MUST make history, I've never heard of such a case!' Perhaps he didn't know the only philosophy we'd ever been taught at home if we thought we couldn't do something was 'Well you CAN do it, get into it!'

The other one who left the school where she had served as J.T. for two years to go to another country school in 1952 saw her experience in a different light:

- I believe I was not a real part of the formal Junior Teacher Scheme but part of a pre-run trial scheme. The scheme I was in seemed to be a one-off trial - I never really understood it... I also had the advantage of having a cousin going through Teachers College at the time. I received all her lecture notes and we communicated on a regular basis, even receiving her Activity notes as she prepared to teach in her practical lessons in schools around Adelaide.

As has been seen, one respondent had been a junior teacher in Victoria. There was nothing in her memoir to suggest any great differences between the South Australian and Victorian systems. Her description of her work as a supernumerary could well have been the experience of a South Australian junior teacher:

- I was given about 12 children in Yrs 2/3 level who needed special & extra help with reading & maths. I had them in a small room that had been a staffroom ... and short periods in all classes 1 - 6. The teachers of all grades gave me specific areas to teach. The Yr 2 teacher told me what to do with the special classes.

A. 5:

VIGNETTES - LIFE AS A JUNIOR TEACHER 1951 - 1964

Over this period, respondents tended to be less likely than those from previous times to use the opportunity given in Question 7 to recount additional details of their time as junior teachers. A quarter of those from 1951 to 1959 left the space blank or gave very brief explanations of why they felt that they could not write any more:

- Have said it all.
- My memory fails me.
- My memories of 1951 are very hazy.
- Too many and not enough time.

Almost half of the respondents from 1960 to 1964 failed to make a really helpful use of this section and the majority of them simply left the space blank. A few wrote a brief explanation for their inability to recall more about the period. Some blamed their failing memory and others were content to merely re-emphasise the value or otherwise of the experience. It would seem that over the whole period a majority of the respondents who did not use this space felt that they had already given enough details to illustrate how they felt about the experience. It may be though, that the changes to the system in its final years had made it so bland that there was little extra to recount. Several responses tend to support such a view:

- It was 30 years ago - I have poor recollections of anything of significance happening...
- It was not such a significant time that I can recall this detail...
- Do not have any strong memories...
- I do not have many memories. It's a year I would have preferred to have avoided. It served the purpose for which I needed it - to pass my Leaving.

Those who were prepared to write freely about aspects of their life as junior teachers provided a number of interesting vignettes. These help to illustrate even further that while some things remained the same, the role had changed considerably in its final years. Some aspects that had featured prominently in previous times were now of little importance. With the decreased emphasis on actual teaching there were few recollections of being overwhelmed by the job or of having significant discipline problems. Few had anything to add here about their finances and as most were living at home, there were few comments either on boarding conditions. Overall, these responses tended to fall into a more limited number of categories than in the past with most relating to aspects of school and teaching, the junior teacher role and personal encounters and recollections.

Boarding/Living at home

There were just a few additional recollections on boarding away. One male respondent in a one teacher school 1951 encountered a most unusual boarding situation, both for himself and his Head Teacher.

- Jim J... & I roomed together - not easy for a H.T. I locked him in the outside loo one holiday week-end - probably as a result of him doing something equally aggravating to me. He picked the lock somehow and a chase ensued across the paddock - which I think that I won!

Two other males from 1951 recalled the benefits of moving into a new environment.

- The best lesson probably learned in my J.T. experiences was how to live with and work with people, especially people who were all strangers to me on arrival. During my stay in O... I made close friends with a family a few miles out of town & often rode my bicycle 3 or so miles (or got picked up) to stay with them on weekends. I felt I was almost one of the family & joined in on fishing trips, shooting expeditions (rabbits were a menace at the time) & various other social outings. I partnered the local Bank Manager in the Table-tennis team & also played in the local tennis team. I got to know many of the people in the small town, if not through School matters, then through Sporting activities, CMF or attendance at local functions - Hospital Ball, Barn dances etc.

- Introduced me to living independently from family and friends, rubbing shoulders with different views and living and fending for myself.

For two others the opportunity to live at home for a year was a welcome experience. One was a male respondent who was appointed to the area school where his father was Head Master. From this particular experience he was able to recall some interesting aspects of school and community relationships in the country in 1952.

- There was a great relationship between the staff and the people of the district. Teachers had, and continued to, provided a source of females in a fairly remote district. A large number of farmers' sons had married teachers, some of whom returned to the staff at a later date as teachers or relieving teachers. I returned to the same school for four years at a later date and found that the most common guessing game was still the number of girls getting married each year, from the staff. The local community relied on sport, church, and ballroom dancing for its amusement and social interaction. The school reflected this of course, and school socials

were a mini-ball with parents playing music and joining in just as the youngsters did at the local town dances.

I helped my father run the local cinema - choosing films , organising posters, money tickets and being an usher. I soon realised that Westerns were the most successful but we were able to sneak in some better films of the day from time to time. I remember families running farms with the children an integral part of the work force. Mother would prepare the meal and take her turn on the tractor while the rest of the family ate the meal. Some of the children startled teachers by depositing cheques for up to £200 (pounds, not dollars) at a time, into their school bank accounts - the so-called "penny" bank.

For one other, the chance to live at home was one of her fondest memories.

- For me the year as a J.T. was a welcome break from being a student. [Boarding away] As it was spent in my home environment, I had lots of support...As it turned out; I didn't come home again for 15 years. In fact I spent most of these interstate so I am now quite glad I spent that year as a J.T., my only teenage year as part of my family.

Aspects of school and teaching

1. Inspectors

Few now had any further interesting recollections about Inspectors.

- I will always remember a kindly inspector who congratulated me on my achievements with the children - I couldn't understand at the time why the class teacher was worried about the inspection (young & ignorant me!)

- On one occasion the Head & I were finishing off a game of draughts at 1.45 when the kids came rushing in to announce the arrival of "a man". [Inspector] Les D..., I think it was. We told him we went to lunch late!

2. Teaching and students

- A good transition time from a student to a profession. Opened my eyes to responsibility, the joy of teaching, the rewards of becoming involved in the lives of both students and parents and the place the teacher has as part of the community. [male in one-teacher school in 1951]

- During my time in the classroom I managed reasonably well. I was teaching Book-keeping and had only done Intermediate myself, so, looking back, I had no depth of knowledge to draw from, but I enjoyed my class time and learned to overcome the discipline problems, including the H.M.'s son. I often wonder what he told his father about me! The 2nd years were a problem, probably because of my inexperience and lack of knowledge & maturity. In physical size the boys were much bigger than I was. This situation really wasn't fair on either side. I remember being sent out to umpire/supervise girls' softball and never having played or knew the rules made for an interesting time until I was taught. [female in a country high school in 1961]

- I don't have many memories of great successes or failures. As I always had to be well prepared and as I was enthusiastic, I don't remember having any trouble. My anecdotes are rather about individuals e.g. Tom [the H.T.] telling off a Grade 5 for having lamp black on his hands just before a writing lesson. On inquiring into the matter, he found that it was the child's job the night before or early morning perhaps to clean lamps. When asked why he hadn't washed his hands for breakfast Tom received the answer that he hadn't had any breakfast. Not much more was said about this matter. Another is Tom's frustration with a very slow learner. No amount of effort seemed to make any difference. Even now that boy has difficulty adding and even writing a cheque. That's one who beat the system!
  [female in a small area school in 1961]

- I also remember one occasion when the zipper on a pair of strides failed & a Year 8 student told me about it at the end of the lesson. I realized what had been the cause of much giggling/comment etc! I don't think it ever happened again!! The other embarrassing time occurred when I was teaching the section on Reproduction in the Flowering plants. I guess one's attitudes, views, knowledge of matters sexual were somewhat limited - in those time, hence there was a great sigh of relief when the topic was over & the questions related to the topic ceased. [male aged 16.6 in a country high school in 1963]

- A few years ago there was a High School reunion which I attended. I was talking to a friend of my sister's - an ex-pupil of my Needlework class. She told me that whenever she did any sewing, even now, she would always remember me stressing that you had to "press as you go!" I guess I had some impact on someone! (I do remember being emphatic about pressing your seams open after you had stitched them up. I remember feeling somewhat proud, when I saw someone wearing their newly-made summer dress at the local show. [female in a country high school in 1963]

- The Second Year Maths Class I was asked to teach contained one particular "rascal" who knew me quite well (He was about 2 years younger than me). I remember being threatened by his presence, but I was determined that if I was to handle the class I had to manage him first. I pretended to have a commanding voice and to become angry with him the first time he tried to step out of line. Fortunately for me this worked and I feel that I was seen as being "in charge". Little did the class know that I was feeling very nervous and inadequate! One of my first little tasks [as an unofficial clerical assistant] was to re-organize and check the records of my former fellow students. I had to check the I.Q. scores of all my friends (and myself). That was interesting but I don't think it did much to advance my teaching experience. [female - country high school - 1963]

3. On being appointed

- I think I was conned into spending the year as a J.T. mainly through ignorance. I'm sure that efforts to get me into College at 16.9 years would have been made if the people giving me advice - country school teachers - had known exceptions to the age 17 years rule were made. Certainly I was conned out of doing the job at K...Area School [where he was a student] by ...[a staff member there] The young lady he married got the K... J.T. job even though she had only completed Intermediate, and as it transpired never ever went to College - I think she did two years as a J.T. & then they got married.[male - 1953]

- The method of appointment is not much different these days!

  Friday (last for Xmas holidays p.m. Telegram to say appointed to W...
  Weekend Mother arranges board and means of getting to W... Monday night.
  Monday (day before school starts) p.m. Senior Master brings a message home to say that call from Adelaide to High School has me transferred to N... [close enough for this male aged 16.1 in 1955 to travel home daily]

- I was cross that I was considered too young to go to Adelaide Teachers College - yet was "old" enough to be in charge of the formative years of twelve little children - never was I offered Leaving Honours - found out afterwards that other Junior Primary trainees had! [female aged 16.6 in a one-teacher school in 1956]

- My strongest memories are of the week prior to school resuming after the Christmas vacation when I reported with some trepidation to the Headmaster of the High School to which I had been appointed as a Junior Teacher. As a result of "dis- agreements" which had occurred the previous year when I was a Leaving Teaching Scholar, the Headmaster refused to ratify the appointment and accept me as a Junior Teacher.

This caused me some concern mainly due to the then uncertainty of the appointment and the fear that any future as a Teacher was in doubt. I remember feeling distressed about the attitude of the Headmaster which I felt was discriminatory and his absolute lack of any assistance to resolve what for me was a traumatic situation. Through an association my Father had (I think through Rotary) with the Headmaster of the Primary School the matter was eventually resolved with very positive outcomes and I took up the appointment at his school. [male aged 17 in 1964]

4. Life as a junior teacher

- I felt frustrated (or inadequate) at times when a Teacher told me to do certain things which were completely foreign to me (mixing hot water glue - teaching grammar - certain poetry lessons etc.) However, the more I had to do by myself the more confident I became I guess - by the end of the year I thought I could take a class on my own! Leaving school and mixing with teachers who were older seemed threatening but I know I was shy & felt in "awe" of any authority (the young teenagers of today are much more out-going & confident). [female aged 17.7 in an area school in 1953]

- I was first in the class-room of Yrs 1 - 7 with the one teacher and I was given a supervision role and virtually helped in any way possible. I was later given the responsibility of 10 Yr 1 children. The lessons were set out for me to give. We worked in a very cold, unlined wood-work shed with a kerosene heater. I also had Yrs 2 & 3 for subjects as Soc. Studies, Health, Singing & P.E. During the Yr. a portable building was erected and we moved into that. At the end of the year there was a "School Concert but I had contracted "Mumps" and was unable to attend. [female aged 16.5 in 1954]

- I seem to remember that all the teachers were dedicated to teaching. They were fully involved; they were young, vibrant and energetic. Most of them were playing sport so were part of the community. I remember playing with them and against some of them in weekend sport and then training similarly. We were part of a community and going to school was part of the process. A number of these teachers from way back then I would consider to be still friends. My wife and I were invited to attend a special High School reunion because I was a teacher there (but I was only a Junior Teacher) and at the official function I sat with the staff, and was treated that way by past students even though many years had passed. Looking back I am grateful to many of those people. [male in a country high school in 1955]

- I have memories of
    - A rather old and eccentric staff who had all been teaching for many years in a

most conventional fashion.

- Taking Phys Ed with the young children + sport and dance with the older ones (probably I was the only one fit enough to do so)
- Being treated as an adult – but they (staff) were very caring + supportive.
- Learning about confidentiality – I knew the details of the first Principal's alleged misbehaviour. He was an excellent teacher and I believed a very nice person. The temporary Principal in the second part of the year was awful, old & alcoholic & I had to take the class for most of the time & keep my mouth shut – in a country town!
- Having enormous support from an outstanding infant teacher (she taught me me in Yr 1 & 2) & had her own children at the school … and is still a dear friend. [female in a local primary school in 1955]

- I remember spending many hours over the weekends making teaching aids for the Geography class. There were no teacher aides in those days. My Mathematics teacher used to get angry with me because, as she claimed, I was spending more time on my subject that I was teaching than in doing my Maths homework! ... I remember the camaraderie of the Staff Room amongst a very lively, happy and energetic group of teachers. I made friends with several of the young teachers...I felt that we shared much in common though they were qualified and fully trained and I was not. I remember that we started a Stamp Club for the First Years during an electives type session that was started that year during the lunch hours. The students really enjoyed it. There are a number of students I remember from 1959 still living in P... today. [male aged 17.5 in a country high school in 1959]

- As a young adolescent being accepted more or less as an equal by (some) of those awesome members of the teaching force was pretty heady stuff. The increased status vis-a-vis one's former classmates was another plus. [16 year old male in a city high school in 1959]

- The year spent "working" in a school environment gave me, I think, a better understanding about being a teacher. The practice and theory are quite often unrelated if one has an epileptic, a partially deaf child and a psychologically unbalanced child in an R-3 group out in the sticks. They don't really show you how to cope with that sort of thing at college. I believe I picked up these sort of subtleties in my year of being a J.T. purely through osmosis rather than direct instruction. [female aged 16.4 in a small area school in 1961]

- I felt that this was a very worthwhile year. It helped me to get to know more about the development of children from Yrs 1 to 7, even though I planned to teach secondary. I think the teaching skills I developed during that year have always been part of me as I have

progressed through college, then out into the teaching world. I still feel that it was a good idea in college to start our prac teaching in Primary Schools before going into secondary schools to have a better understanding of children. [female in an area school in 1961]

- As a J.T. I was always treated the same as the rest of the staff - and the same was expected of me. Mind you in those days some of the staff were first year "outers" and only a couple of years my senior. The social aspects were great. We often went out as a group and saw each other at weekends. I was quite disappointed when the system was stopped.

  Some years later...I was appointed to M...Area School where the Principal was Mr. C...This was the one who had also been Principal at the school where I did my year as a J.T. Once again I experienced the support of a very caring man who was always there. [female aged 16.5 in 1961]

- I will add that I felt embarrassed at being asked to join a girls' typing class to learn to type because my handwriting was so poor, an imposition & one I dropped out of quickly. Being used at a dissection demonstration in a few Biology classes was another incident I recall with horror and embarrassment. Being required to kill living animals then perform dissections was done on instruction but not happily. [male in a city high school in 1961]

- Life as a Junior Teacher was a time of great learning...Each morning I signed "on" and before leaving signed "off" so in this regard was treated as a teacher. So many lessons each week were devoted to admin typing and there always seemed plenty to do. Much of this was not always school related, but dealing with the H.M.'s fantasies. On one occasion I remember he decided to communicate with a school in England as he felt the idea of cultural exchange was desirable. Mind you, it was all his idea, no input from teachers or children. He must have spent hours writing it before giving it to me to type. The school typewriter was in the staff room, so when a teacher came in he/she was always curious to know what my assignment was for the day. To the amusement of all, the P.S. on this letter was "NO, kangaroos don't jump down the main street and we don't ride them to school". I can't recall if he ever got a reply. Another of my typing assignments was the rules for fire drill. I wish I had kept a copy! All teachers were assigned various posts, duties etc. when the siren sounded. The Commercial teacher and myself were assigned to toilet duty. This entailed us guarding the toilets to ensure they were not flushed for the duration of the "fire" so as not to lessen the water pressure. Obviously the H.M. earned very little respect and if it wasn't for the support of other teachers, life as a J.T. would have been unfruitful. [female in a country high school in 1961]

- Being a J.T. gave me self esteem & confidence taught me to treat superiors as superiors, but not in fear - more admiration - people to copy. I thank God that I had such a happy year & such good preparation as a J.T, by staff who treated me with dignity. [female at a country high school in 1963]

- I was not permitted to play for the school sports teams and I had really enjoyed that aspect of school life as a student. School socials were a problem in that one was seen by the staff to be a staff member at such functions & accordingly one's behaviour had to be in line with that expected from teachers. Apart from the above, I believe life in the community went on as normal for me. To be honest most days were like a normal student school day - I was studying at the same time. [male aged 16.6 in a country high school in 1963]

- The Head Teacher's office was across the passage from the Staff Room where I spent most of my time (typing the German Exam Papers no-one else would work on. I'm convinced that he could hear every comment and conversation, especially after being "told off" for not letting the Commercial Teacher who also was the unofficial clerical assistant, use the typewriter urgently. I was in the middle of typing yet another German Paper and I found it difficult to replace the paper at exactly the right place. [female in a country high school in 1963]

- Probably, being a J.T. straight out of Leaving was too young to gain tremendously from the experience, but at the time & subsequently, I've felt it was a great year. This was probably due to the staff & kids at the school! [male at an area school in 1963]

- I used it to fill in year - between school and Teachers College.
  * Overall I learnt how to work on my own and establish a working code.
  * I never became part of the life of the school - it was too large.
  * I rarely attended staff meetings or supervised students.
  * The money I earned helped pay my board at home I had lost my father many years before and therefore my mother needed all the income that could be gained.

  [male at a city high school in 1964]

Personal encounters and recollections

A few respondents made brief references to personal aspects while others went into detail about particular recollections.

- I remember thinking it was absolutely wonderful that I was able to wear ordinary clothes instead of a uniform. [female in a technical high school in 1962]

- Best part of the year was at the end when students from the Teachers College spent a few weeks at the school doing their prac teaching and I spent time with them. I felt isolated from people my own age. [female in a city primary school in 1961]

- During the year I was not given any "teaching" responsibilities. ...I don't have any negative feelings about that time. It helped me mature, to accumulate 3 more subjects (1 Leaving Supplementary + 2 L-Honours subjects and gave me a breathing space between school and college. I enjoyed the camaraderie of the staff room. I have a feeling that there was another J.T./trainee about the same age at the time so we spent times in between office tasks gossiping & giggling with the office staff. So really apart from the Leaving Honours subjects it was a waste of time. [female in a city high school in 1961]

- I think that a great contribution towards me enjoying my year so much was the fact that my best friend was also employed as a Junior Teacher...at the same school. We had been friends throughout High School. Played sport together in the school teams and spent our Leaving year as Prefects. We had a great feeling for the school and were happy to remain there. Of course there was more security having a friend - especially in and around the staffroom area. [female at a country high school in 1963]

- Started school for some reason aged 4 years 9 months & then jumped from Lower 1 to Lower 2 or something. Started Intermediate year in 1950 aged 13 years 9 months but passed with the minimum 5 subjects. Was advised to do Leaving at M... over two years. The first year at M... I coasted, as I knew I was going to do it again the following year - I got 3 subjects.The following year I coasted again as I had done it the year before - I got the same 3 subjects and had to take a Supp. to get the fourth. I still get very cross to think that no-one gave me proper counselling. People knew that I wanted to be a Woodwork teacher since about Grade 3 and yet

  a) I was never advised to repeat Intermediate and get a wider range of subjects.

  b) Why did I do the same subjects 2 years in a row at M...?

  c) Since Leaving Art was a pre-requisite subject for College Entry to Boys Craft course why didn't someone advise me to do Inter & then Leaving Art?

  d) Leaving Botany was also a pre-requisite subject for the H (b) course and I was never advised to do that either - but then Leaving Botany appears to have only been taught at the Adelaide Girls High School at that time - hence no H (b) course entrant had the subject! [1953 at a country high school]

There were several particularly interesting cases. One was the male respondent who had come to junior teaching in 1958 after four years as a Survey Draughtsman and who after appointments at two city technical high schools was sent to a country technical high school as a replacement for a trained Art teacher for Term 3. He presented his recollections in a rather unconventional way that enabled him to cover a much wider range of experiences than any other respondent.

- I could write a thousand pages - but you need this report before the year 2000 - [so] I will list some headings
    * Gaining a personal/professional responsibility
    * The frustration's of dealing with a Gov Department
    * Living away from home - making personal decisions
    * Surviving on a small salary
    * Meeting older teachers with a twinkle in their eyes who sabotaged with great glee and fun my clumsy attempt at teaching
    * Meeting teachers of all kinds in a social setting
    * Meeting some very liberated young women
    * Flying over the Flinders Ranges in a DC3 aircraft
    * Mixing with musicians, actors, writers
    * Learning to fend for myself in the classroom
    * Dealing with concerned - drunk - angry parents
    * The success of teaching a good lesson
    * Getting a small group of Leaving students through the final exams in my first year as a junior teacher
    * The trauma of using the cane for the first time
    * The real achievement of being accepted at Teachers College
    * The failure at not converting everyone to Art
    * The achievement of surviving the Junior Teacher experience

The respondent who was a junior teacher in a private school in 1953 as part of beginning teaching in a Religious Order also covered a wide range of experiences. Some are very similar to those of respondents in State schools but there are significant differences too:

- One funny memory/memorabilia is a photo of our community standing in line watching the children play. I look very solemn and "nun-like" in my black dress and little veil - I turned 17 the day I left from home! I doubt if there would have been an assessment. The year was seen more importantly as an introduction to Community life - the teaching was an adjunct (I think).

My experience as a Junior Teacher was very much becoming part of a total community. In the 1950s the people of the South East were very isolated - many children had never been to Adelaide, their clothes were very poor. As a community of Sisters we were made to feel & were in fact, at the heart of the Catholic community. (No resident priest - came from N... for Sunday Mass) I felt very much part of that community. I remember on several occasions the joy I felt when I realised I had understood & taught a concept I hadn't really understood before. One very vivid memory is trying to explain to my 6 1st & 2nd Years the fact that the earth rotates around the sun and the implications of it. It was a moment of pure joy when I knew I had explained & demonstrated it so that 3 very argumentative lads understood.

I remember hitting a child, looking up & realizing that his grandmother was watching me & feeling ashamed. I realised that I was punishing him out of anger and my own limitation. It was a very important lesson. I can remember feeling quite at home and confident in the class-room. The most difficult thing I had to do (when I reflect, it was quite outrageous) was to set work for my [infant] classes while I taught secondary Geography. After a while I refused to do it and took them at lunch time. The one thing I didn't enjoy teaching was "handwork" - we did all those funny things like weaving pot stands - I was no better than the students! I had a couple of very difficult children who had come from an isolated school. The Head Teacher couldn't manage them - they seemed to respond to me.

I'm glad I had this opportunity. When I returned to teach there eight years later, I was amazed at how many people I remembered - especially parents & those who were secondary students at the time - and how well I was remembered!

The other respondent whose experiences were rather different was the male who immigrated from the U.S.A. in 1963. A number of his comments have already been noted but his main recollections were of coming to terms with the differences he met with in a country town.

- My fiancé was a big help in adjusting to Australian children, social circumstances and way of life. We had much discussion and explanation of things I didn't understand. I learnt that I had to slow down from my fast pace, learn to speak Australian & alter my spelling. I had to change many of the ways of living, speaking and understanding of a new people in a short time.

The female respondent who resigned just prior to beginning College in 1962 explained some of her reasons for such an action in a very candid manner.

- I remember enjoying teaching the parts I liked in Algebra, Arithmetic & Social Studies, but struggling to work on the parts I didn't like. I lacked imagination to add extra interest & activities relating to subjects to make lessons interesting for students. As I said before, I couldn't do the course I liked and wanted, [Art, Phys.Ed. or Science] hence lost interest & of course teaching others was far different to doing and studying subjects oneself. Also much of my time was spent studying Physiology, which I enjoyed and passed, also Ancient History which I hated and did not pass. (Now 30 years later I wish I'd learned all about Ancient History) I now view myself as having been fairly immature as a J.T., much of which was caused by my ancestry & upbringing which I need not go into.

A. 6:

THE MEMOIR DOCUMENT*

1) **Two Letters of Introduction**

2) **Part A (Concrete Data)**
Consisting of 26 Sections

3) **Part B (Cultural Data)**
Consisting of 7 Sections

* Parts A and B are reduced in size. The document gave respondents more space for their comments than is apparent in this copy.

39 Barker Road
PROSPECT SA 5082

Dear

As part of an M.Ed thesis at Adelaide University I am researching the Junior Teacher System which operated in South Australia until the mid 1960s.

Records in the Education Gazette indicate that you were a Junior Teacher at in 19 .

I am anxious to gather the memoirs of as many former Junior Teachers as possible and I am enclosing a questionnaire which you may care to complete and return to me. The research theory is explained in the attached covering letter.

I would be most grateful indeed if you could find the time to do this and to record whatever memories you have of the significant period in your preparation for your teaching career. So much of the educational history of South Australia is already lost (it is almost impossible now to gather such memoirs from the former Monitors for example as so many are no longer alive) and I would very much like to see the details of the Junior System recorded before it is too late to gather such material. It is most important that wherever possible the educational history as set in various official documents should be supplemented by the human element and my research aims to do this through the memories of the people who actually experienced life as Junior Teachers.

Already some sixty former Junior Teachers have responded to a request I placed in the Education Gazette early in 1987. I am now contacting a number of people who would not have seen that request and I hope that you do not mind my approach to you. I can assure you that the final research will be safely lodged as a permanent record of a most significant and important part of the training of teachers and their preparation for entering the Teachers College.

I would like to stress that the final section of Part B (Section 7) is a most significant part of the exercise and I would particularly value any additional information you may care to record. So far this section has provided some of the most useful material in illustrating what it was like to be a Junior Teacher through the human values activities that are revealed in memoir form.

As you will appreciate I can no longer track down many of the former women Junior Teachers who married and either left the service or returned under new names. If you know of any former colleagues who might be willing to take part in this survey I would be very pleased to have their names.

I fully appreciate how burdensome my request to complete this questionnaire may be to you and I will understand if you feel unable to return it. If you can do so I will be extremely grateful.

Yours sincerely,

(Tony McGuire)

September, 1987

Dear

Thank you very much indeed for offering to take part in this survey into the Junior Teacher System.

The size of the enclosed research document may make you feel that you have taken on quite a daunting task. Part A however, requires mainly brief answers and wherever possible I have provided spaces for ticks or yes/no responses. This first section establishes the more easily documented concrete data concerning significant aspects of the life and work of a junior teacher and provides the background for the researcher to more fully appreciate and understand the significance of the cultural data in Part B.

The second part does require fuller answers in order to establish the cultural facts - the attitudes and assessments and evaluations of life as a junior teacher as they appear to you the person who experienced them.

Please take whatever time you need to fill out the survey. I suggest that you read it through, think about your time as a junior teacher for a few days or a week and then write down your answers to Part B as fully as you can, as your memories of being a junior teacher come back to you.

The type of research is based on the contributions of the Polish Sociologist Florian Znaniecki who believed that human values and activities should be regarded as facts for investigation in the same way as concrete data are. He directed the focus of sociology towards the examination of interpersonal conduct, social relationship and paterns of interaction that call for your assessment, evaluation and expression of attitudes as set out in Part B.

The Junior Teacher System was an important one in the educational history of SA and it is important that it be researched as fully as possible. Already much of the cultural data about the paid and unpaid monitor system and the pupil teacher system is no longer available and instead of seeing these systems through the eyes of those who experienced them, we have to rely on official records, statistical data and other materials which do not reflect the human element.

With your assistance, this will not be so of the junior teachers system and I thank you again for your willingness to take part in this research. If you know of any other former junior teachers who may not know about this research, I would appreciate it if you make them aware of it as I would like the project to be as comprehensive as possible.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any problems with the document. My home telephone is 269 2257.

Yours sincerely

Tony McGuire

PART A (concrete data)

Please tick the appropriate boxes, indicate yes or no by crossing out the incorrect one and give supporting details where applicable.

☐ MALE ☐ FEMALE

1. In what year (years) were you a junior teacher? ☐

2. How old were you when you were first appointed ____ years ____ months as a junior teacher?

3. What level of schooling had you completed when you left school? (Please tick highest level reached)

pre Intermediate ☐ Intermediate ☐

Leaving ☐ Leaving Honours ☐

4. Which of these schools did you attend in your last school year?

☐ city secondary government school

☐ country secondary government school

☐ a non-government school

5. Had you matriculated when you left secondary school? YES/NO

6. Was your home in the country ☐ or in the city ☐ ?

7. What kind of teacher did you want to be?

☐ Infant ☐ Primary

☐ Secondary ☐ Other (please give details .....
.....
.....)

8. Did you serve at a country ☐ or city ☐ school as junior teacher?

9. If country, how far was it from Adelaide? ____ miles

10. If your home was in the country, how far away was your appointment? _____ miles (approx)

11. What means of transport did you have to use to take up your appointment?

_____

12. How often did you get home?

- ☐ only in vacations
- ☐ more regularly
- ☐ every weekend
- ☐ other (please give details .....
  .....)

13. Were you able to contact home easily and your family contact you easily and by what means?

(details please)

.....
.....

14. (1) What type of board was provided for you? .....
.....

(2) Did you stay in the same boarding place for the whole period you were a junior teacher?

YES/NO

15. How did you travel to the school each day? .....

16. Did you take any part in district sport or social activities?
Details please

.....
.....
.....

17. What type of school were you appointed to?

- ☐ Infant school
- ☐ Primary School (Grades 1-7)
- ☐ Primary School (Grades 3-7)
- ☐ Area School
- ☐ Higher Primary School
- ☐ High School

18. (1) How may other teachers were on the staff? ____

(2) How many students were there (approx)? ____

19. What level did you teach in the main?

- ☐ Infant
- ☐ Primary
- ☐ Secondary

20. What grade(s) or subjects did you teach and how many students were involved?

.....
.....
.....

21. Did you have sole responsibility for a grade(s) or subject(s) YES/NO
or
Did you have shared responsibility for a grade(s) or subject(s) YES/NO

22. Please give details of any other school or local duties expected of you

.....
.....
.....
.....

23. Did the Head, senior teachers or other teachers assist you in any way with your teaching duties? YES/NO

Please give details if yes

.....
.....
.....

24. Did you have to prepare lesson plans or notes? YES/NO

If yes please give details

.....
.....
.....

25. Were you studying at all during this time? YES/NO

If yes please give details

.....
.....
.....

26. When your JT time was over what course did you enter at the College?

☐ A (one year preparation for a rural school)

☐ B (Primary)

☐ C (Infant)

☐ D (Secondary)

☐ Other (please give details .....
.....

PART B (Cultural Data)

This section calls for your personal opinions, insights, feelings, attitudes, fears and hopes, etc while a junior teacher as you remember the experience. It would be helpful if you wrote in a narrative style and if you have insufficient room under any heading please continue on the back or add sheets.

1. (a) Why did you become a junior teacher - by choice, by circumstance or for some other reason (please give details).

(b) If your answer was not 'by choice', then explain what you might have preferred to have been doing during that year.

(c) Did you feel yourself ready to take on the role of a junior teacher immediately after leaving school yourself?

(d) Can you remember your feelings as

(1) you left home to take up your appointment?

(2) as you approached the school on your first morning?

2. (a) What aspects of junior teaching did you find

(1) very satisfying

(2) less satisfying

(3) unsatisfactory

(b) Please give details of any difficulties you encountered as a JT in relating to the children, the other teachers or to the town and its people and explain how you coped with such problems.

3. (a) Describe how the Head Teacher treated you and the type of help and support he gave you.

(b) Do you feel that the Head did his duty by you and your class(s). Please give details to support your answer - especially in relation to ways in which you feel you could have got better support, help and advice.

(c) Give details of any help the other staff gave you (or if they gave none, outline how you would have wished to have been helped).

(d) Was there any assessment of your time as a junior teacher? If so, what form did it take?

(e) At the end of the time, did you see yourself as having been
very successful
moderately successful
a failure
as a junior teacher? Explain why you felt this way and how you came to this conclusion.

4. When you went to Teachers College did you

(a) Enter the course of your choice?
(if not, why not)

(b) Find that your time as a junior teacher had helped you in any way?
(Please give details)

(c) Disadvantaged you in any way? (details please)

(d) How did you see youself and others who had been junior teachers compared with those who had come straight to College from school in terms of

(1) practical teaching

(2) academic progress

5. (a) From your experiences would you say that junior teachers were exploited, that the Education Department got young teachers on the cheap through this scheme? Please illustrate your answer by referring to the conditions under which you worked and the rewards (monetary or otherwise) you got.

(b) Do you have any reasons to believe that school children suffered under the junior teacher scheme?

(c) The junior teacher scheme was eventually abolished. Would you say that this was a good thing or a bad thing for teacher training (why?) (you may refer to your views on the adequacy of Demonstration Schools for training young teachers).

5. (a) Do you remember your time as a junior teacher as (tick one or two)

a happy time generally
a frustrating time
a useful time
a just bearable time
or something else

and explain why you ticked what you did.

7. Please use the next few pages to jot down some of the memories, anecdotes, experiences, successes, failures etc as you remember them in order to give me a better understanding of what it was really like to be a junior teacher. Write as much as you feel is necessary to make sure I see your time as a junior teacher through your eyes.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

South Australia.

Mindmarsh School.

Sir, Dec 9th 1907.

In reply to your letter (m E/256/07) of the 5th inst. requesting me to furnish a report concerning a complaint from Mrs A. James against Pupil Teacher Ireland, I beg to state that he emphatically denies nearly every statement made by Mrs James, and I find his statements substantiated by a number of the most intelligent boys in the class. These boys have been questioned separately and agree practically on every point. The boy, James, was not knocked down, he was not taken by the throat, he was not black in the face, he was not thrown down, he was not prostrate and he was perfectly able to move. As far as I can gather, after a long and careful enquiry, the facts of the case are that the boy was naughty and careless and took no notice of the teacher's reproofs. P. T. Ireland then shook him lightly by the shoulders and he became impudent. He then shook him about five times more severely when the boy began to cry. He was then taken to Mr Ash, the Senior Assistant, who stood him by the door of his room where he remained for about half an hour. He was then told to go back to his class by Mr Ash who said, "I will see you in the morning."

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT,

South Australia.

..... School.

..... 190 .

He left the school by 4·30, at the latest, and was not seen at school afterwards. Mrs Ash states that he showed no sign of having been been illused, and I conclude, from the demeanour and answers of the boys whom I have questioned, that the lad was not seriously punished. The boy was undoubtedly fearing a punishment on his return to school in the morning, and convinced his mother that he was unable to attend. Some portions of the letter written by Mrs James are irrelevant. There is an inference that truancy is rife, but our records show that, except a few cases learnt elsewhere, we are singularly free from that evil. The statement concerning the girl's eye being turned appears to me to be wickedly made, and, as it has been sent in the first instance to the Hon the Minister of Education, I beg most respectfully to ask that Mrs James be requested to name the doctor to whom she refers, so that further action may be taken.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
John Hurn,

The Acting Director
of Education
Adelaide

From an Oral History - An Interview with Leslie C. Nock

Some details of the early career of Leslie C. Nock as a monitor, (1899) pupil teacher, (1901-1904) and student teacher (1905-1906) were given in Chapter 3 (page 63). The following excerpts are from an oral history interview G. R Lock had with him in 1981. [References – *Learning And Other Things – Sources for a social history of education in South Australia.* – B. Hyams, L. Trethewey, B. Condon, M. Vick, D. Grundy. S.A. Government Printer, 1988, p.127 and the original Tape 1 of 6/4/81 by G.R. Lock]

As a pupil teacher

... you'd be given a certain area [to teach] and you'd come along and give a special lesson. The assistants would be observing, taking notes, and they'd write reports on your different lessons. If you were giving a special lesson...you'd have an opportunity to prepare it and submit your notes to the assistant in charge.

As a student teacher

You know where the Training College was... As a general rule once a week we'd visit a local school or if something special came up at Norwood, the whole mob drifted out there. We weren't confined to Sturt St., Currie St. ... We were told where we'd be going... At the end of the day, finish at 4 o'clock... next morning leave notes for supervisor [at College] to look at ...to see that we had been doing something...

... you'd go from the Training College out to the classes then you'd not only observe the class teacher but you might be asked to take charge... When we went out into the classes we'd observe the class teacher - the whole group of us would drift off into different rooms, We'd observe [say] Mr Jones. He'd give his lesson and we'd take notes on Jones, observe his teaching. As well as that we would have a look at the work books then we'd observe any teaching aids or objects he used in giving the lesson, then look around the room to see what general aids, pictures, charts, maps, special libraries were there... Some of the charts would be the teacher's own aids. Teachers made a lot of good charts. I remember charts I had ... brown paper charts ...50 sheets, ... might be on the geography of a certain country. I'd cut out pictures of all sorts from newspapers and magazines and stick them on brown paper maps. I've seen some lovely home-made charts...

Teaching

I remember the days...when I had classes of up to 80 and I remember one time, only temporarily, a class of 100, 100 books to pass up. I was supposed to collect them...perhaps it was composition...I had to carry the blasted things home and mark them. The correcting of books by teachers was a hell of a job – it would be terrible – up until midnight...

Leading educators of the early 1900s

... Alf Williams who afterwards became Director...I was under him at Norwood...He was after my type, very strict disciplinarian ... he was definitely the old type teacher... but ah, my word, I respect him to this day.

When I left University I had to do seven subjects – Well Doc Schulz was in charge at the Uni. He had his own room and locker there. I well remember when I did those subjects... [externally] ... I had to do this Education exam... Doc was very good to me.

First though came a year of Junior Teaching. The one big shock was to be awarded an "Excellent" – my only one — by the headmaster who had to take us for early morning lessons in teaching. The topic of the paper was Poetry. Perhaps the "Brook" was still babbling! The big thing that came out of that year was that Fate turned my face toward Infant Teaching – little children, rather than big. I who had loved learning before I had loved children, came that year under the influence of the women, who, fortunately for South Australia, were in touch with world movements, Dr. Gertrude Halley, the first Medical Inspector, and Miss Lydia Longmore, the first Inspector of Infants. This is no place to attempt any estimate of the value of the work of these two women. I have tried to do it very briefly in the Centenary Pivot.

Certainly no-one on the staff of the Infant School where I was a Junior Teacher ever thought to explain anything of it to me. Yet I caught something — enough to make me choose the Infant course the next year when I entered Teachers' College.

Towards the end of that year Mr W.T. McCoy was appointed Director of Education.

He came one day to Unley, and never one to stand on ceremony, came directly over to us, the two Junior Teachers, a very low form of life, Junior Teachers.

"Right," he said, while Headmaster and Infant Mistress fluttered somewhere helplessly in the background.

"What have you done?" We recited our very modest Higher Public Results.

"How old are you?" We told him.

"Right," he said. And that was that.

Seventeen in September. I put up my hair – the hairpins **would** keep slipping out — and entered the then University Training College, for one year's training in January, 1920. There aren't very many memories. Phrases from Dr Schultz's Education lectures — flashes from those of Miss Longmore on Principles and Method. A winter's practice teaching in Currie Street. Fate was to take me back to Currie Street much later.

That year 1920 of University Training College saw us take part in what would now be regarded as student revolt.

The Prince of Wales visited Australia and a degree was conferred upon him in the Elder Hall. But the Council of the University rules that there was no admission for undergraduates so we gathered outside and with music from a piano on which the notice said that it was "kindly lent" by the Conservatorium and conducted by a medical student called A.L. Tostevin standing on that piano we sang our reproaches to the Registrar and Council. His Royal Highness came among us; I could have touched the navy blue broadcloth of his sleeve.

Perhaps in his heart he felt nearer to us than to the Latin oration of the stately ceremony in the hall.

The one big thing was the University Library — the old Barr-Smith in the front building. Here I found the complete edition of Kipling, and the Gilbert Murray translations of the Greek tragedies.

That year Miss Longmore lectured to us - Principles of Education and Methods of Teaching. She was a remarkable woman (as well as being a great dear), and had become aware of the work that Maria Montessori was doing in Rome.

The whole thinking was quite revolutionary. The teacher was not, or only very rarely, to teach or direct. The child was to be free to choose his work and to continue with it until he chose to change. He was to move about freely and so that he could do so, all the furniture was small, light enough for a child to lift.

Eating, washing and toilet training were part of the learning process and had value as education and while the child was free, yet he had a standard to conform to.

Of his freedom she said: "Its limit shall be the collective interest and its form that which is universally considered to be good breeding."

In fact, the way a fortunate child of the leisured classes was brought up in his own home in his own good nursery.

M.E.131/22.

17th.March 1922.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter from Mr.W.Spicer of St.Peters, which you forwarded, the Minister of Education (Hon.G.Ritchie) requests me to inform you that he has received the following report from the Director of Education:-

"Miss Daisey Doreen Spicer was a Junior Teacher and Probationary Student in the Adelaide High School from 1918 to 1921 inclusive. During which period her eye-sight appears to have deteriorated. She entered the Teachers' College in January last, subject to passing the usual medical tests. She and two others failed to do so. In her case both Dr.Halley and subsequently Dr.London failed her on account of defective eye-sight. The latter stating that a rest from study for 12 months, and proper glasses would probably render her vision satisfactory. She was, therefore, appointed as a Junior Teacher at the East Adelaide School under Regulation X - 7.

The Department is not concerned with the desire of the student to obtain a B.A.Degree. It selects its own candidates for High School work, and this Junior Teacher is not yet so selected, nor does the character of her Senior Public pass indicate that she is likely to be. But the Department is concerned in seeing that candidates admitted for training pass the physical, sight, and hearing tests, which are determined by the Medical Inspector or the Medical Adviser (in this case both)."

I am,

Yours faithfully,

W.A.Hamilton Esq.,M.P.,

Parliament House,

ADELAIDE.

SECRETARY,
MINISTER OF EDUCATION.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

Flinders Street,
ADELAIDE.
29th January, 1942.

MEMORANDUM TO HEAD TEACHERS.

Dear Sir,

re APPOINTMENT OF A JUNIOR TEACHER FOR 1942.

The Junior Teacher employed in your school for the year 1941 has been selected to enter the Teachers' College this year. If you desire a Junior Teacher to be appointed in his/her place, you should make application immediately. When applying please state your new roll number and whether it is likely to increase or decrease in the near future.

As you are aware, Junior Teachers receive only small allowances and cannot pay highly for lodging. The appointment of such a teacher to your school is dependent in some measure upon the cost of board. In many places lodging is available at special rates often as low as 17/6 per week, but this amount is not to be regarded as a fixed charge. I shall be pleased to know if board is available for a Junior Teacher in your case, and, if so, at what rate. You are warned in your enquiries not, on any account, to involve this Department. Head Teachers are not permitted to board Junior Teachers.

Few, if any boys will be appointed as Junior Teachers this year, therefore, you should make a special effort to find accommodation for a girl if you wish to have a Junior Teacher appointed to your school. However, if board is available for a boy, please quote both rates.

You should also state the most convenient and least expensive mode of reaching your school from the nearest railway or port.

Yours faithfully,

SUPT. PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

Joyce Gilbert
G.G. A.S.
w/all Sch. & asst + Kinds
Attached for 2.2.42

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

Flinders Street,
ADELAIDE.

23rd February, 1939.

The Principal,
S.A. School of Arts and Crafts.

Dear Sir,

re APPOINTMENT OF A JUNIOR TEACHER.

In connection with the above, I have to inform you that ~~Mr.~~ Miss Joan St. C. Hoare has been appointed to your school as from 27th February, 1939...

I shall be pleased if you will do everything possible to see that ~~he~~/she is met on arrival and conducted to the boarding home selected. When ~~he~~/she commences duty, please inform me as soon as possible.

Your attention is directed to Regulation XVII, 16, which provides that the appointment of a Teacher of Sewing shall lapse on the appointment of a female teacher.

Yours faithfully,

Wm. T. Martin,
SUPT. PRIMARY EDUCATION.

Per

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

Flinders Street,
ADELAIDE.
28th October, 1942.

MEMORANDUM TO JUNIOR TEACHERS.

Per Head Teacher.

re COURSE DESIRED BY JUNIOR TEACHERS FOR 1943.

Dear Sir/Madam,

The attached form should be returned to this office through your Head Teacher before 7th November, 1942.

It is proposed to admit some students (the number to be decided upon later) in some of the following courses:- "B", "C", "F" and "H", according to the needs of the Department. "D" and "E" Course students are selected at the end of the first year in the "B" Course.

Applicants for the "C" (Infant) Course of Training should state their qualifications in music. While such qualification is not always insisted upon, it is a help in selection.

As the number in each course is to be limited, it is advisable that every Junior Teacher should fill in Nos. 1, 2 & 3 of "Course desired for 1943" in order of preference.

Yours faithfully,

SUPT. HIGH SCHOOLS.

Enc.

CITY.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

Flinders Street,
ADELAIDE.
3 MAR 1945

MEMO. TO Miss B.D. Souter
21 Albert Street
Prospect

I beg to inform you that you have been recommended for appointment as a Junior Teacher in the Girls' Central Art ~~High~~ School, to commence duty there on 5 MAR 1945.

Please present this notice to the Headmaster on your arrival. It will be necessary for you to notify the Director, through your Headmaster, when you commence duty at that school.

If you are unable from any cause to take up duty on the date given, your Headmaster should apply on Form A/8 for such leave as may be necessary, giving full particulars.

An allowance at the rate of ~~£60/£48~~ £80 per annum will be paid to you in accordance with the Regulations. You will also be paid a further allowance of £10 per annum to compensate for the high cost of living obtaining in the financial year 1942-43. If you are entitled to a boarding allowance under Regulation XI, 5, you should make application on the enclosed form through the Headmaster of the school during the first week of duty.

Suitable board for you has been arranged by the Headmaster at ..... per week.

Junior Teachers wishing to resign must comply with the conditions set out in Regulation XVI, 8.

You should advise this office of any change of your private address.

Yours faithfully,

SUPT. HIGH SCHOOLS.

CITY.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

Flinders Street,
ADELAIDE.
28-2-47

Edmund Joerner

MEMO. TO Mr Robert J. Joerner
233 Fletcher Road
Largs Bay

10 MAR 1947

I beg to inform you that you have been recommended for appointment as a Junior Teacher in the Ungarra School, to commence duty there on 31st March, 1947.

Please present this notice to the Head Teacher on your arrival. It will be necessary for you to notify the Director, through your Head Teacher, when you commence duty at that School.

If you are unable from any cause to take up duty on the date given, your Head Teacher should apply on Form A/8 for such leave as may be necessary, giving full particulars.

willing to take up appointment

An allowance at the rate of £80 per annum will be paid to you in accordance with the Regulations. If you are entitled to a boarding allowance under Regulation XI, 5, you should make application on the enclosed form through the Head Teacher of the school during the first week of duty.

Suitable board for you has been arranged by the Head Teacher at 27/6 per week.

Junior Teachers wishing to resign must comply with the conditions set out in Regulation XVI, 8.

Yours faithfully,

SUPT. PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

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