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Community and Teacher Education, Convergence or Divergence? Saskatoon and the Saskatoon Normal School, 1930–1950

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Teacher education in Canada is a contested discipline with long standing national and international debates about what teachers need to know and be able to do. But teacher education programmes are also influenced by the social, political, and economic context in which the programmes developed, so it is reasonable to suppose that debates about teacher education programming are connected to local issues and concerns of the community. Given the supposition that teacher education programming is shaped, at least in part, by the tensions and contentions arising in particular localities, this study provides historical insight into the relationship between a local community and a teacher education program by examining connections between the Saskatoon Normal School teacher education program and the community of Saskatoon in the years of 1930–1950.

La formation des enseignants au Canada est une discipline contestée qui fait l'objet de débats nationaux et internationaux de longue date sur ce que les enseignants doivent savoir et être capables de faire. Mais les programmes de formation des enseignants sont également influencés par le contexte social, politique et économique dans lequel ils ont été élaborés. Il est donc raisonnable de supposer que les débats sur les programmes de formation des enseignants sont liés aux questions et préoccupations locales de la communauté. Étant donné l'hypothèse selon laquelle les programmes de formation des enseignants sont façonnés, du moins en partie, par les tensions et les différends qui surgissent dans des localités particulières, cette étude fournit un aperçu historique de la relation entre une communauté locale et un programme de formation des enseignants en examinant les liens entre le programme de formation des enseignants de la Saskatoon Normal School et la communauté de Saskatoon dans les années 1930-1950.

Teacher education in Canada is a contested discipline with long standing debates about what teachers need to know and be able to do (Darling-Hammond, 2006; Korthagen et al., 2006; Lampert, 2010). Disputes and evolving perspectives, whether in the larger context or even within one institution, frequently arise out of broad, country-wide, or transnational trends shaped by residual, dominant, and emerging ideologies such as those concerning curriculum, pedagogy, and classroom management. However, although it is essential to recognize these overarching developments, it is equally important to acknowledge that individual teacher education institutions and programmes are also influenced by the surrounding social, political, and economic context in which they were established. For this reason, it is necessary to examine the ideologies and contextual factors that shaped teacher education within a given institution in light

of community concerns, tensions, and contentions arising within particular localities. With this objective in mind, this study endeavoured to gain historical insights into the institution/community relationship by examining connections in one case study: that of the Saskatoon Normal School from the years 1930 to 1950 and the community that encircled it.

To discover connections, convergences, or divergences between the community and the local teacher education institution in this specific location, we tracked issues and concerns revealed in the Saskatoon newspaper the *Star Phoenix* in the years from 1930 to 1950, to determine if these same matters surfaced in the Saskatoon Normal School (SNS), particularly in the pages of the normal school yearbook titled, *The Light* and in other archival records including the Department of Education Annual Reports, the correspondence of several normal school principals who served during the time period, and investigations of the SNS teacher education curriculum.

A Framework for Study

Understanding the history of teacher education is critical for a deeper understanding of the dynamics that influenced and continue to influence ideas about educating teachers. As pointed out by historian and philosopher R. G. Collingwood (1946/1993), the past holds the precursors or "determining conditions" of our present. As such, the historical method allows us a systematic way to uncover longstanding trends and influences, giving us a better vantage point from which to see the issues and make informed decisions about how to proceed. Our examination highlights some of the particular trends and circumstances affecting teacher education in a particular Canadian community—Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada—and adds to understandings about ways in which contextual factors shaped approaches to teacher education.

Many studies focus on broad trends, official government policy, or organizational history when examining changes in the structure, philosophical basis, or pedagogical applications in teacher education over time, but these studies have not always revealed an understanding of the relationship between ways of thinking circulating in local/regional contexts and the teacher education institution/program therein. By divorcing the program/institution from the circumstances in which it existed, the program(s) that emerged through vibrant debate, compromise, and pressure can be viewed as the outcome of a series of edicts from monolithic institutions largely dissociated from the other stakeholder groups, including the community in which the teacher education institution was located.

Our investigation is framed by the approaches and methods of intellectual history, which aims "to promote understanding of the complexity, even the disorder, of our past development as thinking beings" (Biddiss, 1985, as cited in Collini, 1985, p. 49). Intellectual history is concerned with the study of "ways of thinking" and their connection to an external, social context (McKillop, 1987). A common theme within the discussion of the methods and focus of the intellectual historian is the emphasis on placing texts (primary sources and the ways of thinking examined within them) into a larger context. For the intellectual historian, paying critical attention to the larger social, political, and educational context within which those ideas have been developed and articulated is foundational to understanding the history of ideas and their continued influence in contemporary contexts (Collini, 1985; Levine, 2005; McKillop, 1987). Levine (2005) argued that the first step in the study of texts in the field of intellectual history is to place them within the context of their composition. Furthermore, he argued that thought should be conceived as dynamic and reactive as it changes and responds to the concrete problems and situations implicated by the context within which those ideas are conceived (Levine, 2005). R.G.

Collingwood (1946/1993) argued that "all history is the history of thought [and that] human actions can only be knowable as the outward expression of thoughts" (p.115). Like Collingwood, we are not only interested in "knowing what people did, but understanding what they thought" and we posit that remnants of past ways of thinking and doing are still alive in the present (p. 115).

Working from these principles of intellectual history and Owram's (1990) assertion that intellectual historians work from the premise that ways of thinking "are considered a major force in the shaping of historical events as a whole," (p.48) this analysis of the connections between community concerns and teacher education is underpinned and framed within the context of intellectual history and looks at how particular beliefs, assumptions, and ways of thinking functioned within the community, as seen through the *Saskatoon Star Phoenix* newspaper in this instance, and the teacher education institution located in the community.

Additionally, in this study we utilized the term convergence (and its counterpart, divergence), in discussing what we intended to discover through our analysis of notions that affected a community and the teacher education institution therein. Convergence—that is, the conjunction or "meshing" of ways of thinking, actions and/or events—has been examined by social scientists interested in the fields of sociology, anthropology, economics, and economic history. Convergence, as a theoretical lens or metanarrative, has been employed by researchers interested in the emergence of "modernity" through the evolution of industrial societies. Researchers interested in understanding social organization, human communication, and group psychology have also developed convergence theories. For example, symbolic convergence theory, articulated by Ernest Bormann (1985), has served as an analytical framework to investigate the shared meanings that groups of people construct within their socio-cultural groups. The theory aimed to explain the appearance of group consciousnesses arising out of socially shared narrations about inferred common emotions, motives, and meanings.

> It [symbolic convergence theory] assumes that human beings are social storytellers who share fantasies and thus build group consciousnesses … It has been used [for example] to analyze popular culture and political campaigns and as the basis for historical and critical studies of mass persuasion and mass media communication. (Bormann, 1985, p. 136)

Our examination of convergence/divergence is most deeply connected with methodologies for understanding and representing ideologies. In this approach, the notion of convergence/ divergence is seen as a useful lens for analyzing intellectual history where ideologies are principally set apart by differences in assumptions, values, attitudes, and narratives (Maynard & Mildenberger, 2016). As researchers committed to understanding the social and ideological context of teacher education, including convergent or divergent ways of thinking potentially extant between teacher education institutions and the communities in which these existed, we explored key concepts or core ways of thinking in circulation in a specific time and place to determine if particular beliefs and arguments overlapped or differed among community organizations and an educational institution.

Although similar explorations of ideological convergences/divergences could be made with respect to teacher education in other Canadian communities, comparative historical study is required in order to draw conclusions about regional/local uniqueness. Hence, with our focus on one particular place in this instance, we could not determine if the relationship between Saskatoon and the SNS is typical or anomalous. However, we posit that understanding ways of thinking about education that overlapped, or not, in the past and within particular places and

spaces is critical to understanding how education has been shaped, which in turn is essential to making informed decisions about how to proceed now and in future.

Literature Review and Contextualization

Even though the field of intellectual history is relatively young in the Canadian context, there are several studies that seek to examine the impact of particular ideologies on the thinking and of university educators (Berger, 1976; Gauvreau, 1988; Gidney, 2004; McKillop, 1979, 1994; Panayotidis & Stortz, 2005; Shortt, 1976). Historians of education have also used intellectual history approaches to examine the ideas of grade school educators (Kach & Mazurek, 1992; von Heyking, 1996; Wood, 1985). Historical studies of teacher education in particular have attempted to understand educational change by examining the relationship between educational institutions and the society in which they existed as well as the development of requirements, qualifications, and certification (Campbell, 1996; Gidney & Millar, 2012; Knight, 1969; McDougall, 1953; O'Donoghue & Whitehead, 2008).

Although historians of education have written about the thinking of teacher educators in the context of teacher education, overall, historical studies of teacher education have not deeply investigated, in any nuanced sense, the impact of developing ideas on the expansion and advancement of teacher education institutions. Instead, the literature reveals that history of teacher education has focused on other particularities. For example, many historical studies concerning teacher education have focused on the development of standards and qualifications (professionalization) and the socio-political climate within which those developments took place. Additionally, many studies have investigated events in teacher education in very specific local contexts (Calam, 1994; Hollihan, 1997; MacDonald, 1996; Stamp, 2004), while others take a broad comparative approach (Christou, 2018; O'Donoghue & Whitehead, 2008). For instance, to situate in time and place programs and initiatives aimed at educating history teachers, Penney Clark has examined both pre- and in-service teacher education utilizing examples from across Canada (Clark, 2014). Some studies even focus explicitly on the institutional history of teacher education in the regional context of Saskatchewan during the Great Depression and the Second World War (Campbell, 1996; Gidney & Millar, 2012; Singleton, 1949) and detail the socio-political climate and its relationship to general developments and trends in teacher education.

Christou's (2018) edited collection of the curriculum history of teacher education, focused on the historical development of teacher education across Canada, includes some investigation into the impact of prevailing ideas on the development of teacher education. In an attempt to contextualize and set the stage for the regionally-focused individual chapters, Raptis (2018) offered some commentary regarding the influence of liberalism on the development of teacher education in the Canadian context. Through an examination of the socio-political context within which teacher education unfolded, Raptis contended that the discourses of liberalism, divided into political, economic, ethical, and technological, "have formed the ideological scaffolding upon which Canada and its schools have been built" (Raptis, 2018, p. 18).

Providing the regional focus for Saskatchewan in Christou's edited collection, Lemisko and Clausen (2018) sought to tease out the relationship between the historical development of teacher education and prevalent regional ideologies. The two posited that the accent placed on "country life" approaches, the shift from teaching the subject matter to teaching the child, and the relationship that developed with the University of Saskatchewan, point to the influence that agrarian, social democratic, and cooperative philosophical perspectives had on the processes of

decision making and policy with regard to teacher education in the province (Lemisko & Clausen, 2018). David C. Jones (1992) argued that as a society in which agriculture was perceived as the "mainspring of national greatness and the molder of national and personal character," many settlers adopted a way of thinking that idealized rural life (pp. 455& 456). In country life ideology, the land itself was given an almost mystical power, wherein mere contact with the countryside was seen to have the capacity to invigorate the human spirit, teaching "resourcefulness, improvisation and industriousness … perseverance and frugality … independence and freedom from social snobbery" (Jones, 1992, pp. 459-461). In this study we hoped to determine, at least in part, if there was convergence or divergence in assumptions about the benefits of rural life between the Saskatoon community and the Saskatoon Normal School.

Historical Context: Publicly Funded Schooling in Saskatchewan to 1950

By the time that Saskatchewan became a province in 1905, the foundation for elementary schooling was laid. The character of Saskatchewan's sparsely populated, largely rural communities cultivated a strong desire for local control over educational administration in those communities. The attempt to strike a favourable balance between access to schools and the expansion of programming with "the desire to preserve the sanctity of small, local jurisdictions" is a point that characterizes both the legislation and organizational activities throughout the history of Saskatchewan education (Scharf, 2006, p.8). Despite attempts by the provincial government in 1912, 1928, and 1940 to consolidate school districts, educational administration and organization remained highly decentralized. Viewed as a measure that would limit local decision-making powers, legislation that proposed centralization through consolidation into larger school units was opposed by the majority[1] of Saskatchewan ratepayers until 1944 (Scharf, 2006).

In Saskatchewan, as in other Canadian prairie provinces, the practice of *colony settlement*, where a "sizeable portion of a European community or kinship group was encouraged to settle in a specific area" (Alcorn, 2008, p. 75), aided newcomers in developing and retaining strong networks of support based on ethnic origins and loyalties. In considering early newcomer/settler loyalties in Saskatchewan, it is interesting to note that "Saskatchewan is the only province in the country in which over half of the population is of neither British nor French origin" (Noonan et al., 2006, p. 61). However, although these settlement patterns contributed to conditions in which Saskatchewan people felt empowered to challenge ideas and actions imposed by educational authorities, evidence also indicates that an Anglo-Protestant elite filled positions of authority in Saskatchewan and worked hard to promote and impose a definition of citizenship based on the notion that a good citizen is person of sound "British" character that promoted the traditional social order and supported Protestant Christian morality (McKillop, 1987; Tomkins, 1986). Although colony settlement patterns helped to build networks of support among settlers of non-British backgrounds, those that held positions of power enforced the belief that schooling, in large part, was meant to teach British norms and values and assimilate children into "Anglo-Saxon ideals, traits, and historic traditions" (Foght, 1918, p. 18).

Despite efforts to impose this way of thinking, the first major reorganization of education in Saskatchewan was introduced and implemented by Tommy Douglas' CCF government. Integrated into their 1944 election campaign promises, Douglas and the CCF pledged to bring about significant reforms to education, including the consolidation of school districts into larger units. Though Saskatchewan residents had been reluctant to endorse consolidation efforts in the past,

the dislocation of communities caused by depression and war, severe teacher shortages, demands for new curriculum, and the financial problems that smaller jurisdictions continued to encounter coalesced to create favourable conditions for such reform (Scharf, 2006)

Educational reform also resulted in shifts in programming and curricular design in the province. Motivated by the desire to make schooling more applicable to larger numbers of students, the CCF government instituted new curricula that offered more vocational training (Tyre, 1968). Impacted by the effects of massive unemployment in the 1930s, followed by the development of war industries, the province was faced with a new and growing demographic of students in secondary schools—those who did not intend on going to either university or normal school after graduation. This growing demographic, believed to be interested in an education that would prepare them for the expanding labour force of skilled work, were underserviced by programming focused primarily on academic subject matter. In terms of structural reform, the recognition of the growing need for vocational education resulted in the establishment of technical and composite high schools[2] throughout the 1930s and 1940s (Horsman, 2006).

Historical Context: Teacher Education in Saskatchewan to 1950

Broadly speaking, the literature on teacher education in Saskatchewan depicts the period of 1920–1950 as one marked by general improvements in teacher education, improvements that are frequently attributed to the factors of teacher supply and demand. Despite the hardships experienced by teachers during the Depression, as salaries plummeted and Normal School staffing was limited, this era saw improvements in terms of both qualifications and normal school entry requirements for teachers.

Generally attributed to the overall expansion of education in the province, the trend in the increase of applications to normal schools that began in the 1920s continued into the 1930s. During the 1930s, in a time when employment was scarce and agricultural production hit all-time lows, many young people started to consider the teaching profession as a viable and stable option for employment. As teacher supply finally began to outpace demand, normal schools were able to limit admissions like never before. In 1930 admission into the Normal Schools was limited because teacher supply was adequate to meet demands, and prospective students were admitted based on their June academic standing following their grade 11 and 12 exams. Increased competition for admittance meant that the overall academic standing of normal school students following 1930 continued to steadily improve (Singleton, 1949). Gidney and Millar (2012) contend that the 1930s were a golden age for teacher education in the province, much as the decade had been in Alberta, as normal schools attracted academically qualified students and kept them in training longer than ever before.

However, many of the gains in qualifications that had been made in teacher education during the 1930s were severely influenced by the teacher shortages caused by the outbreak of the Second World War. By fall of 1941, the outcome of military recruitment efforts was a decreased number of teachers in the province (Phillips, 1957). To deal with the acute teacher shortage, the Department of Education implemented several emergency measures. The most significant shift in normal school programming was the decision to shorten the program and allow for the early release of teachers into the profession. Although official early release was to occur at the end of a quarter, provisions were made for an even earlier release and temporary certificates were granted almost anywhere along the way so that it was not uncommon for teachers to be released after just six weeks of training (Campbell, 1996). As an increasingly common practice from 1941 onwards,

the system of early release put 479 teachers with interim certificates into Saskatchewan classrooms in the 1942–43 school year, 1451 in 1943–44, and 1950 in 1944–45 (Lyons, 1986).

Problems of inadequate supply of teachers not only negatively impacted the quality of the teacher education, but entry requirements also decreased during the period. For the first time in six years, students who applied to Normal Schools in 1942 and had not completed grade 12 were permitted entry (Lyons, 1986). Age requirements were also relaxed and the normal schools began to accept younger students so that by the end of 1944 half of all of the teachers in the province were 19 years of age or younger (McDowell, 1965).

By the late 1940s, teachers who held temporary certificates as a result of their early release were seen as a blemish on the profession. Such criticism prompted many teachers to complete their training through summer school courses in the years 1945–47. In 1946 for instance 1300 teachers returned to summer school to complete their training and 791 of those attended in Saskatoon (Campbell, 1996). Changes to teacher certification and salary allowance implemented by the CCF government after its election in 1944 also sought to alleviate the negative impacts of teacher shortages, such as the minimal training and experience of teachers entering into classrooms, experienced during the war. Part of a new vision for education in the province, the newly elected CCF government ushered in changes aimed at attracting high quality teachers to the profession. A first important measure was the move to increase the standards of admission at the normal schools that were adjusted to address teacher shortages during the war. Additionally, the new government also set a minimum salary for teachers across the province, which was the highest in the country (Tyre, 1968).

In broad terms, the literature that addresses teacher education through to 1950 depicts a narrative of general progress based on reforms to programming as well as improvements in entry requirements and certification, punctuated by a period of lowered standards due to teacher shortages during the Second World War. The bulk of the literature regarding the history of teacher education during the era under study focuses on the socio-political landscape of the Second World War, and discussion of changes to programming and institutions is generally framed in relation to teacher supply and demand. By the mid to late 1950s teacher supply began to improve and teacher education and certification began to regain the footing of the prewar years, so much so that Phillips (1957) marks 1955 as a turning point in teacher education towards encouraging reorganization that aimed to attract better teacher candidates into the profession and also ensure that those candidates were better prepared than ever before.

Although the social-political climate is considered in the analysis of developments in standards and programming, there is little in the existing literature concerning this period of 1920–1950 in the history of teacher education that focuses on the intellectual history of the period. There is little evidence to suggest a body of literature aimed at shedding light on dominant ways of thinking and concerns within the local/regional socio-political milieu and the extent to which these notions were at work in teacher education during the time. As such this study seeks to provide some analysis and interpretations to fill this space in the field of the history of teacher education.

In addition to this dearth in the literature, it is also important to note that the trends and in teacher education discussed above do not account for the specific contexts of the Indian Residential School system in Saskatchewan. Broadly speaking, there is ample evidence to suggest that in many instances teachers working in residential schools were at least underqualified and faced many challenges presented by inadequate funding (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada [TRC]). Although the federal Department of Indian Affairs held jurisdiction over

residential schools across the country, churches were responsible for the day to day management of the schools, including the hiring of staff. Despite the fact that Indian Affairs was required to approve all hires, the Department often automatically approved all selections (TRC). A combination of the emphasis placed on religious commitment, as opposed to teacher training or teaching ability, the low pay received by teachers in residential schools, many teachers who taught in IRS did not possess formal qualifications for teaching, and the fact that IRS schools operated with few regulations (TRC) meant that many teachers teaching in IRS did not possess teaching certificates.[3] Ultimately, the lack of funding, lack of regulations, and emphasis on religious training over teacher training contributed to the woefully inadequate and harmful education experienced by Indigenous children in residential schools.

A Word About the Saskatoon Normal School

The second[4] of three normal schools to service prospective teachers in the province of Saskatchewan, the Saskatoon Normal School (SNS) opened its doors in late August of 1912. Over the course of its first 10 years of operation, the SNS was without a permanent location. Instead, the school rented rooms from already established educational institutions of that period, including the Collegiate (now Nutana College) from 1912-1915, Buena Vista School from 1915-1916, Qu'Appelle Hall (at the University of Saskatchewan) in 1916-1918, and Emmanuel College (at the University of Saskatchewan) in 1919. Discussions about finding a permanent location for the SNS on the University of Saskatchewan campus began in the spring of 1919. Following several rounds of strenuous discussion between SNS principal George M. Weir, University of Saskatchewan president Walter M. Murray, the provincial Department of Education, SNS board trustees, and University of Saskatchewan architect David Brown, the SNS decided to pursue the off campus location at Avenue A as the construction site for the new building[5]. The new building atop the hill, Avenue A North, opened its doors to students in 1922 and remained in operation until all teacher education in Saskatchewan was transferred to universities in 1964 (Campbell, 1996).

Method and Limitations

This study emerged out of a project that involves comparative historical study of teacher education in Ontario and Saskatchewan between 1925 and 1975. In the comparative study we are examining teacher education offered in three institutions in each province, including normal schools and the respective universities that took over teacher education programming starting in the middle of the 20th century. We chose to focus on Saskatchewan for this paper as the province represents an interesting contrast to the much studied Ontario context. For example, Saskatchewan's economy was primarily agriculture-based whereas, in comparison, Ontario's economy was primarily industrialized. Ontario is a region at the centre of political power in Canada while Saskatchewan is a region at the periphery. We chose to focus on the SNS and Saskatoon in particular, because of the close relationship among the community, the normal school, and the University of Saskatchewan, which finally took over all teacher education programs in 1964.

Although our comparative study examines a longer time frame, we chose to examine the relationship between Saskatoon and the SNS between 1930 and 1950 for this paper because this period was a time of intense curricular and pedagogic experimentation across Canada. There were shifts in teacher education programs brought about by significant supply and demand issues

precipitated by the Depression and Second World War. Influenced by the Canadian progressive education movement, which according to Patterson (1970), "represented a revolt against existing formal and traditional schooling [where] … the teacher [was] to be a guide, not a task-master" (p. 373), the 1930 to 1950 time period was also, potentially, a time of experimentation in teacher education, too.

In making these choices we acknowledge the limitations of this investigation, but we think that this study will provide results that will contribute to understandings about how teacher education was/was not connected to local issues and community concerns. We will contribute to our comparative study which we anticipate will add to understandings about ways in which contextual factors shaped approaches to teacher education, perhaps in regionally unique ways.

Our research employed a historical case study method, which is a hybrid approach used and promoted by various researchers (Fitzgerald & Dopson, 2011; Mahoney & Rueschemeyer, 2003; Skocpol, 1979; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2009;). The approach, which incorporated archival document analysis, allows for deeper understandings of site-specific contexts and encourages examination of multiple primary sources (Beverland & Lindgreen, 2010; Dyer & Wilkins, 1991). In particular, the method can provide insights into complex social processes and relationships that might otherwise be seen in simple terms (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Fitzgerald & Dopson, 2011).

Document Sources

To uncover the potential relationships between teacher education in Saskatoon and the ways of thinking and concerns manifest within the community, this study makes use of sources that represent community concerns (i.e., newspapers) and normal school sources (i.e., yearbooks and internal communications among staff and students).

The *Saskatoon Star Phoenix* was, and remains, a daily newspaper that provides both local, provincial, national, and international news coverage. By 1927, the city of Saskatoon saw the publication of two daily newspapers: the *Saskatoon Daily Star* and the *Daily Phoenix*. One year later, both of the papers were bought by the Sifton family, amalgamated and rebranded as the *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*. Since then, the paper has continued as the only major Saskatoon-based daily newspaper. Although circulation numbers are difficult to pin down at present,[6] information drawn from a discussion paper compiled by Communications Management Inc. (2011) indicates "Through the first half of the 20th Century, daily newspapers were on the ascendancy, as the principal medium of news and information in Canada. [and that] … total daily newspaper paid circulation in Canada was equivalent to more than 100 per cent of households in 1950" (pp. 4, 5). If circulation trends for the *Star Phoenix* matched that of other Canadian newspapers during the time period, then it is reasonable to assume that this paper was a widely subscribed to as a source of news in Saskatoon.

Given that the *Star Phoenix* was (and remains) a daily newspaper and that the archives hold just about every issue, we limited our examination of community concerns by examining the issues published on or near the same selected dates over a number of selected years. Since community concerns become more pronounced during periods of societal upheaval or unrest, these date selections were chosen to correspond with overarching historical trends and events such as the beginning of the Great Depression, World War II, and the early post-war period (1945–1950). Specifically, the issues of the *Star Phoenix* that were examined include those that were published on dates in early January, early June, and late September into early October in these selected years: 1930, 1933, 1935, 1937, 1939, 1940, 1943, and 1950. Because the *Star Phoenix*

is a daily paper we rendered the analysis manageable by choosing to examine in detail the issues on dates in selected months spread throughout the indicated years. We chose these years and monthly dates because these dates coincide with emerging and significant wide-ranging crises times for residents of Saskatoon, similar to the present-day Covid-19 pandemic, and hence of particular interest.

A corresponding source for exploring themes potentially common to both "town and gown" is the official SNS yearbook entitled *The Light*. First published in 1920, the yearly student generated publication always included a message from the principal, an inspiring essay from a member of the graduating class, lists and photos of normal school staff, lists of student names (sometimes with individual photographs) grouped together according to certification class and/or room (e.g. Room A or Room F), and commentary written by a member of each "room". Each yearbook also contained lists of guest speakers who visited during the year, photographs, and brief notes about various clubs (e.g., the chess club) and sports teams. Various SNS yearbook issues also included poems written by students, cartoons drawn by students, and commentary about various social events, including dramatic productions. Although the first yearbook produced appeared as a "very dignified" publication with "A" level essay quality, later yearbooks appear to have become less formal as students began to use the pages to poke fun at instructors, classes, procedures, and themselves (Campbell, 1996).

Additionally, a good deal of archival material exists at the University of Saskatchewan that details the correspondence and activities of SNS principals between 1930 and 1950. Throughout the years in question, principals and various members of the Department of Education engaged in regular correspondence to address the pressing matters of the day, including issues related to funding, curriculum, and evaluations. Department of Education annual reports also include valuable insight into the nature and character of the SNS during the period as each year included a summary report, created by the school principal, from each normal school in the province. Also, secondary sources such as graduate theses and Teachers' Federation publications, written either during or a few years after the 1930 to 1950 time period, provide additional testimony regarding the normal school—the SNS program of studies, for example.

Analysis and Interpretations

The historical document analysis that was performed in this study was accomplished in alignment with that found in Denzin and Lincoln's (2005) interpretation and suggestions (for example see pp. 647–680, 869–886). Relevant sources of historical information were specifically located, with primary sources sought based upon their relevance to the SNS and the location of the institution. Data from these sources were summarized and evaluated using a document analysis approach, which includes skimming, thorough reading, interrogating, re-enacting, interpolating, assessing/interpreting, and selecting excerpts and quotations that address the research question and represent emerging themes (Bowen, 2009; Collingwood, 1946/1993).

Themes/Concerns

In both the *Star Phoenix* and the SNS archival materials, areas of concern correspond with prevailing societal trends and events. For example, worries about unemployment and related concerns about vocationalism[7] were especially apparent during the era of the Great Depression, circa 1930 to about 1939. War anxieties and accompanying calls for patriotic actions and attitudes

were particularly evident between 1937, in the lead up to the outbreak of the Second World War, and 1945. In other cases, thematic convergence is subtler. For example, although the *Star Phoenix* included a "women's page", dedicated to advice for women, SNS documents provided advice to women and girls more obliquely through the guidance offered in relation to Physical Education and Home Economics curricula. In addition, the *Star Phoenix* included articles that were overtly connected to religion, providing news and explicit guidance for daily living based on Christian principles. In comparison, religious references were not as explicit in SNS documents, however, Christian principles were embedded in the present and future expectations of behavior outlined for students and instructors who participated in the teacher education institution.

At the same time, we uncovered two concerns that were consistently addressed, over time, in both the *Star Phoenix* and SNS documents—these being issues and concerns categorized in the themes: Agriculture & Rural Life and Immigration & Ethnic Diversity. The remainder of this article will focus on these two themes. We will first provide examples of newspaper reports that highlighted issues related to Agriculture & Rural Life and Immigration & Ethnic Diversity. Next, we will demonstrate how these community concerns converged with those expressed by the SNS.

Star Phoenix: Agriculture and Rural Life

Articles that appeared in the *Star Phoenix* newspaper over the 20-year period we examined clearly indicated that Saskatoon community members were convinced that rural life must be supported despite the challenges involved in building and sustaining rural communities. For example, in the issues we examined in 1930, 1933, and 1935 alone, there were 14 articles out of the 18 issues that directly addressed concerns related to agriculture and rural life. These articles reported on issues related to harvest, agricultural trade barriers, rural services (including education) for example, and included the voices of the president of the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool, government officials, and the United Farmers of Canada.

For instance, over the entire time period examined, articles in the paper detailed the problematic nature of delivery of services to rural areas, while providing commentary that demonstrated commitment to addressing and overcoming these difficulties. One particular area of concern for Saskatoon community members was access to railway services. In 1930, *Star Phoenix* articles highlighted progress in expanding CPR railway services to farms, villages, and towns and addressed some of the difficulties encountered, at the same time reporting that overcoming railway building challenges was "the only possible basis for permanent prosperity here [in Saskatchewan] must be the existence of an extensive and prosperous rural community …" (C.P.R. Ready to Assist in Development, 1930). This sentiment was reiterated in reports that addressed immigration issues in which it was argued that "A certain influx to the farms is necessary if a well rounded [*sic*] civilization is to be created in this part of Canada" (Emigration From Britain, 1930). Railway service to rural Saskatchewan continued to be recognized as a serious concern for Saskatoon urbanites throughout the time period. For instance, in 1950, when the Canadian National Railway decided to reduce services to northern Saskatchewan by half, the decision became *Star Phoenix* front page news, followed up by commentary recording strong protest: "We should begin to shout now and with one voice" (No Change in C.N.R. Stand; Train Service Cuts, 1950).

Furthermore, articles that appeared in the *Star Phoenix* over the 20-year period we examined indicated clearly that Saskatoon community members were convinced that agriculture contributed significantly, if not predominantly, to economic and social well-being. Particular

issues were the focus of articles discussing the importance of agriculture during the three decades of 1930 to 1950.

As the old saying goes, "wheat was king", and throughout the 1930s concerns about the quality and yields of crop harvests and issues surrounding the organization and functioning of a cooperative wheat pool were highlighted time and again. (For example: Wheat Growers Are Optimistic, 1930; $985,990 For Members of Pool, 1930; Off To A Good Start, 1935; Vital to Retain Productive Basis Of Farm Industry, 1937) At the same time, other agricultural sectors were also featured in articles that shared concerns and celebrations. For example, the September 30, 1930 issue of the *Star Phoenix* included an article about the downturn in beef prices and another about a special event—an egg laying competition—planned by the Saskatoon Poultry Association (About Five Percent Drop In Price Of Beef In City; Make Plans for Egg Competitions, 1930).

The significance of agriculture continued to feature prominently in the newspaper throughout the 1940s with articles that highlighted Saskatchewan farmers' contributions to the war effort. Although articles that shared information about wartime agricultural production often focused on contributions made through wheat production, some articles also reported how farmers were invited to diversify in order to meet the needs of European allies. For instance, in 1940, farmers were asked to produce fibre seed, sugar beet seed, and soy beans, as well as more pork, cheese, and flaxseed. The Saskatchewan minister of agriculture, the Hon. J. G. Gardiner, indicated that plans for "co-ordinating the war effort on the farms … are moving ahead satisfactorily" (Assign Specialty Jobs to Farmers, 1940).

Standing up for western farmers was an ongoing theme in the *Star Phoenix* throughout the years under examination, and these sentiments illuminated a sense of western Canadian discontent and/or alienation that circulated in the community of Saskatoon. Articles propounded that farmers (and other workers) should represent their own interests in the political arena. For example, in 1943 the *Star Phoenix* recorded commentary from J. C. Mitchell of the Saskatchewan Field Husbandry Association who contended that "agriculturalists should represent agriculturalists in Parliament," instead of relying on "lawyers and doctors" (Put Agriculturists to Represent Agriculturists in Parliament!, 1943). In 1945, G. H. Castleden, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) Member of Parliament for Yorkton, Saskatchewan, addressed a crowd attending a CCF rally held in Halifax, Nova Scotia, where he claimed that farmers, workers, and fishermen could run a province "as well if not better" than other politicians. The *Star Phoenix* (1945) reported that Castleden argued:

> (there is) proof in Saskatchewan today that legislation passed by a government elected by a party which is organized, operated and paid for by the rank and file workers, farmers and fishermen, will give better laws for the good and welfare of the common man than the other type which has ruled Canada in the past. (Says Farmers Can Govern Province, 1945)

Concerns were also raised in articles published in the *Star Phoenix* about the uncertainty of markets for agricultural products following the end of the Second World War. A sense of abandonment by the federal government with respect to such issues was evident in some of the *Star Phoenix* reportage, particularly in the late 1940s and in 1950. This demonstrated again that Saskatoon community members deemed agriculture to be a significant contributor to economic and social well-being and that ignoring the concerns of farmers exacerbated the "center/west"[8] divide and feelings of western alienation. Reports in the *Star Phoenix* regarding the reduction of government-to-government sales of agricultural products and a shaky wheat agreement recorded

feelings of uncertainty and dismay (Boyd, 1950). In June 1950, the federal government's decision to return agricultural sales to the open markets was roundly criticized by Premier T. C. Douglas who told members of the Dairy and Poultry Pool during their annual meeting that the decision "would enable the profiteers to 'skin' the producers again." (Douglas Fears Producers In for Another 'Skinning', 1950) Although Premier Douglas did explain that producer marketing organizations could help farmers maintain more stable pricing arrangements within the borders of Canada, he reminded his audience that international trade was a federal government responsibly and that this level of government "should carry on price support … but the floor price on any product should give the producer a reasonable living standard, which was not the case at present." (Douglas Fears Producers In for Another 'Skinning', 1950)

Articles in the *Star Phoenix* also highlighted challenges related to the provision of high quality grade school education in rural Saskatchewan, along with expressions of commitment to meet the challenges in order to support rural life. For example, the newspaper included a report that highlighted the commitment to ensuring that the quality of education in rural schools would equal that offered in urban centres. This commitment was expressed by A. R. Brown, superintendent of Rural Education and J. T. M. Anderson, premier and minister of education, in speeches made during a tour of rural communities undertaken by government officials in June 1930. Premier Anderson urged that there be more attention to the teaching of agriculture, and promised a new curriculum "which would be suitable to people in all walks of life" (Premier and Stewart Tour, 1930). Premier Anderson argued, "as farming was the basic industry, the province should have an agricultural flavoring in the schools and thus hold the boys and girls on the farms" and he promised that "the course of study would be changed one year from this fall" (Premier and Stewart Tour, 1930).

In September of the same year, a meeting held in the Delisle town hall was "filled to capacity" to hear Premier Anderson speak on several educational issues, including the importance of teacher training that ensured inclusion of experiences in rural settings (Educational Changes Outlined By Premier, 1930). Twenty years later, in June 1950, an article in the *Star Phoenix* reported that the then minister of education, Woodrow Lloyd, echoing earlier sentiments, contended that curriculum should not only focus on academic skills but should "be an aid to real living." In emphasizing the importance of a "real education" that included an agriculture focus, Lloyd sought ideas from the Co-operative Union of Saskatchewan regarding a new elementary curriculum, arguing that the Department of Education should not create the curriculum on its own, but rather that it should be based on the "collective thought of as many organizations and individuals as possible" (Minister Declares School Mirror of Community, 1950). Considering this reportage, it is clear that Saskatoon community members were interested in supporting rural life by ensuring appropriate educational opportunities, despite the challenges.

The Saskatoon Normal School: Agricultural and Rural Life

The convergence between the concerns of the community of Saskatoon and the Saskatoon Normal School (SNS) with respect to agriculture and rural life is evident in the following four ways: (1) In the courses offered in the program of studies for student teachers; (2) In the suggestions offered regarding extra-curricular activities for student teachers; (3) In the efforts to provide rural practice teaching experiences (practica) for student teachers; and (4) In the collaboration to support teacher education that unfolded between the SNS and the University of Saskatchewan.

Courses Offered

Courses in agriculture, along with nature study and household science, were added to the SNS teacher education programme between 1911 and 1915, and agriculture continued to be emphasized throughout the time period we examined. For example, agriculture was one of the courses that highlighted the use of project-based learning when experimental (progressive) teaching methods became a focus at SNS in the 1930s. (Campbell, 1996)

Although the SNS curriculum design changed little throughout the Great Depression, some new subjects or courses were added. Most interesting for the purposes of our discussion of converging issues of concern between the SNS and the community of Saskatoon, and perhaps the most radical change in this time period, was the introduction of a rural sociology course into SNS programme (Singleton, 1949; Knight, 1969). This course was included in an effort to help teacher candidates better understand rural communities given that it was likely that most would take up positions in rural schools. By the 1950s, rural sociology became entrenched in a course titled, Social Foundations of Education, a course that remains in one form or another in teacher education programs in Saskatchewan to this day. [9]

Rural Practice Teaching Experiences (Practica)

The need for practice teaching experiences in rural schools was first highlighted at the SNS in the late 1920s when it was observed that about 60% of teacher candidates enrolled in the SNS were from urban backgrounds and so had never experienced life in rural schools (Campbell, 1996, p. 75). The SNS sought to increase the understanding of the realities of rural life and teaching in a rural setting by offering teacher candidates opportunities to practice teaching in rural school settings, beginning in 1930.

Despite the perceived need and commitment to providing such experiences, there were ongoing challenges to implementing rural practica. During the Great Depression, the SNS needed to modify its preferred placement strategy because of the need to cut costs. With a reduction in the number of the SNS instructors and the financial wherewithal to cover travel costs, the SNS permitted teacher candidates from rural areas to choose a school close to home for the practicum, with the local school teacher providing supervision and evaluation, rather than having the SNS choose rural schools close to Saskatoon where SNS instructors would have supervised (Campbell, 1996). Even after the financial crunch came to an end, there were logistical difficulties in providing rural practice teaching experiences. For example, to support the war effort, the SNS gave over the Normal School building in the summer of 1941 for use in training air force recruits. The need to move to new accommodations in a Saskatoon grade school meant that the SNS was required to reschedule admittance for a late fall start up. This move, in turn, had implications for practice teaching. Clinton P. Seeley, SNS principal from 1933 to 1944, noted in his 1941 annual report,

> As regards rural teaching and observation, we are making use of what seems to be the only "suitable" time—June 7 to June 18. We believe students should "experience under guidance" the rural situation during the early months of the session. Again, late fall entrance makes this quite impossible (Saskatchewan, 1941, p.41).

In spite of these challenges, the perseverance of the SNS in educating teachers for work in rural schools was recognized. For instance, following a visit to the SNS in 1939, in a letter

addressed to Principal Seeley, School Inspector J. MacLeod wrote the following assessment

> The quality of the work I saw being carried on at Saskatoon appealed to me particularly because of the special attention given to the development of student initiative. In our rural schools we need teachers who can do things for themselves. Other features that appealed to me were the common-sense viewpoint, the practical nature of the work done, and the scientific approach to the problems that your students are going to meet when they take over schools in our rural areas (MacLeod, 1939).

The persistent commitment to providing rural practice teaching opportunities was demonstrated in the late 1930s, when the issue again became a special focus of the SNS. With approval of the Department of Education, SNS leaders planned to implement a scheme in which rural superintendents would find placements in rural schools for SNS student teachers and provide advice and guidance for the student teachers in these placements. In addition, SNS leadership's plan included the hope "[t]hat the department bring 'rural problems' to the normal school through a course of six lectures to be given during the winter months by two (rural) superintendents." (Saskatchewan, 1938-1939, p. 44) Although this plan was not fully operationalized prior to or during World War II, following the war the SNS was able to implement important changes in practice teaching, providing three weeks of student teaching in rural schools and two weeks in urban schools. (Campbell, 1996)

Collaboration, SNS and the University of Saskatchewan

To enhance the education of secondary school teachers, the relationship between SNS and the University of Saskatchewan was initiated in 1913, when professors (including President Walter Murray) offered lectures in the philosophy of education, educational psychology, nature study, and, interestingly in light of the focus of this paper, agriculture. (Saskatchewan, 1913, p. 35)

The collaborative relationship between the Department, the university, and the SNS was extended in 1915 when an Agricultural Instruction Committee was struck by the Minister of Education. The Committee was composed of the Superintendent of Education, the Deputy Minsters of Education and Agriculture, the Dean of the College of Agriculture, the Director of Extension Work of the College of Agriculture, the Professor of Agricultural Engineering, the Principals of the two provincial Normal Schools and the two Directors of the School of Agriculture. Given the composition of the committee, there is little doubt that those interested in teacher education at that time were as concerned about agriculture and rural life as members of the wider Saskatoon community. This committee provided oversight on the teaching of household science and agriculture in the normal schools and instruction for the SNS teacher candidates was offered by the Directors of Agriculture and the Director of Household Science and other specialists in agriculture and household science. As a result of this collaboration, it was observed that instruction in household science and agriculture in the Normal Schools was greatly improved (Saskatchewan, 1915). Given the composition and focus of this Committee and the areas of expertise of the instructors, there is little doubt that SNS was as concerned about agriculture and rural life as were members of the wider Saskatoon community in this earlier time period.

The ongoing collaboration between SNS and the University continued to demonstrate that agriculture was a concern and focus in teacher education. Starting in 1927, routes for the education of secondary school teachers at the University were not only open to those who had degrees in Arts & Sciences, but also to those who had a degree in Agriculture. Between 1933 and

1950, routes in secondary teacher education were opened to individuals with degrees in Engineering, Accounting, and Household Sciences as well, but Arts & Sciences and Agriculture remained prominent pathways, even beyond 1950. (Singleton, 1949; Knight, 1969)

Star Phoenix: Immigration and Ethnic Diversity

In addition to concerns about agricultural production and rural life, worries about immigration and the ethnicity of immigrants dominated the pages of the *Star Phoenix* throughout the years under analysis. For instance, in the issues we examined in 1930, 1933, and 1935 alone, there were nine articles out of the eighteen issues that addressed concerns related to immigration and ethnic diversity. The issue of immigration was raised by a variety of voices ranging from those from a Ukrainian conference held in Saskatoon, to president of the United Farmers of Canada. There was also reportage regarding the Saskatchewan Commission on Immigration.

Two obvious sentiments regarding immigration and ethnicity during the period emerged. As efforts to populate the Canadian West continued over the first half of the 20th century, there was growing concern over attracting the "right" stock of immigrant into the region. The prevailing thrust in discussions over immigration into the area focused on the issue of attracting British immigrants into the province. Given the desire to attract British immigrants to the region, the newspaper is filled with numerous articles which focus on community concerns over non-British immigrants, with special attention to those coming from non-English speaking nations.

Populating the Canadian West with the "right" stock of immigrant is a common theme represented across numerous articles from the paper. In one such article, reportage about the legislative proceedings of the Saskatchewan Commission on Immigration included reference to community members' disdain over the influx of non-English speaking immigrants. One resident called for the complete halt of immigrants from eastern and southern European countries on the basis that they did not fully assimilate and that they were also causing overcrowding in the schools. Included within the same article, another resident raised concerns about non-English speaking students in the context of the education system, expressing discontent given the belief that these students were getting preferential treatment. The writer urged that naturalization laws be adjusted to compel school trustees to have a "working knowledge of English" (Central Europeans Long Time Here But Not Yet Assimilated Is Claim Made To Commission, 1930). Concerns over non-English speaking residents and the issue of attracting the "right" kind of immigrants continued into the 1940s. For example, in January 1940, the *Star Phoenix* published one such article detailing a brief account that outlined calls from a delegation to the provincial government to implement measures to encourage British immigration in Saskatchewan. The report claimed that the delegation urged for an "aggressive and wise immigration policy" aimed at attracting a "real British migration to the province" (Urge Greater Immigration, 1940).

Despite the fact that there were clear efforts to attract British immigrants into the province, these efforts did not actually effect the desired outcome. Saskatchewan was, and remains, the only province in the country in which over half of the population is of neither British nor French origin (Noonan et al., 2006). The colony settlements, wherein a sizeable portion of a European community or kinship group was encouraged to settle in a specific area, that developed throughout the American and Canadian West allowed the European settler to retain the network of support that existed back in Europe while accessing the potential prosperity and freedom available only in North America (Alcorn, 2008). The fact that these settlements did not reflect the ethnic makeup of the population desired by the Anglo-Canadian elite suggest why there was

intense concern for attracting British immigrants to Saskatchewan, accompanied by a concerted effort to promote the assimilation of those who did come to settle the West.

The desire to assimilate non-English speaking immigrants to the English language and British customs can not only be easily seen through *Star Phoenix* reports of concerns about the influx of such immigrants, but also in the excitement and pleasure expressed at the inclination of those immigrants to rid themselves of their birth names in favour of adopting an Anglicized one. In January 1933, the desire to assimilate and homogenize Western settlers is obvious in a brief *Star Phoenix* article titled *New Canadians Names Baffling to Anglo-Saxon*, [*sic*] which detailed the influx of non-English immigrants applying for naturalization. The article commented on the many names on the application list that were foreign to Anglo-Saxon readers and that those who had applied had been "accorded the privilege" of naturalization because they are "good citizens." Furthermore, the article declared, "… just to demonstrate that you can't keep a good man down, one of the applicants to whom naturalization has just been granted glories in the grand old name of Flannigan" (New Canadians' Names Baffling to Anglo-Saxon, 1933).

Concerns over non-English speaking immigrants were amplified during World War II as worries became intertwined with the rhetoric of nationalism and national security. During the war years, *Star Phoenix* articles intensified expressions of support for the British Empire as well as concern over "enemy aliens" and the threat of "fifth column" forces in the province. [10]

The increased presence of pro-British Empire support is easy to see in the lead up to the WWII with a number of articles dealing with the automatic and wholehearted support required of Canada and Canadians. Particular support for the pro-Empire sentiments in the community are succinctly reflected in the dominance of coverage provided for a Royal visit in the summer of 1939. Over the course of a number of days throughout June, the *Star Phoenix* provides ample coverage of the preparations being made in the city and across the country. In addition to the front page article that provides a general update regarding the various visits and ceremonies and a full page advertisement for a permanent record of the Royal visit, there is an article that specifically focuses on preparations within the city of Saskatoon. The article noted that the preparations show how much "the citizens of this community realize the importance and significance of the occasion … it is evidence that in addition to loyalty and devotion to the Throne, Saskatoon feels a genuine esteem and regard for the young couple on their own account" (Saskatoon Ready, 1939).

These pro-Empire sentiments were further reflected in reports that aimed to detail policy moves that intended to further entrench British customs and values. In October 1940, a brief article explained that two publications from Britain were banned in Canada—a book titled *Is War Christian* and a periodical titled *Peace News*. Propelled by fears of fragmentation of national unity, the explanation offered in the report was one that spoke to the desire to ensure that British values would prevail. Citing diversity as the main underlying concern, the article explained that although publications of this sort might not be harmful in Britain where the entire population is Anglo-Saxon, such publications would be harmful in Canada where the population is more diverse (Two British Books Banned, 1940). Further reflecting these sentiments of Anglo-Saxon uniformity, the October 1940 issue of the *Star Phoenix* also included a brief article detailing the potential banning of German as an optional subject in Canadian schools (Hints at Proposal to Ban German Teaching, 1940).

Together with these pro-Empire sentiments, growing community fears over enemy aliens[11] and fifth column forces also became commonplace news items. Such fears were reflected in a June 1940 article which aimed to address the lack of public confidence in the work of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) to deal with issues of loyalty. The article speaks out in support

of the work of the national police force in dealing with fifth column forces throughout Canada, arguing that claims over the RCMP's inability to deal with the threats are "emphatically untrue." (Counter Espionage Work of RCMP, 1940) Echoing fears of the public, another article in the June 1940 issue reports on a meeting of the Canadian Legion in which the group articulated concerns over the current effectiveness of dealing with these enemy forces in the country, calling for "vital and urgent" action in dealing with the fifth column "menace" in the country (Vets Alive to Fifth Column Menace, 1940). Articles expressing concerns about the presence of such enemy forces on the home front were offset by the coverage afforded to successful efforts in overcoming them. A number of recurring articles in the *Star Phoenix* detail the continued efforts of law enforcement to arrest and detain "enemy aliens" and "persons suspected of subversive activities" (Scores Arrested for Internment as Enemy Aliens, 1939).

Given the plethora of articles regarding the topic that appeared in the *Star Phoenix* newspaper over the twenty-year period we examined, it is evident that Saskatoon community members were worried about immigration and, in particular, the ethnicity of immigrants.

The Saskatoon Normal School: Immigration and Ethnic Diversity

Although there is little evidence that community concerns over immigration and ethnic diversity impacted the curriculum at the SNS, there is certainly evidence to suggest that those in charge of running the day to day affairs of the Normal School were equally focused on ensuring the development of good "British" Canadian teachers. With this in mind, it becomes clear that convergence between the SNS and the community with regards to immigration and ethnic diversity is most evident in the attitudes and opinions of two Saskatoon Normal School principals: C. P. Seeley and G. R Anderson. The attitudes of these two principals, as expressed in correspondence with the Department of Education (and evident in the course offerings at the SNS) demonstrate how the concerns over non-British and non-Native English speaking immigrants translated into standards for desirable teacher candidates.

Just as the topic of immigration in the community was dominated by concerns over attracting the "right" stock of immigrant into the West, so too was the Saskatoon Normal School concerned with attracting desirable candidates into the teaching profession. Of course, as the newspaper articles suggested too, desirable candidates were British subjects. Reflective of this desire to ensure that teacher candidates embodied British values, in 1936 any of those students who were not British subjects were required to sign an oath of allegiance to King George V. The practice was continued so that later in that same year students signed another oath to King Edward VIII and then a third to recognize King George VI. Advocating his full support for this requirement, correspondence from SNS principal C. P. Seeley expressed his personal commitment to ensuring that students of the normal school were "British through and through" before they were even admitted (Seeley, 1939).

Mirroring the increasing anxieties about non-British subjects that became commonplace during the war, SNS principal G. R Anderson, who served from 1944 to 1954, expressed clear concerns about the allegiance of SNS students to Britain. In correspondence that outlines Anderson's stance on a new supplement requiring students seeking admission to pledge their allegiance to Britain, the principal offered his wholehearted support and expressed his desire to "go further" (Anderson, 1940). Anderson suggested that students not only pledge their allegiance but also pledge to "have all children under my care salute the flag each morning; teach the children to sing GOD SAVE THE KING and other songs calculated to inculcate Canadian patriotism and

sing these with them daily" (Anderson, 1940). Furthermore, in her history and analysis of the SNS, Campbell (1996) noted that Anderson was remembered for his harsh treatment of those students who did not properly reflect the British ideal. Some students reported that they would "wait in fear and trembling to be called to the office and told to leave for the simple reason that they used accents common to those of their Ukrainian and/or German ancestry" (p. 124).

In addition to the convergence between community concerns and the attitude of those at the helm of the SNS, there is also some evidence to suggest that programming at the SNS was influenced by an uneasiness regarding non-native English speaking immigrants. Just as some community members had expressed concern over the prevalence of non-English speaking students in the grade schools, as well as non-English speaking school board trustee members, testing and programming at SNS sought to emphasize the importance of communicating effectively in the English language. Department of Education Annual Reports, as prepared and submitted by C. P. Seeley for 1935, 1936, 1937, and 1939, specify that SNS held yearly English proficiency examinations. The 1939 report also included commentary, under the section titled "Special Problems", that when students struggled with these exams, courses were offered that aimed to "meet the needs of certain students who were defective in oral English" (Saskatchewan Department of Education, 1939, p. 43). With such an emphasis on the oral aspect of English, it is interesting to consider the extent to which students were considered "defective" in their performance on such an exam because they spoke with an accent.

Although the connections are limited largely to the attitudes and values articulated by two SNS principals from the period, analysis of the issues of immigration and ethnic diversity demonstrates a convergence with regards to the valorization of Britishness as the ideal and desirable standard. Although community members and politicians made clear the goal to attract British immigrants to the West and assimilate those who came from diverse ethnic backgrounds, the SNS and the principals who served as central decision makers clearly expressed their desire to attract British students and promote British values within the school. This convergence with respect to the promotion of British values and the English language provides important insight into the ways that broad based community concerns over the maintenance of Britishness in the West would come to influence the type of teachers the SNS sought to attract into teacher training and the cultural values that training aimed to inculcate in potential teachers.

Conclusion

Based on this case study, we claim that there was a relationship between teacher education in Saskatoon, the local tensions and concerns manifest within the community and, perhaps, by ideologies in circulation in the region. For example, in contemplating the overlap between concerns of Saskatoon community members and concerns of SNS regarding agriculture and rural life, it seems possible that this convergence could have resulted from the predominance of Country Life ideology which circulated in ways of thinking among settlers on the Canadian prairies during the time period under consideration. As mentioned above, Jones (1992) argued that many prairie people of European decent adopted a way of thinking—Country Life ideology—that idealized rural life. This way of thinking embraced the notion that the land possessed transcendental power, teaching by mere contact, "resourcefulness, improvisation and industriousness … perseverance and frugality … independence and freedom from social snobbery" (Jones, 1992, pp. 459-461). It appears that these perceived benefits of rural life were taken up by members of the urban community of Saskatoon as well as rural folk, as both groups felt threatened by the domination of

industrialized central Canada (Jones, 1992).

At the same time, it is apparent that socio-political and demographic factors were also at play in the convergence between concerns of Saskatoon community members and concerns of SNS particularly regarding immigration and ethnic diversity. In pondering this convergence, it is interesting to consider the connection between settlement patterns in Saskatchewan and the exercise of political power. As discussed above, Kerry Alcorn (2008) pointed out that the colony settlement pattern meant there were settled and cohesive immigrant populations, primarily composed of settlers who were not of British extraction in Saskatchewan, who understood how to wield power in democratic decision-making processes regarding schools and school boards. Colony settlements, as "bastion(s) of local control," were able to stand "[i]n opposition to the desires of Saskatchewan education policymakers," making it difficult and, at times impossible to undertake rural school consolidation, for example (Alcorn, 2008, pp. 76-77). It could be argued that in Saskatchewan communities, where more than half the population were neither British nor French in origin, the Anglo-Canadian elite, accustomed to holding sway, were intensely concerned about the exercise of power by potentially "unassimilated" new Canadians. This socio-political-demographic reality could be an important reason for the convergence between concerns of Saskatoon community members and concerns of SNS regarding immigration and ethnic diversity.

By focusing on how teacher education was connected to local concerns rather than on official government policy or organizational history, this case study has provided historical insights into institution/community relationships and adds to understandings about how contextual factors shaped approaches to teacher education in possibly regionally unique ways. The community of Saskatoon and the Saskatoon Normal School were closely connected through the concerns, tensions, and contentions that arose within their particular locality between 1930 and 1950. Understanding that local/regional context matters is critical for a deeper appreciation of the history of teacher education and the dynamics that influenced and continue to influence ideas about educating teachers.

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Notes

1 In 1938, former premier and judge William M. Martin led an inquiry into the inadequacies of the small district system. The question of whether to establish larger school units was put to a vote and opposed by over 94% of attending ratepayers (Scharf, 2006).
2 Technical schools were orientated around providing education and training in a particular vocational field, composite high schools were schools that provide a combination of academic and industry specific training.
3 For instance, in 1955, after changes were made in the funding system to ensure that IRS could recruit qualified teachers and improve student diets, 23% of teacher in IRS had no teaching certificate.
4 The first normal school in Saskatchewan was the Regina Normal School, which began offering courses to hopeful teachers in 1890.
5 At least partially at the root of the failure to secure at site at the University were problems over the size of the site requested. The Saskatoon Normal School had requested 10 acres for the new building, but the University, in the midst of entertaining offers from the government for the establishment of a tuberculosis

sanatorium and a School for the Deaf, were only willing to offer 4 acres to SNS (Campbell, 1996).
6 With archives closed due to covid 19, efforts to get at circulation numbers have been unsuccessful.
7 Refers to the occupational or industrial utility of education.
8 The centre/west, which stems from the hinterland-heartland relationship, became especially evident in the Depression years as western farmers struggled to make ends meet and began advocating for increased government intervention in the economy. The seeds of this centre/west divide are rooted in long standing grievances from the western provinces that federal government legislation and policies reflect the needs and desires of the industrial elites in central Canada.
9 See for example: EFDT 313/315 Pedagogies of Place: Context-based Teaching, a required course in the teacher education program, College of Education, University of Saskatchewan.
10 Refers to groups of subversive, secret Nazi sympathizers operating within Canadian and, in this case, Saskatchewan borders.
11 Without the implications of subversive actions associated with fifth column forces, enemy aliens were viewed suspiciously because of their citizenship with states officially at war with Canada.

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