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**GENDER, CLASS AND ETHNICITY IN THE ORGANIZATION  
OF NEIGHBOURHOOD AND NATION:  
THE ROLE OF TORONTO'S SETTLEMENT HOUSES IN  
THE FORMATION OF THE CANADIAN STATE, 1902 TO 1914**

by

**Cathy Leigh James**

**A Thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,  
Graduate Department of Theory and Policy Studies in Education,  
University of Toronto**

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## ABSTRACT

**Gender, Class and Ethnicity in the Organization of Neighbourhood and Nation: The Role of Toronto's Settlement Houses in the Formation of the Canadian State, 1902 to 1914.**

**Doctor of Philosophy, 1997**

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This thesis explores the development of Toronto's settlement movement from the turn of the century to the advent of World War One. The movement in Toronto originally evolved out of the desire of some citizens, most of whom were well educated young women, to help improve the lives of the poor. Settlement organizers and their staffs wanted to reconnect the 'masses' with the 'classes,' and to (re)create a cooperative community in which individuals worked to benefit their neighbours and to develop themselves. The movement was founded on the belief that charity only sustained and perhaps even augmented inter-class fears and misunderstandings. Far better, settlement workers maintained, for educated middle-class women and men to help the poor and the immigrant by offering leadership, practical services, and inspiring models - in short, by providing what were considered to be the tools of self-help in the early twentieth century.

Settlement work was focused on citizenship training. Through their clubs and classes, and through the services they extended to their neighbourhoods, settlement workers sought to inculcate their clientele with democratic ideals and the norms of class and gender relations in a capitalist state. But the settlements were also intent on implanting within the middle class an ideal of cooperative citizenship, which demanded that those who possessed wealth and education should act, in a very personal way, as leaders in their communities. The essence of the movement was a belief in the interdependence of all members of a community.

The thesis argues that Toronto's settlement movement influenced the formation of the

Canadian state in two important ways: it helped to create prototypical approaches to poverty and to the assimilation of non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants - many of which were later institutionalized within the state system; and it provided both settlement workers and their clients with the opportunity to modify relations of class, gender and ethnicity. Through these means settlement workers, benefactors and clients contributed to Canadian state formation at both the institutional and the ideological levels. Ultimately, the thesis presents Toronto's settlement house movement as a crucible for a developing ideology of citizenship.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Within the past decade Canada has risen from the status of a colony to that of a nation. A national consciousness has developed - that is, a nation has been born. . . . There has not been sufficient time to develop a fixed Canadian type, but there is a certain indefinite *something* that at once unites us and distinguishes us from all the world. . . . We are Canadians.<sup>1</sup>

In 1905 four wealthy Toronto businessmen addressed a letter to one thousand of their colleagues in the city concerning an issue they considered to be of great importance.

Evangelia House, a social settlement established in Toronto in 1902 by American settlement worker Sara Libby Carson, and her Montreal-born friend, Mary Bell, was in desperate need of stable financial support in order to continue its work. Its membership, which then numbered over 600, was growing rapidly as word of the institution spread in the working class neighbourhood which it served. Aimed as it was at providing young working women and their even younger sisters with the vocational education and the 'socially acceptable' recreations which, as most contemporary observers concluded, were unavailable to working class girls in their homes, the four businessmen asserted that Evangelia House was especially deserving of support because it provided a vital service to the community. In essence, it kept its female membership off the streets, where they might take up less seemly pursuits.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>J.S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates: Or Coming Canadians* (n.p., 1909; reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 16.

<sup>2</sup>E.B. Osler, W.A. Charlton, B.E. Walker, and F.W. Strathy, Toronto, to addressee, 1905, M.S. files - Evangelia House, 1905 - Dear, Baldwin Room, Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, (hereafter BR).

Evangelia was very much in keeping with the myriad endeavours to address the poverty and social disorientation which accompanied Toronto's industrialization and the attendant rapid population growth.<sup>3</sup> For example, like most social agencies, middle class women were the main providers of the services offered at the settlement, and working class women and children were the primary beneficiaries.<sup>4</sup> In addition, Evangelia's staff, like the majority of their colleagues, worried constantly about 'pauperizing' the poor - that is, encouraging, through too liberal charity, able-bodied men in particular to abandon their responsibilities to provide for their families, and, through rewarding improvident behaviour, encouraging the children of these men to adopt 'shiftlessness' as a way of life. In answer to such concerns settlement workers such as those who staffed Evangelia were adamant that their institutions were not charities, that their members paid (admittedly small) fees for the services rendered, and that the overall aim of settlement work was to enhance the self-respect of their clientele, not to damage it with unearned or excessive handouts.

Yet, Evangelia House represented much more than a socially acceptable retreat for young working class women with time on their hands in their off-work and out-of-school hours. Located on Queen St., in the working class district east of the Don River, Evangelia was in many ways a unique, even revolutionary, institution in turn of the century Toronto. It

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<sup>3</sup>See Michael J. Piva, *The Condition of the Working-Class in Toronto - 1900-1921* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1979) and T.R. Morrison, "'Their Proper Sphere': Feminism, the Family, and Child-Centred Social Reform in Ontario, 1875-1900," *Ontario History* 68, 1(March 1976): 65-74.

<sup>4</sup>For information regarding similar kinds of efforts see Stephen A. Speisman, "Munificent Parsons and Municipal Parsimony," *Ontario History* 65, 1(1973): 33-49; and Carol Thora Baines, "From Women's Benevolence to Professional Social Work: The Case of the Wimodausis Club and the EarlsCourt Children's Home 1902-1971" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1990), 16.

offered its membership<sup>5</sup> recreational opportunities and vocational training which were innovative for the time and place. To its staff and volunteers it offered an unusual degree of freedom; some of Evangelia's personnel, all of whom were women of middle-class backgrounds, actually lived on-site - an unusual practice at a time when propriety still dictated that such women should live in 'respectable,' well-supervised surroundings.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, although the settlement was Protestant in orientation, unlike the missions which were becoming common to many of what were termed 'neglected' districts in the city,<sup>7</sup> Evangelia did not 'evangelize' for any particular denomination. Unique and yet representative of the kinds of initiatives favoured by Canadian progressives, Evangelia House heralded the advent of the settlement house movement in Canada.

## I

This thesis is concerned with examining and analysing the Canadian settlement house movement by focusing upon the history of settlement houses in Toronto from the turn of the century to the onset of World War One. It is useful to explore this history because the

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<sup>5</sup>Soon after this appeal for funds was written Evangelia's membership expanded to include boys and then the parents of the children who belonged to the settlement. BR, S54, The History of Canadian Settlements - notes, Book B, Evangelia - oral histories collected by M.J. and C. Hogg.

<sup>6</sup>See Alison Prentice, "'Friendly Atoms in Chemistry': Women and Men at Normal School in Toronto," in David Keane and Colin Read, eds., *Old Ontario: Essays in Honour of J.M.S. Careless* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1990), and Johanna Selles-Roney, "'Manners or Morals?' or 'Men in Petticoats': Education at Alma College, 1877-1897," in Ruby Heap and Alison Prentice, eds., *Gender and Education in Ontario: An Historical Reader* (Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press, 1991) for discussions of the constraints placed on young women students at, respectively, Normal School in Toronto and at Alma College in the nineteenth century. For information on turn-of-the-century discussions of the need for women at Victoria College to live in residence, see Johanna Selles-Roney, "'A Realm of Pure Delight': Methodists and Women's Education in Ontario, 1836-1925" (Ed.d. diss., University of Toronto, 1993), 314-322.

<sup>7</sup>See J.M. Pitsula, "The Relief of Poverty in Toronto, 1880-1930" (Ph.D. diss., York University, 1979), 67-73.

settlement movement was a significant response to pressing social issues and problems of this era, and in particular those arising in industrializing cities. Moreover, the Canadian movement differed from its British and American counterparts in ways which are important to identify. Ultimately, the settlement movement was a crucible for a newly emerging ideology of gender, class, and ethnicity - an ideology which informed the development of the Canadian state.

The years between 1900 and 1914 were pivotal for Canadian settlements. The movement was first instituted in this country in 1902, after having been studied and discussed by Canadian reformers since the late 1890s, and in the ensuing decades many of its supporters and staff members became increasingly prominent in Canadian social reform circles. The period of the movement's greatest influence coincides with the development of the federal government's policy, energetically pursued, of attracting immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, which resulted in a huge wave of immigration to Canada.<sup>8</sup> The authority of settlement advocates can, in part, be traced back to their growing familiarity with the needs of these immigrants. In addition, between 1900 and 1914 a significant shift in attitudes toward religion was becoming manifest as the social gospel gained influence and as the position of institutional churches as providers of services for the poor came into question.<sup>9</sup> In relation to this shift, and in part as a result of it, women, who made up the bulk of settlement staff and

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<sup>8</sup>See Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 54-56. See also J.S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates*.

<sup>9</sup>See Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-1928* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971) and Richard Allen, ed., *The Social Gospel in Canada: Papers of the Interdisciplinary Conference on the Social Gospel in Canada, March 21-24 1973, at the University of Regina* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975). See also Douglas Owram, *The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986) and Frank N. Stapleford, "The Church as a Social Agency," *Social Welfare Journal* 2, 7(April 1, 1920).

volunteers, greatly increased their presence in the public sphere.<sup>10</sup> In this connection, settlement workers and supporters were among the most vocal of the Canadian progressives who pressed for the establishment of a professional training school for social workers in Canada. When the University of Toronto organized the first such school in 1914, settlement workers played a large part in developing and teaching many of the 'practical' aspects of the programme. The 1900 to 1914 period also saw the initial development of corporate capitalism in Canada, with its attendant inter- and intra-class tensions, as well as major advances in technology, education and medicine, many of which were brought to bear on the nascent settlement movement.<sup>11</sup>

Toronto was the major centre both for the development of Canadian social work and for the Canadian settlement movement more specifically. With only a few exceptions most settlements which were established in Canadian cities between 1900 and 1914 were inspired by, or were daughter institutions of, Toronto settlements, and all were influenced by their counterparts in Toronto. In addition, the Queen City itself provided much of the leadership for the nation's progressive reform movement. Turn-of-the-century Toronto was among the first cities in English-Canada to experience many of the problems which already plagued

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<sup>10</sup>Carol Baines, "Women's Reform Organizations in Canada, 1870-1930: A Historical Perspective," *Working Papers on Social Welfare in Canada* 26 (Faculty of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1988). See also Alison Prentice, et al., *Canadian Women: A History* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), 179-188.

<sup>11</sup>See Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 140-164; Ruby Heap "Schooling Women for Home or for Work? Vocational Education for Women in Ontario in the Early Twentieth Century: The Case of the Toronto Technical High School: 1892-1920," and Nancy S. Jackson and Jane S. Gaskell, "White Collar Vocationalism: The Rise of Commercial Education in Ontario and British Columbia, 1870-1920," both in Ruby Heap and Alison Prentice, eds., *Gender and Education in Ontario* (Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press, 1991); and Kari Delhi, "Health Scouts' for the State? School and Public Health Nurses in Early Twentieth-Century Toronto," *Historical Studies in Education* 2, 2(1990): 247-264.

American and British industrial centres, and this no doubt helped spark an early interest in social reform among Toronto progressives.<sup>12</sup> More importantly, a number of prominent Torontonians were among the first in Canada to join nationwide social reform organizations in the United States, and to organize local and national groups in Canada for the purpose of studying, and possibly implementing, the solutions proposed by American and British reformers. The six settlements which were formed in Toronto during the Edwardian era - Evangelia (1902-1922), University Settlement (1910-present), Central Neighbourhood House (1911-present), St. Christopher House (1912-present), Memorial Institute (1912-1942), and Riverdale (1913-1916) - thus came into being within a social climate increasingly conducive to progressive reform, civic improvement, and the promotion of efficiency in social service provision.<sup>13</sup>

Toronto settlements can tell us a great deal about the character of the Canadian settlement movement as a whole. The city was home to half of all Canadian settlements organized in these years, and in some cases provided staff members to settlements in other parts of the country, and to other social service organizations in Canada as well as a to number of American institutions and social work training schools. In addition, in Toronto we find the full spectrum of approaches to settlement work, from St. Christopher House, a

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<sup>12</sup>See Piva, *The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto*. For a discussion of conditions in British and American cities which fostered the development of settlement houses, see Arthur C. Holden, *The Settlement Idea* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922; repr., New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1970), 13-21.

<sup>13</sup>During this period there were a number of social agencies existing in Toronto, the majority of which were established by women from Catholic, Jewish or Protestant faith groups mainly for the purposes of serving the physical and spiritual needs of members of their particular denomination. Many of these agencies adopted methods similar to those used in settlement houses, but in the interests of gaining a clear picture of the movement itself, this study is focused on those institutions which consistently identified themselves as settlements during the 1900 to 1914 period.

'Christian settlement' and mother-house to a number of settlements which were established in other Canadian cities and funded by the Presbyterian church, to Central Neighbourhood House, which was adamantly non-religious, to the University Settlement, which leaned toward the British settlement ethos on which it was initially modelled. The other Toronto settlements established in this period fell somewhere along this spectrum, as did those established in other Canadian cities.

Toronto provided the best conditions of any city in Canada for the fostering of the Canadian settlement movement. It was the largest and most industrialized city in English Canada in these years. Distinctions between rich and poor residents in Toronto had become pronounced by the turn of the century, and this fed a growing fear of revolt, crime and degeneracy among indigent workers, along with sympathy for their plight. Toronto was also an emphatically Protestant, Anglo-Celtic city in which the small but growing non-Protestant, non-Anglo-Celtic population, most of which inhabited the poorer districts of the city, stood out in marked contrast.<sup>14</sup>

## II

The few scholarly studies of Canadian settlements which have been undertaken have focused on settlements as individual institutions, or have related settlements to other themes. Yet these studies have provided many valuable insights. For example, Hortense Catherine Fardell Wasteneys's celebratory account of University Settlement focuses on the evolution of

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<sup>14</sup>See C.S. Clark, *Of Toronto the Good* (Montreal: The Toronto Publishing Company, 1898); and Robert F. Harney, *Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985). I will be using the term Anglo-Celtic, rather than Anglo-Saxon, throughout this thesis, as the former is, I believe, more representative than the latter of Anglo-Canadians.

the settlement's programmes and administration.<sup>15</sup> Brian J. Fraser, for his part, has studied St. Christopher House as an expression of intellectual and theological trends in the Presbyterian Church. He has argued that the impetus toward the creation of this settlement was British idealism, as it was expressed and acted on by Canadian Presbyterians committed to the social gospel. Fraser notes that Presbyterian progressives believed that the growth of social divisions within Canadian society along the lines of class, religion, and ethnicity, threatened the vision of a homogeneous, and therefore powerful, nation. Fraser maintains that these progressives saw this threat as only second to the threat posed by 'commercialized vice,' which exploited the ignorance and weakness of urban populations.<sup>16</sup> Supporters of Presbyterian settlement work, he contends, were motivated by the belief that through educational programmes which centred on both practical and cultural subjects, settlement workers could "build up a body of independent and responsible Christian citizens for the new land" from the working class and non-Anglo-Celtic residents of the overcrowded downtown core of the city.<sup>17</sup>

Similarly, Sara Z. Burke argues that the response of members of the University of Toronto to the growing poverty of their city "was shaped by a combination of assumptions derived from British idealism and empiricism."<sup>18</sup> However, she goes on to note, this

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<sup>15</sup>Hortense Catherine Fardell Wasteneys, "A History of the University Settlement of Toronto 1910-1958: An Exploration of the Social Objectives of the University Settlement and of Their Implementation" (D.S.W. diss., University of Toronto, 1975).

<sup>16</sup>Brian J. Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1988).

<sup>17</sup>Brian J. Fraser, "Education for Neighbourhood and Nation: The Educational Work of St. Christopher House, Toronto, 1912-1918" (M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1975), 68-69.

<sup>18</sup>Sara Z. Burke, "Science and Sentiment: Social Service and Gender at the University of Toronto, 1888-1910," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, New Series, 4(1993): 75. See also Sara Z. Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good: Social Service and Gender at the University*

response, formally incarnated through the establishment of the University Settlement, valorized the voluntary participation of educated young men and, by implication, deprecated the interest shown by educated young women in American-style professional social work. This denigration of the female-dominated social work profession, Burke claims, also influenced the programme of the university's Department of Social Service for more than two decades following its creation in 1914.

In her examination of the Toronto Social Planning Council Jacqueline Gale Wills notes that the strong and direct connection between social settlements in Canada and the social gospel raises the possibility "that Canadian settlements were more strongly imbued with the ethics of cooperation and radical democracy, inherited through connections with Christian Socialism"<sup>19</sup> than were their American counterparts. Because of this tendency in Canadian settlements, she maintains, the evolution of Canadian social work contrasts with its counterpart in the United States. She suggests that this was due to "differences in the political culture of Canada [which] had a bearing on the acceptance of collective and organic approaches to community imbedded in the idea of cooperative community."<sup>20</sup> While Canadian settlements did base their approach and their methodology, for the most part, on American models, of which Jane Addams's Hull-House was the most influential, it is important to recognize that settlement workers in Toronto adopted and applied those methods selectively, depending on the exigencies of their individual circumstances, as well as the larger political context.

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*of Toronto, 1888-1937* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

<sup>19</sup>Jacqueline Gale Wills, "Efficiency, Feminism and Cooperative Democracy: Origins of the Toronto Social Planning Council 1918-1957" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1989), 51.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*

What has not yet been done is to look at what contemporaries of the Canadian settlements in the early decades of the twentieth century so often stressed - the fact that this was a *movement*. Such an approach reveals links not only with social reform, but also with professionalization, and the changing roles of women and the family in Canadian society. Such an approach also brings into focus the significant contribution of settlements to the formation of the state in Canada, and the integral role that women, as settlement workers and as members of the settlements, played in that process.

Women are not often considered to have played a very notable role in Canadian state formation. The reason for this lies, in part at least, in the fact that historical studies of the state are often confined to explorations of the creation and development of institutions of government and regulation; since government bureaucracy has been largely the preserve of men, state formation also has been considered to be largely the work of men. Thus, when historians have considered the connection between turn-of-the-century women and the state, they have generally focused on struggles oriented toward increasing women's participation in government, such as the suffragists's fight for the enfranchisement of bourgeois women, or women's lobbying efforts on behalf of specific social reforms, such as prohibition.<sup>21</sup>

However, state formation involves much more than just the development of government agencies and institutions. Philip Abrams, a noted sociologist and historian of sociology, has argued that in order to study properly the nature and role of the state, one must consider the fact that the 'state' is not a thing, that it does not exist as a material object of

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<sup>21</sup>Kari Dehli's "Women and Class: The Social Organization of Mothers' Relations to Schools in Toronto, 1915 to 1940" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1988), and her "'Health Scouts' For the State? School and Public Health Nurses in Early Twentieth-Century Toronto," *Historical Studies in Education* 2, 2(1990): 247-264, are welcome exceptions.

study, whether concrete or abstract.<sup>22</sup> What does exist is the state-system - the internal and external relations of political and governmental institutions - and the state *idea* - a hegemonic ideal of nationhood, citizenship and cultural norms and practices.<sup>23</sup> State formation, then, is the process of establishing and maintaining these relations as normal, inevitable, and just - of striving to assert the cultural hegemony of the dominant group in society. I hope to show how the women who participated in the settlement movement, along with a few male colleagues, actively took part in this process. Moreover, I suggest that the settlement movement's participation in Canadian state formation shaped the state in subtle ways - imbedding, among other ideals and practices, an orientation toward the ideal of the cooperative community which has ultimately manifested itself in the current state policy of multiculturalism.

In the belief that institutions are shaped as much by the people involved as by their locations and the events surrounding them, the workers, members, and the many varieties of supporters, both male and female, of Toronto's six settlement houses are primary concerns in this inquiry. Wealthy and influential advocates like Sir Edmund Osler, one of the writers of the fund-raising appeal for *Evangelia* in 1905, figure prominently, as do pioneering expatriate American social workers like Sara Libby Carson, Elizabeth Neufeld, and Helen Hart. The comparatively few male settlement workers will also come under scrutiny. Through the cloudy lens of board minutes, reports, correspondence, and reminiscences I will attempt to provide a glimpse of the mostly unnamed volunteers in the settlements, a group which had a significant impact on the character and development of settlement programmes and must not be ignored. However, because of the institutional bias of the evidence, which can provide a

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<sup>22</sup>Philip Abrams, "Notes on the Difficulty of Studying the State," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1, 1(1988): 69.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, 76.

relatively clear picture of the institutions themselves, and often of the people who worked in them, but frequently focuses less on the people the institutions are meant to serve, the one group which was central to the movement - the actual members of the settlements - usually remains in the background, except when unusual occurrences are at issue. Nonetheless, working from those instances where the users do come into focus, I contend that the evidence will support the development of some insights concerning this group as well.

### III

The main arguments of this thesis, then, are firstly, that supporters of the settlement movement participated in the development of the Canadian state through the generation of prototypical approaches to poverty and the assimilation of immigrants which were later adopted into what Abrams has identified as the state-system. That is, the settlement movement had a significant impact on Canadian society through its formative influence on some important agencies of what eventually became the Canadian welfare state. Secondly, through the settlement movement a number of Canadian women, particularly middle-class Canadian women, were given the opportunity to influence gender and class relations, and, thus, to participate directly in state formation at both the ideological and the practical level.

I contend in this thesis that settlements were primarily women's organizations that were strongly oriented, as indeed were most women's organizations in Canada of that era, toward strengthening the 'family' as envisioned by members of the bourgeoisie.<sup>24</sup> Settlement

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<sup>24</sup>I am using the terms 'bourgeois,' 'bourgeoisie,' and 'middle class' more or less interchangeably in this thesis. See Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Fontana Press, 1976), 45-48; and Paul Axelrod, "Appendix A" in his *Making a Middle Class: Student Life in English Canada During the Thirties* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990) for two important discussions of the use of these terms. It is important to recognize that the middle and working classes as we know them were in the process of formation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Yet the cultural and economic hallmarks of class were already in place in Canada by the turn of the century. See Michael J. Piva, *The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto - 1900-1921* (Ottawa:

workers, most of whom were themselves bourgeois women, tried to make their institutions as 'home-like' as possible - a practice which, in effect, feminized the settlement environment. The settlements thus became extensions of the 'domestic sphere'; the values of the home, rather than the public realm, were meant to dominate in them. Indeed, one of the main characteristics which set settlements apart from other social reform organizations was the rule that at least some, and preferably all of the full-time workers in each settlement, must reside in the settlement house itself. While for many women this may well have been a welcome step toward independence and the development of a congenial group of like-minded, career-oriented friends, it also involved a certain degree of self-sacrifice - a highly valued feminine virtue - as settlement residents were thereby required to eschew, at least temporarily, the comforts and lifestyle of their family homes or their college residences for the discomforts of a neighbourhood poorly serviced by the city, in which they were perpetually on-call to help their neighbours in all manner of emergencies and troubles. Settlement organizers maintained that in order to fulfil their mandate as advisors and models for people living in the district, the workers needed to be, and be perceived as, integral to the neighbourhood - in short, *neighbours*. The 'settlement family' - the workers, students, and guests living in the settlement - was itself meant to be a model neighbourhood family.

Despite this domestic orientation, or perhaps because of it, for women in particular settlements were an important means of participation in state formation, at both the practical and the ideological level,<sup>25</sup> in part because the settlement movement embodied, or had the

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University of Ottawa Press, 1979), 173; and Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

<sup>25</sup>In "Women and Class: The Social Origin of Mothers' Relations to Schools in Toronto, 1915 to 1940" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1988), Kari Dehli makes a similar argument with regard to the Toronto Home and School Council.

potential to embody, nearly every initiative of progressive social reform proposed in Canada during the period from 1900 to 1914.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, settlements were public institutions which, because of their experimental and eclectic character, were also contested space - gathering places where the objectives of individuals, families, cultural groups, social classes, and representatives of a developing bureaucratic elite met, and often competed for hegemony. The outcomes were not pre-ordained, and these competitions, and their results, ultimately contributed to gender, class, and cultural formations, and the overall formation of the state at both the local and the national level. Settlement workers ultimately demonstrated which 'side' they were on by working on behalf of the government in a number of instances - investigating brothels, reporting negligent mothers, providing a meeting place for parole officers of boys accused or convicted of crimes, registering 'enemy aliens' in their communities during the First World War, and delivering death notices for the army. They asserted that they were the best candidates for these jobs because they knew and understood their settlements' neighbourhoods better than anyone else. But settlement workers also demonstrated their solidarity with their adopted communities by, among other things, running reliable employment bureaus, supporting strikers, confronting unscrupulous landlords, and campaigning for improved city services in their neighbourhoods.

Notwithstanding the spirit of inquiry which often inspired their immediate founders, settlements were originally motivated by a nostalgic longing to recreate in the urban industrial environment a community cohesion and stability which were presumed to have existed in pre-

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<sup>26</sup>This becomes apparent through a comparison of the annual reports of the settlements and the proceedings of national social service conferences which took place during the period under study. See, for example, City of Toronto Archives (hereafter CTA) SC5 B, Box 1, Central Neighborhood House Board of Directors' minutes, 1911 to 1917, and compare them with the Canadian Conference of Charities and Corrections *Proceedings* (Ottawa: Kings Printer) for the corresponding years.

industrial Britain and Western Europe.<sup>27</sup> Settlements could re-establish this sense of community, their founders asserted, by bringing together people of diverse cultural backgrounds, rich and poor, 'as far as possible on equal terms' in order to encourage the development of mutual understanding and respect. Yet, clearly the 'equal terms' under which people were to meet were dictated by the middle class social reformers who established these institutions. Settlements were intended above all to instill in non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants, and in working class people of whatever origins, the habits, values, and attitudes of the expanding bourgeoisie. Still, it is important to recognize that these efforts on the part of members of the middle-class to establish cultural hegemony were not always successful, were modified through interactions with members of the working class, and also structured the middle class itself. Moreover, these attempts were not part of a conspiracy to crush the working class. Rather, I would argue that they were, for the most part, sincere bids to improve the living conditions and opportunities of poor people within the framework of a bureaucratic, corporate capitalist economic system.

It is this proactive orientation which set the settlement movement apart from most other social services then being offered in Canada.<sup>28</sup> Settlement work in general aimed to provide innovative educational and recreational opportunities in impoverished districts, mostly to children and mothers but also, to some extent, to young adults and fathers. In this aspect of the work one can often see the interaction between the settlements and their clientele - those

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<sup>27</sup>See Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1973; repr., London: The Hogarth Press, 1993). See also Standish Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and Social Reform 1880-1914: The Search for Community* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), x.

<sup>28</sup>See Stephen A. Speisman, "Munificent Parsons and Municipal Parsimony," *Ontario History* 65, 1(1973): 33-49, and T.R. Morrison, "'Their Proper Sphere': Feminism, the Family, and Child-Centred Social Reform in Ontario, 1875-1900," *Ontario History* 68, 1(March 1976): 46-64; continued in 68, 2(June 1976): 65-74.

programmes which did not meet the needs of settlement users, and were thus poorly attended, were quickly abandoned or modified, and other programmes were added in response to user pressure.<sup>29</sup> However, settlements also encompassed and often initiated social research, public health campaigns, citizens' advocacy, and a variety of other activities difficult to categorize. This second set of activities was undertaken for the stated purpose of eradicating poverty, disease and crime by discovering and destroying their roots. Many social reformers in this era were beginning to recognize that exploitative wages, exorbitant rents, and poor public health provisions lay at the heart of most of these problems.<sup>30</sup> By producing conclusive proof of this, settlement workers hoped to stimulate individuals and corporations to modify their behaviours and attitudes, and thereby restructure capitalist society itself along more ethical lines.

While these were the objectives of the settlement movement as a whole, some settlements were more successful at certain activities and with certain groups than they were with others. For example, while members of all ethnic and religious groups, were welcomed at the settlements, ostensibly, most of these establishments in Canada promoted Protestantism fairly aggressively, particularly on Sundays, and made few provisions or allowances for the needs or sensibilities of people of other religious faiths.<sup>31</sup> This stance on religion did drive

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<sup>29</sup>This is particularly true of 'amusements' such as contemporary dancing and motion pictures.

<sup>30</sup>See, for example, C.J. Hastings, *Report of the Medical Health Officer Dealing with the Recent Investigation of Slum Conditions in Toronto Embodying Recommendations for the Amelioration of the Same* (Toronto: Department of Public Health, 1911), and Mary Joplin Clarke, convener, "Report of the Standing Committee on Neighbourhood Work," *Canadian Conference of Charities and Correction Proceedings* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1917).

<sup>31</sup>The exception in Toronto was Central Neighbourhood House (CNH), which initially refused to celebrate any religious holidays, including Christmas and Easter. However, in the early 1920s CNH abandoned this policy.

away some members of the community.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, Toronto's settlements found that very soon after they opened they could not cope with the demand for their services on the part of their clientele. Dependent as they were on charitable donations, settlements could not easily expand either their physical plants or their efforts swiftly enough to meet the growing needs of their communities. Hence, settlement staff members and volunteers were almost constantly making funding-raising appeals, and searching for new ways to expand their facilities and their programmes through such means as cooperating with other social agencies, both private and public. Moreover, although it goes beyond the scope of this study, it is important to recognize that the settlement movement was considerably affected by the First World War, and its mandate was greatly circumscribed during the post-war period, as state-administered special interest agencies picked up some of the programmes the settlements pioneered, and as social research became increasingly concentrated in universities. Through the 1920s, the result of these developments was that settlements were increasingly relegated to the provision of recreational opportunities in their communities.

#### IV

A number of themes thus run through the history of the settlement movement and, as a result, through this study as well: the changing place of religion in Canadian society; the expansion of women's public presence; concerns over the heterogeneity of the developing state; and the process of professionalization. The study is organized both thematically and chronologically, highlighting and developing these themes by examining the important issues

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<sup>32</sup>See, for example, CTA, SC484, I B 1, Box 1 St. Christopher House, Headworker's Report, March 21, 1922. There is some evidence that Protestantism may have been vigorously promoted in many American settlements as well, more often than has been acknowledged by historians of the American movement. See Ruth Hutchinson Crocker, *Social Work and Social Order: The Settlement Movement in Two Industrial Cities, 1889-1930* (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 211-213.

in two distinct periods in settlement history: 1890-1909, and 1910-1914. The chapter which follows this one focuses on the circumstances surrounding the establishment of Evangelia House. During the initial phase of the movement, from 1890 to 1909, progressive reformers in Canada mainly focused on the threat to the moral order they believed the industrial city represented. Through social service congresses, public lectures, synods and general assemblies of the churches, and the print media they attempted to raise public awareness of social problems in Canadian cities, of the dangers and inadequacies of 'old-fashioned' charitable endeavours, and of the development, south of the border and in Britain, of new approaches to poverty, crime and disease. As we will see, some of Evangelia's champions were participants in these discussions.

But urban industrialism was not the only issue to arise during the first decade of the twentieth century. Gradually, as the decade progressed, immigration also came to be of central concern; indeed, growing anxiety over the increasing numbers of Southern and Eastern European immigrants in Toronto provided the catalyst for the flowering of the settlement movement in the city. Chapter Three focuses on this anxiety, and on the organization of Toronto's two non-sectarian settlements which resulted from it. National strength and unity were thought to lie in homogeneity - in shared customs, attitudes, and values. Non-Anglo-Celtic newcomers, therefore, had to be assimilated, or 'enculturated,' quickly.

It is important, in this context, to acknowledge that religious motivation often played a central role in early social workers' involvement in social service, and particularly in the involvement of women workers. Chapter Four looks at the influence of the social gospel on the three religious social settlements which were established in 1912 and 1913. During this period attitudes concerning the place and role of religion in society were in the process of changing, as were attitudes concerning the place and role of women in society. Indeed, the

former reinforced the latter, for as religion assumed a new role as emissary of progressive reform, so women assumed a more prominent place in the public sphere as agents of that movement. It is also important to recognize the multitude of activities which women's social service encompassed, for it is here that the roots of the wide-ranging settlement mandate may be found.

Since most of the settlements established in Toronto in the period from 1910 to 1914 were preoccupied with the assimilation of non-Anglo-Protestant immigrants to 'Canadian ways,' it is not surprising to find this theme underscoring most of their programmes. Settlement staff developed a number of educational and recreational activities to that end, most of which fell into two main categories. Some focused on training immigrants for their roles as Canadian citizens, mainly through providing them with educational and recreational opportunities unavailable elsewhere; others focused on improving the physical environment in which they lived, as well as the social service infrastructure, in the city and in the nation more generally. Clubs and classes of various kinds and for various groups comprised a major portion of the settlement programme, and these are the subject of Chapter Five. Vocational and recreational programmes were usually divided according to gender - girls mainly learned sewing, millinery, and homemaking skills, and engaged in fewer team sports than did boys, while 'boyswork' involved some vocational training, but mainly focused on competitive sports and games. Notably, settlement programmes also featured a cultural component; gymnastics, music, dramatics, and crafts were extremely important in settlement work with immigrants, and initiatives in these areas eventually attracted the support of Toronto's arts community.

Chapter Six examines the large group activities undertaken at the settlements; libraries, summer camps, public health initiatives like well-baby clinics and milk depots, employment bureaus and the like. A prominent preoccupation of the settlement movement was

to encourage a sense of community within their own small neighbourhoods, and this they pursued through such avenues as neighbourhood concerts and festivals. But some settlements also organized delegations to petition city hall for improved city services, and these too are examined in Chapter Six. Chapter Seven explores the ways in which settlements were governed and funded, and how their staff and volunteers were recruited, also discussing the place of the settlements within the wider reform community. Thus I examine settlement campaigns aimed at furthering inter-agency cooperation, fostering community solidarity and a sense of connection between the middle and the working classes, and improving municipal housing policies and the use of public space. In order to perform these latter tasks adequately, settlement workers undertook a number of social surveys in their neighbourhoods, and often made their data public in order to stimulate support for their efforts. They also worked very hard to draw in middle class young people as volunteers, and to create alliances with other civic, national and international organizations.

1910 to 1914 was a significant period in the Canadian settlement movement. Despite financial restraints and an almost impossibly broad range of activities, some settlement workers nevertheless maintained high profiles in progressive reform circles. They and their co-workers were among the most enthusiastic supporters of the professionalization of social service in Canada, and were deeply involved, in its early years, in teaching the 'practical' courses in the University of Toronto's Social Service Department. Many social service students, from 1914 on, also fulfilled their practicum requirements at Toronto settlements. While I investigate settlement workers' persistent calls for the creation of a professional school of social work prior to 1914, an examination of the instructional role which some settlement leaders took on in the Department of Social Service goes beyond the limits of the present inquiry; indeed, the role of the settlement movement in the professionalization of

Canadian social work deserves a study on its own. The concluding chapter integrates the various themes, and discusses the ways in which the Toronto settlement movement, in aggregate, influenced the formation of the Canadian state at both the local and the national level.

This thesis traces the first phase in the evolution of a specific social movement, and sets out to discover how that movement's proponents, most of whom were women, contributed to the process of state formation in Canada during the early twentieth century. The study asks how the movement affected, and was affected by, social constructions of gender, class and ethnicity. How did these constructions influence the movement's goal to develop what J.S. Woodsworth termed "a fixed Canadian type?" And finally, what impact did these initiatives, pioneered at the neighbourhood level, have on the state?

CHAPTER TWO  
TORONTO THE GOOD:  
SETTLEMENTS AND SOCIAL REFORM IN THE 'QUEEN CITY,'  
1895-1909

Sara Libby Carson, an American Quaker, was arguably the most influential individual in the early years of the Canadian settlement movement. She embodied many of the elements which later came to characterize the early period of settlement work in Canada: she was religiously motivated, as were most of those who initiated innovative social welfare programmes in this country; according to the reminiscences of her colleagues, she had attended a tertiary-level educational institution, as had the majority who entered into settlement work on this continent in the years between 1890 and 1930; she was a member of the emerging middle class, and this was a profoundly middle class movement; she was a forceful and determined woman who, like a growing number of women of her generation and class, was able to carve out an independent career for herself outside the confines of marriage, and yet still remain within what her era determined to be the appropriate boundaries of femininity; and she was powerfully drawn to act for the benefit, as she and her contemporaries understood it, of the working class. Accordingly, a discussion of her antecedents, and the social milieu from which she and other settlement workers emerged, provides a good place to begin an exploration of Toronto's settlement movement.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Few of Carson's writings, or biographical particulars, have survived in any of the collections I was able to consult for this study. The information on Carson, therefore, has been garnered through sources such as articles on her work, reminiscences of former co-workers and members

## I

Carson first came to Toronto in February of 1897 at the invitation of a Miss Macdonald, of 'Oaklands,' who, along with her mother, was an assiduous supporter of the Toronto YWCA.<sup>2</sup> Macdonald had met Carson, who was then working as a travelling secretary for the International YWCA, at a convention the summer before, and had been, according to *The Daily Mail and Empire*, greatly impressed with Carson's "powerful and earnest addresses," her "bright singing," and especially her ability to "deal" with young women. As a result, the Toronto branch of the YWCA invited Carson to come to Toronto to hold a series of ten evangelical meetings exclusively aimed at young working women.<sup>3</sup> The meetings were, reportedly, very successful and aroused much interest among "the girls."<sup>4</sup> Indeed, afterwards Mrs. Laird, reporting for the evangelistic committee of the Toronto

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of settlements, and minutes and annual reports of organizations with which she had contact. The picture which emerges of her, therefore, is incomplete, but it does provide some sense of Carson's character and attitudes. One detail about her life which has been erroneously reported by several historians is that Carson was a graduate of Wellesley College. In fact, according to that College's records, she was never a student there. The records of the other elite women's colleges of the time - Mount Holyoke, Smith, Vassar, and Bryn Mawr - as well as Oberlin College, also list no Sara Libby Carson. She may well have attended any one of the myriad small, exclusive ladies' academies or colleges which flourished in the northeastern states at the turn of the century, but it has proved impossible to discover which one.

<sup>2</sup>Provincial Archives of Ontario (hereafter PAO) A-MU3518, Toronto YWCA Minutes, January 7 and February 4, 1897; "On Dit," *The Daily Mail and Empire*, February 20, 1897, 7. This Miss Macdonald was likely A. Caroline Macdonald, who in 1904 went to Japan as a missionary for the YWCA. See National Council Y.W.C.A., *The Story of the Y.W.C.A. in Canada* (Toronto: Bryant Press, 1933), 9.

<sup>3</sup>*The Daily Mail and Empire*, February 20, 1897, 7. For more information on the International YWCA, see Diana L. Pedersen, "The Young Women's Christian Association in Canada, 1870-1920" (Ph.D. diss., Carleton, 1987).

<sup>4</sup>The intended audience was not clearly identified in *The Daily Mail and Empire* article, although a later reference in the Toronto YWCA minutes indicates that it was comprised of "working girls." See Diana Pedersen, "'Keeping Our Good Girls Good:' The YWCA and the 'Girl Problem,' 1870-1930," *Canadian Woman Studies/Les cahiers de la femme* 7, 4(Winter 1986): 21.

YWCA, announced that Carson had inspired a number of young women to form a girls' Bible club, with Macdonald as president.<sup>5</sup> The executive committee was so pleased with the results of Carson's work that in November of the same year they invited her back for another series of meetings for working girls. Two months later Macdonald informed the YWCA executive that not only was membership in the Bible club still increasing, but that "one member had gone to New York to assist Miss Carson in her work."<sup>6</sup>

The work to which Macdonald was referring here was Sara Carson's first foray into the settlement movement. In fact, Carson's meetings in Toronto were held only a few months before she and a colleague from the YWCA, Christina I. McColl,<sup>7</sup> established Christadora settlement house in an immigrant neighbourhood in New York's Lower East Side, and it is quite possible that part of her purpose in coming to Toronto, in addition to fulfilling her duties with the International YWCA, was to generate interest in this enterprise.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>PAO, MU 3518, Box 2, YWCA Minutes, March 4, 1897. This raises an interesting question, for with Macdonald as the president, it would seem likely that this group consisted largely of middle-class, rather than working-class women, unless Macdonald's presidency a supervisory position rather than a peer-elected one. Diana Pedersen has demonstrated that while the YWCA was created to assist working-class women, the organization itself was controlled by women of the middle-class. See Pedersen, "Keeping Our Good Girls Good," 20-21.

<sup>6</sup>PAO, MU 3518, Box 2, YWCA Minutes, November 4, 1897 and January 6, 1898. This development lends credence to the theory that the Bible club members were middle-class women, for the kind of work in which women like Carson engaged was usually restricted to those of the 'educated class.'

<sup>7</sup>Allan Irving, Harriet Parsons and Donald Bellamy, *Neighbours: Three Social Settlements in Downtown Toronto* (Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press Inc., 1995), 24. This book examines the history of St. Christopher House, University Settlement, and Central Neighbourhood House, and it also touches on Memorial Institute and Evangelia House.

<sup>8</sup>"Young Women's Settlement: Only a Year Old, but a Bright Spot in the Densely Crowded East Side of New York," *The Commons* 3, 1(May 1898): 7. While Carson and McColl sought support for Christadora House from a wide variety of sources, according to this article in the *Commons* they ultimately drew much of their sponsorship from the students, faculty and alumnae of Mount Holyoke College.

In keeping with their YWCA orientation, Carson and McColl initially established Christadora House to cater exclusively to young women, locating their establishment in a working class district in which the population was comprised mainly of German, Italian, and especially Jewish immigrants. McColl took on the role of head resident, a position in which she was to remain for many years, while Carson acted as her assistant, apparently in addition to accepting the major responsibility for securing financial support for their enterprise. They initially launched Christadora House in a small flat behind a delicatessen with only a bed, a kitchen table and chairs, and very little money. The two women quickly increased these small holdings, largely using their YWCA and alumnae links to women's colleges, in addition to soliciting support from some members of the philanthropic community. The end result was that within four years Christadora House moved into its own five storey building. In addition the settlement employed several resident workers, including a resident physician. By 1901 Christadora's mandate had also expanded to include boys, young men, and parents as well as girls and young women in their neighbourhood.<sup>9</sup>

Carson and McColl's impressive success with Christadora House hinged, in large part, on their ability to count on the alumnae, students and faculty of elite American women's colleges for much of their funding and volunteer labour. This was not at all unusual for American settlements of this era. Indeed, the high level of involvement of American college women in settlement work became a hallmark of the American movement soon after the concept was brought to the United States from Britain in 1887.<sup>10</sup> The enthusiastic

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<sup>9</sup>"Young Women's Settlement," *The Commons* 3, 1(May 1898): 7 and Frieda E. Lippert, "Christadora House Settlement," *The Commons* 6, 64(Nov 1901): 11-12.

<sup>10</sup>John P. Rousmaniere, "Cultural Hybrid in the Slums: The College Woman and the Settlement House, 1889-1894," in *Women's Experience in America: An Historical Anthology*, eds. Esther Katz and Anita Rapone, (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Inc., 1980), 180-81. Originally published in *American Quarterly* 22, (Spring 1970): 45-66; see also Arthur C. Holden, *The*

participation of college women was an important area of difference between the American movement and its British counterpart. In Britain it was university men who had the highest profiles in settlement work, and had done so since the first institution of its kind, Toynbee Hall, was established in Whitechapel by Canon Samuel Barnett, his wife Henrietta Rowland Barnett, and a group of men from Balliol College. As its organizers explained, the purpose of this prototypical settlement house was to provide "education and the means of recreation and enjoyment for the people in the poorer districts of London and other great cities"; 'inquiry into the condition of the poor'; and consideration and advancement of plans to promote their welfare."<sup>11</sup> These aims subsequently became the declared objectives of settlements throughout the Western world, and along with the injunction that at least some settlement workers actually reside either in the house or in the neighbourhood in which their institution was located, they set settlements apart from other philanthropic enterprises. Indeed, settlements were distinctively urban institutions which were never intended to serve the needs of the destitute, nor to distribute alms, though in North America they ended up having to do both during times of great hardship. Rather, they were intended to bridge the ever-widening gap between the emerging middle class and the working poor.<sup>12</sup>

British women also established and operated settlements, but their presence was not

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*Settlement Idea* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922 repr., New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1970), 14; and Allen F. Davis, "Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1959), 3, 373, cited in Rousmaniere, note 2, p. 189.

<sup>11</sup>Standish Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and Social Reform 1880-1914: The Search for Community* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1987), 34.

<sup>12</sup>Robert H. Wiebe, in *The Search for Order 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 112, argues that the middle class, as we know it in North America, arose in the 1890s in the wake of urban-industrial development. Moreover, Michael J. Piva has demonstrated that, in Toronto at least, the 'labouring classes' were the 'poor.' See his *The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto - 1900-1921* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1979).

welcomed by the leaders of the British movement, who feared that the entry of women into the work would discourage the ablest men from becoming involved.<sup>13</sup> Partly as a result of this fear, men's and women's settlements in Britain were kept separate, unlike most of the American institutions which often housed both male and female residents. British women could volunteer in men's settlements, but they were not permitted to live in them. Furthermore, according to Martha Vicinus, British women's settlement work was "ideologically and practically distinct" from that of their male counterparts. The latter used the settlements for career advancement in other fields, such as law or politics, whereas women settlers, for whom no such opportunities existed, tended to look to settlement work as a career in itself, albeit a poorly remunerated one.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, men's settlements emphasized intellectual work such as university extension classes and discussion groups on pressing social issues - essentially, focusing on the inculcation of a belief in the superiority of 'high culture' in the male members of the working class. Women's settlements, whether or not they were staffed by graduates of women's colleges, centred on providing practical services such as day nurseries, children's after-school activities, and sewing, cooking and millinery classes for working women and for families.<sup>15</sup> Even the appearance of British men's and women's settlements was distinctive; the former often resembled Oxbridge

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<sup>13</sup>Meacham, 47; Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 218.

<sup>14</sup>Vicinus, 215; see also Meacham, 45.

<sup>15</sup>Vicinus, 215; Meacham, 46-47. See also Ellen Ross, "Good and Bad Mothers: Lady Philanthropists and London Housewives before the First World War," in Kathleen D. McCarthy, ed., *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy and Power* (New Brunswick & London: Rutgers University Press, 1990).

colleges, or English country manors, while the latter took on the aspect of urban homes.<sup>16</sup> Most American settlements, for their part, resembled more the latter than the former, and they combined the kinds of work carried out in the two types of British settlements as well.<sup>17</sup> Such was the case, certainly, for Christadora House during its early years.

Clearly then, one of the most prominent differences between American and British settlements was the prominence of women's participation in the American movement.<sup>18</sup> The majority of American women who were drawn to settlement work, however, were of a special breed, one which John P. Rousmaniere has called the "cultural hybrid." Rousmaniere describes this type of woman as a combination of the sexless, intellectual college graduate, and the true, 'accomplished' woman - "an individual with a responsibility to the union of disciplined intellect and home."<sup>19</sup> He argues that college women, and especially those who were educated at Vassar, Smith and Wellesley, were infused with a strong sense of mission. Settlements presented these 'cultural hybrids' with the opportunity to make a self-sacrificing, and therefore truly womanly, commitment to live among the dirt and squalor of an

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<sup>16</sup>Meacham, *ibid.*; Vicinus 216. This thesis is developed in Deborah E.B. Weiner, "The Architecture of Victorian Philanthropy: The Settlement House as Manorial Residence," *Art History* 13, 2(June 1990): 212-227. I am grateful to Lisa Panayotidis for pointing this reference out to me.

<sup>17</sup>Holden, *The Settlement Idea*, 36, 48-56. The differences in the appearance of men's and women's settlements may have had less to do with different approaches to the work than to the fact that women who established settlements, even with the backing of their college or parish, had fewer financial resources to draw upon than did their male counterparts. However, Diana Pedersen argues that reform-minded women were motivated by a desire to make the city more "home-like," and indeed 'hominess' was a dominant image in settlers' descriptions of their institutions, so they might have chosen this architecture in any case. See Diana L. Pedersen, "The Young Women's Christian Association in Canada, 1870-1920: 'A Movement to Meet a Spiritual, Civic and National Need" (Ph.D. diss., Carleton University, 1987), 195-96.

<sup>18</sup>Rousmaniere, 171.

<sup>19</sup>Rousmaniere, 179.

impoverished district, and to use their unique educational advantages in service to their society. Settlements were also safe places in which residents could indulge their longings for adventure by living amongst exotic people, satisfy their sense of *noblesse oblige* by sharing their gifts of education and refinement with those less privileged than themselves, and feel accepted and comfortable, despite the general hostility of their society toward educated women, in the company of their peers and in dormitory-like surroundings similar to those to which they had become accustomed while in college.<sup>20</sup> It is curious that in the midst of what most late-Victorian reformers depicted as the most perilous areas of the city, this group of women moved about with perfect equanimity, unimpeded, it seems, either by menacing locals or by alarmed peers.<sup>21</sup> Apparently the intellectual training and character development believed to be bestowed by higher education and class position were sufficient safeguards against local dangers. In any event, by the turn of the century settlement work had become a common and accepted form of social service for American college women. Indeed, the popularity of the movement led some students to agitate for college-level courses on settlement work, sociology, and sanitary science, a turn of events which emphasizes that settlement work was rapidly becoming a practical career alternative for these women.<sup>22</sup>

## II

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<sup>20</sup>Rousmaniere, *passim*. Vicinus argues that among British women settlers "[t]he idea of a residential home amid the people one worked with especially appealed to those who had gone to boarding school or college." She maintains that since corporate living had benefitted them, they wanted to promote this manner of living among others. See *Independent Women*, 213.

<sup>21</sup>Vicinus notes that settlement workers had even greater freedom of movement than did teachers, nurses, or missionaries. See *Independent Women*, 220.

<sup>22</sup>Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 27, 76, 127. See also Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 119. We will examine further the professionalization of settlement work in Chapter Seven.

A distinguishing characteristic of Christadora was its unabashedly Christian orientation. Right from the beginning Carson and McColl offered Bible study classes and devotional meetings along with self-governing clubs, classes and recreational activities of various kinds. Despite the dominant perception that American settlements were non-sectarian, and indeed had to be in order to be effective among immigrants with non-Protestant backgrounds, Christadora's stance was in fact not unusual. Writing in 1911 in their *Handbook of Settlements* Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy noted that

The typical settlement, under American conditions, is one which provides neutral territory traversing all lines of racial and religious cleavage. The house which is wholly unsectarian not only from the point of view of its staff, but as judged by the various elements in its neighborhood, represents the main action of the kind of social enterprise here set forth. Nevertheless, it is clear that there is a considerable number of houses having a high degree of the settlement spirit while including some of the functions distinctive of a particular smaller or larger division of the church. Where such specific religious effort is conducted without willing or conscious invasion of other religious loyalties, it has not been construed as carrying the house in question beyond the distinctive limits of the settlement field.<sup>23</sup>

In other words, a settlement could maintain a religious stance and still be a settlement. What set it apart from a mission was that its workers extended "specific religious effort . . . without willing or conscious invasion of other religious loyalties." Ruth Crocker has argued that, unlike the most prominent American settlements such as Hull-House or the Henry St. Settlement, in the less celebrated 'second-tier' institutions which comprised the bulk of the movement, religion played a much greater role than historians have previously recognized. She notes that "religious faith was an important motive for many settlement workers," that institutional churches often sponsored settlements, and that indeed some settlements which

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<sup>23</sup>Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy, eds., *Handbook of Settlements* (Philadelphia: Wm. F. Fell Co., 1911; repr., New York: Arno Press, 1970), v.

began as secular institutions were forced by lack of funding to seek religious affiliation.<sup>24</sup>

Many of the British settlements were also linked to religious organizations, despite the non-sectarian commitment of their progenitor, Toynbee Hall, which was itself initially associated with the Anglican church.<sup>25</sup> As we shall see in Chapter Four, religion was an important element shaping the Canadian settlement movement as well.

Christadora offered an astonishing number of educational and recreational activities, including classes in arithmetic, English, stenography, carpentry, sewing and music, as well as athletic, dramatic, literary, musical and social clubs for various age levels.<sup>26</sup> By 1935 the settlement's music school had developed a considerable reputation.<sup>27</sup> In addition to classes and special interest clubs Christadora provided entertainments, lectures, concerts, plays and picnics, and offered, in cooperation with Fresh Air agencies, summer vacations in the country at Northover Camp. The settlement also had a library, a penny provident bank, and a children's play room. All participants, from the youngest to the oldest, were organized into small groups under volunteer leaders, many of whom were graduates or students from women's colleges. As noted above, Mount Holyoke College in particular developed a close

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<sup>24</sup>Ruth Hutchinson Crocker, *Social Work and Social Order: The Settlement Movement in Two Industrial Cities, 1889-1930* (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 211-212.

<sup>25</sup>Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 79; Martha Vicinus, too, found that all the British women's settlements which she studied were linked with some institution such as a church or a school. See *Independent Women*, 223.

<sup>26</sup>Hull-House, the best known North American settlement house, had even more extensive offerings than did Christadora. For an annotated listing of these see the appendix of a collection of essays by the residents of Hull-House, *Hull-House Maps and Papers: A Presentation of Nationalities and Wages in a Congested District of Chicago, Together With Comments and Essays on Problems Growing Out of the Social Conditions* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1895; repr., New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1970).

<sup>27</sup>Albert J. Kennedy, Kathryn Farra, and Associates, *Social Settlements in New York City: Their Activities, Policies, and Administration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935), 242-44 and 252-56.

relationship with Christadora early on in the settlement's history; the college contributed a number of student volunteers and residents in addition to providing financial support. By 1911 the settlement boasted 10 female and 7 male full-time residents and volunteers whom, it was reported, Christina McColl had herself trained in practical social work methods.<sup>28</sup>

Carson and McColl encouraged Christadora's growing staff and volunteer corps to pay particular attention to developing close personal relationships between themselves and the members of the groups they led. Above all they sought to create an ideal middle class home-like atmosphere in the midst of what many perceived to be the overcrowded disorder of the slums. Frieda E. Lippert, Christadora's resident physician in 1901, claimed in an article in *The Commons* that until Christadora existed

the dance hall, the saloon and the street corner, were the only rendezvous for the boys and girls, young men and young women of an immense tenement population. Now, these young people not only spend their own evenings in the homelike rooms of Christadora House but others in their families, their mothers and fathers are easily persuaded to spend their otherwise prosaic moments in the new atmosphere of an evening 'At Home' with their friends, the residents and workers of the settlement.<sup>29</sup>

The strongest social bonds, Lippert maintained, were those created between Christadora's workers and the mothers and children of the neighbourhood, as the latter sought and received practical assistance. Through these means "many a hardworking sales-girl and factory worker, may continue her interrupted studies, or may fit herself for other lines of business," while overburdened mothers could help provide for the immediate needs of their children and themselves.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>Woods and Kennedy, 235-36; "Young Women's Settlement," 7; Lippert, "Christadora House Settlement," 11.

<sup>29</sup>Lippert, 11.

<sup>30</sup>Lippert, 11-12.

This emphasis, again, was typical of the settlement ethos, which sought to 'reconnect' the working and middle classes. Standish Meacham argues that this was the purpose not only of the settlements, but of all social reform undertaken in late-Victorian Britain.<sup>31</sup> In part the aim of reconnection arose from the growing fear of class conflict, and the related desire, on the part of members of the reform community, "to be able to move throughout society without ever feeling oneself in an alien world."<sup>32</sup> Meacham maintains that late nineteenth century social reformers "understood it as their particular mission to destroy the walls that class had erected and then to bring to all within the nation a culture from which they might equally profit."<sup>33</sup> Barnett and his followers at Toynbee Hall expressed the conviction that individual contact between rich and poor was essential to this mission, and that connections could best be made through the "machinery" of "classes, clubs, organizations and projects." Thus, even though other philanthropic organizations offered clubs and classes similar to the ones being offered at the settlements, Barnett argued in the case of Toynbee Hall that the purpose was not merely to educate, but also to recreate these essential links.<sup>34</sup>

Settlement organizers considered reconnecting the classes to be essential for reasons other than fear of class conflict, pressing as that fear might have been. As Jane Addams noted in 1892 of Hull-House, "[i]t was opened on the theory that the *dependence* of classes on each other is reciprocal."<sup>35</sup> She argued:

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<sup>31</sup>Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 4.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 10.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 50-53.

<sup>35</sup>Jane Addams, "The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements," in Jane Addams, *On Education* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1994), 49. Originally published as "A New Impulse to an Old Gospel," *Forum* 14 (1892): 342-356. Italics mine.

that if in a democratic country nothing can be permanently achieved save through the masses of the people, it will be impossible to establish a higher political life than the people themselves crave; that it is difficult to see how the notion of a higher civic life can be fostered save through common intercourse; that the blessings which we associate with a life of refinement and cultivation can be made universal and must be made universal if they are to be permanent; that the good we secure for ourselves is precarious and uncertain, is floating in mid-air, until it is secured for all of us and incorporated into our common life.<sup>36</sup>

Moreover, she went on,

The impulse to share the lives of the poor, the desire to make social service, irrespective of propaganda, express the spirit of Christ, is as old as Christianity itself . . . . That Christianity has to be revealed and embodied in the line of social progress is a corollary to the simple proposition that man's action is found in his social relationships in the way in which he connects with his fellows, that his motives for action are the zeal and affection with which he regards his fellows.<sup>37</sup>

Addams' reflections illustrate that settlement work was based on the conviction that the working classes *needed* those with social and educational advantages to help them create a sense of fellowship, local tradition, and public spirit, and to stimulate their desire for "higher social pleasure." For their part, those in the educated and leisured classes, and especially young people, *needed* to participate in solving the problems of the working classes in order to preserve their own "moral and physical health" as well as that of their nation.<sup>38</sup> In subsequent addresses Addams promoted settlement work as a means for middle class young people to resist the debilitating effects of what many of her contemporaries termed "neurasthenia," a neurotic paralysis of the will to which young women in particular were thought susceptible. She also acknowledged that residency at a settlement house often did

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<sup>36</sup>Addams, 53.

<sup>37</sup>Addams, 59.

<sup>38</sup>Addams, 52.

more for the settlers than it did for those they meant to help.<sup>39</sup>

The efforts of settlement workers may not have been as welcomed by the residents of their neighbourhoods as it might appear from the writings of the settlers. Mina Carson has recently pointed out that working class community members had little time to sustain neighbourhood initiatives, and in addition, most settlers were reluctant "to allow neighbourhood leaders to assert different priorities and sometimes different values."<sup>40</sup> Moreover, settlers tended to view expressions of popular culture, such as vaudeville theatre, dancing, and later, moving picture shows, as lewd and destructive, although many American settlements soon accepted, cautiously, the popularity of dancing and began to organize their own, chaperoned dances.<sup>41</sup> In Britain, Meacham argues, Barnett and his followers maintained a belief in "a hierarchy of cultural values and in the necessity for a disinterested elite to instill that hierarchy into the minds of working class men and women by instilling it into their habits."<sup>42</sup> Settlers were convinced that working class cultural institutions "kept the

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<sup>39</sup>See Jane Addams, "The College Woman and the Family Claim," *The Commons*, 3, 1(May 1898): 3-7; and *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (New York: Macmillan, 1910). See also T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 28, 50-51, 80. Lears notes that neurasthenia was the much-discussed disease of the age. Most believed it to be a product of "overcivilization," an enervation of body and spirit - a feeling of helplessness, essentially - which afflicted middle-class youth in particular. It was thought to result from too much urban comfort and leisure and too little connection to the harsh realities of hard physical labour. Lears argues that women like Jane Addams thus embraced settlement work as a means to revitalize both their own lives and the lives of the labouring poor.

<sup>40</sup>Carson, *Settlement Folk*, 85.

<sup>41</sup>Carson, *Settlement Folk*, 114-15. See also Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 181.

<sup>42</sup>Meacham, 39.

poor from a discovery of their best selves."<sup>43</sup> Barnett himself, Meacham says, did not recognize that slum-dwellers had a culture of their own and that "hierarchy often all but obliterated . . . connection."<sup>44</sup> In addition, the tendency, common among middle class reformers, to judge working class people as inadequate simply on the basis of their poverty had to have made mutual understanding and sympathy difficult to sustain.<sup>45</sup> Alice Chown's recollections of settlement work in New York in 1906 illustrate this point well:

The average settlement worker salves her conscience with a great deal of talk about sharing the life of the poor. She rarely has any real conception of unity with them[,] patronizing them only less in degree than the Lady Bountiful of the past, for whose gifts she substitutes diversions, to drug the people, to keep them pacified, while their Rome is burning. They need no opiates, they need stimulants. They need to be aroused to combat unequal conditions. . . . As I have visited other settlements and felt the spirit of patronage, the consciousness of 'I am holier than thou,' I have learned that settlements are just one step in advance of organized charities. They are still putting their faith in institutions and organizations. They are deluding themselves when they talk of being democratic, of sharing the life of the people. To live in every comfort, even luxury, is not to share.<sup>46</sup>

Reconnection, then, may have been the ideal, but for many settlement workers it appears that what it meant was not the development of truly reciprocal understanding, but the re-establishment of harmonious relations between the classes which many middle class Victorians believed had obtained in their agrarian past.<sup>47</sup> Yet it is important to recollect here that even

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<sup>43</sup>Meacham, 60.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>This attitude has been well documented by recent historians in both Britain and the United States. For two excellent discussions, see Ellen Ross, "Good and Bad Mothers," and Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence, Boston 1880-1960* (New York: Penguin Books, 1988).

<sup>46</sup>Alice A. Chown, *The Stairway* (Boston: The Cornhill Co., 1921; repr., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 25-26.

<sup>47</sup>For further discussion of this persistent belief in a mythic agrarian harmony, see Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (London: Virago Press, 1973).

Alice Chown found exceptions to the rule with regard to the behaviours and attitudes of the settlers.<sup>48</sup> In addition, imperfect as these institutions may have been, most of them did attract local residents in large numbers, so something of what settlements had to offer must have been useful to their neighbours, even if it was not perhaps what the settlers intended it to be. Moreover, Alice Chown's call to arouse "the people" to "combat unequal conditions" could be considered to be almost as condescending as settlement workers' attempts to ameliorate working class living and working conditions, for it implied that without an outside stimulus "the people" would not act on their own.

### III

Whatever the attitudes and opinions of the residents and clientele of Christadora House, by 1901, with the settlement firmly established, Carson returned to YWCA work, this time in the Canadian field. She was invited to Toronto at the end of January 1901 for another two week set of evangelical meetings, again at the invitation of the Toronto YWCA.<sup>49</sup> Mrs. Harris, of the Y's Evangelistic Committee, later reported that Carson's visit had had a helpful influence, and she anticipated that the latter's "personal contact with the girls" would bring many "good effects." Indeed, the executive of the Toronto YWCA was so pleased with the outcome of Carson's work that they decided to send her on an expense-paid tour of the YWCAs throughout the province "as she is very helpful in organizing and starting new work."<sup>50</sup> This arrangement was formalized in September 1901 when Carson was appointed City Department Secretary by the fledgling Dominion Council of YWCAs of Canada, to work with the various city associations of the YWCA which were scattered throughout central

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<sup>48</sup>Chown, 25.

<sup>49</sup>PAO, YWCA Minutes, Dec. 6, 1900.

<sup>50</sup>PAO, YWCA Minutes, April 4, 1901.

Ontario.<sup>51</sup> Her job, and that of her colleague Susan Little, the Travelling Secretary (later Field Worker) for the newly organized Student Department, was to work "personally" with young women, to organize Bible classes and promote something called the "Morning Watch," (a morning devotional exercise, apparently), and to devote herself to "the more technical details of programme committee and finance work."<sup>52</sup>

By early 1902, almost certainly with Carson's encouragement, the Dominion Y had become sufficiently inspired by the settlement idea to cooperate in creating the Young Women's Settlement, later called Evangelia, in a storefront building at 716 Queen St. East, located in an Anglo-Canadian working class district close to the Don River.<sup>53</sup> From March to October 1902, however, Evangelia not only served as a recreational and educational centre for young working women and girls, but also as the national headquarters for the Dominion

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<sup>51</sup>National Council of the Y.W.C.A. in Canada, *The Story of the Y.W.C.A. in Canada: National Work 1893-1933* (pamphlet), (Toronto: Bryant Press Ltd., 1933), 7, discusses the organization of the Dominion Council, and its close association with the Toronto YWCA executive. See also Mary Quayle Innis, *Unfold the Years: A History of the Young Women's Christian Association in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1949), 64. A visit from Carson is noted in the March 13, 1902 minutes of the Victoria College YWCA. See United Church Archives (UCA), 90.135V, YWCA Minutes, March 13, 1902.

<sup>52</sup>*The Story of the YWCA*, 7.

<sup>53</sup>PAO, MU 3518, Box 2, Toronto YWCA Minutes, April 3, 1902. Innis and the 1933 pamphlet on the history of the Dominion YWCA report that Carson was employed by the Toronto city branch of the YWCA in 1901 and 1902. The *Dominion Tie* and the minutes of the Toronto Y, however, indicate that she was employed by the Dominion Y. Part of the confusion results from the close association between the executives of the two associations; many of the members of the Dominion executive had been, or continued to be, members of the Toronto executive as well. In addition, the Toronto Y did continue to pay Carson's bills until at least May of 1902. See Toronto YWCA Minutes, April 3, 1902 and May 19, 1902; see also *Dominion Tie* 1, 7 (September 1902): inside cover; and UCA, 90.135V, YWCA Minutes, March 13, 1902, in which Carson is mentioned as having spoken "very impressively and earnestly on YWCA work with especial reference to university extension and settlement work." For further discussion of the relationship between the executives of the Toronto and the Dominion YWCAs see Diana L. Pedersen, "The Young Women's Christian Association in Canada, 1870-1920: 'A Movement to Meet a Spiritual, Civic and National Need'" (Ph.D. diss, Carleton University, 1987).

Y, and as a training school for Canadian YWCA secretaries.<sup>54</sup> This combination of functions may have caused some friction, for in October the Dominion Council moved its office from Evangelia's premises to Mrs. Harris's home, ostensibly because "a more central situation was needed for National offices."<sup>55</sup> According to Allan Irving, Harriet Parsons and Donald Bellamy, the real reason for the move was that Carson and the Dominion executive clashed fairly soon after the institution's establishment over control of the settlement.<sup>56</sup> Carson and Evangelia both continued to be associated with the YWCA until 1904; nonetheless, around the same time that the national office moved Carson left her position as City Department Secretary and took up her work at Evangelia full-time.<sup>57</sup>

It is important to note that Evangelia House was created at a time when interest in settlements was growing among a number of groups in Toronto.<sup>58</sup> This was particularly evident among university students in the city. For example, in 1897 a short, unsigned article appeared in *Acta Victoriana* which stated that settlements were a recent innovation in

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<sup>54</sup>PAO, MU 3518, Box 2, Toronto YWCA Minutes, April 3, 1902; *Dominion Tie* 1, 7(Sept 1902): inside cover, advertises Evangelia as 'the Young Women's Settlement and Secretarial Training School,' and gives the same address for it as for the Dominion Council headquarters.

<sup>55</sup>"The Story of the YWCA in Canada," 9.

<sup>56</sup>Irving, Parsons and Bellamy, 27.

<sup>57</sup>*Dominion Tie* 2, 12(Dec 1903): 287. I have not been able to uncover any direct evidence corroborating an outright clash between Carson and Harris, although it is possible to draw this inference from the withdrawal of the National headquarters from Evangelia's premises in October of 1902, in combination with Carson's concurrent withdrawal from YWCA work. It is also possible, however, that the National executive *did* require offices in a more central location than in a poorly serviced working-class district east of the Don River, and it is also possible that Carson found her duties at Evangelia to be too demanding to allow her to continue as a YWCA secretary. See "The Story of the YWCA in Canada," 7-9; Innis, 64.

<sup>58</sup>Irving, Parsons and Bellamy note that Kelso was much impressed with Hull-House when he visited it while he was in Chicago for the 1893 World's Fair. They also report that Jane Addams came to speak about Hull-House to a Toronto audience in 1895. See *Neighbours*, 18.

American college circles, and noted that they were "situated frequently in the very slums of the city" having as their object "to carry intellectual culture and the influences of social refinement to the poorer classes," a goal for which the author of the article expressed some sympathy.<sup>59</sup> A few years later Alice Chown described the movement more fully for *Acta Victoriana* readers, ending with a warning that "[t]he great danger of to-day is that people shall imitate the form and neglect the spirit which prompted it. Especially is this our danger in Canada . . . . What we need in Canada is the social spirit that will lead men and women of culture to co-operate with the people in establishing People's Institutes . . . for we need more hunger after beauty and right living, not by the masses alone, but by the classes as well."<sup>60</sup>

Despite Chown's caution, by the turn of the century a number of women's organizations and student groups were actively investigating the possibility of establishing their own settlements. For example, in June 1900 the Alumnae Association of the University of Toronto reported that it had been asked by the Local Council of Women (LCW) to send representatives to a sub-committee which had been appointed to gather information on "settlement work undertaken in large cities for factory girls."<sup>61</sup> At the January 1901 annual meeting of the Local Council of Women of Toronto this interest resulted in a resolution being passed declaring that as

the need exists for many young girls engaged in industrial pursuits, who are not living in their own homes, of some place where they may spend their evenings, comfortably and happily under desirable conditions, do heartily endorse the formation of a Club for workers, and the procuring of suitable

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<sup>59</sup>"University Settlement Movement," *Acta Victoriana* 21, 1(Oct 1897): 4-5.

<sup>60</sup>Alice A. Chown, "The Social Settlement," *Acta Victoriana* 23, 3(Dec 1899): 208-212.

<sup>61</sup>University of Toronto Archives (UTA), A69-0011/014, Alumnae Association Executive Minutes, June 2, 1900.

workers for the same.<sup>62</sup>

A year later the Alumnae Association noted that the LCW's club for factory girls had failed so far, "not from lack of funds or rooms but because the girls could not be induced to come," a situation which demonstrated to them "[t]he need of some one woman to give up her life to the work."<sup>63</sup>

The LCW's loss of interest in work of this kind did not preclude the Alumnae Association's independent investigation of the subject. At their annual meeting in 1901 Miss Curzon gave an address on the history and leading principles of university settlement work, and in the discussion which followed someone, upon hearing that free dispensaries were often connected with settlements, suggested that "perhaps the Women's Medical College might join with us when more information could be obtained, if it should be found possible to undertake any work of this sort."<sup>64</sup> The Association took no immediate action; members of the University Women's Club, formed in 1903, also expressed great interest in the potential development of settlement work, however.<sup>65</sup> Ultimately, neither of these proposals was acted upon, but the subject resurfaced from time to time in the minutes of both organizations, partly

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<sup>62</sup>Local Council of Women of Toronto, *Seventh Annual Report*, (January 1901), 9.

<sup>63</sup>UTA, A69-0011/014, Alumnae Association Annual Meeting Minutes, March 31, 1902. The YWCA was not affiliated with the Council of Women at either the national or the local level, although it was invited to join on several occasions, and a number of its members were also Council members. See PAO, MU 3518, Box 2, Toronto YWCA Minutes, February 1, 1906, and May 1906. See also Gail Cuthbert Brandt, "Organizations in Canada: The English Protestant Tradition," in Paula Bourne, ed., *Women's Paid and Unpaid Work*, 85. Kathy Peiss notes that clubs for working girls which were established by middle-class women reformers often failed to attract their intended clientele due to the working girls' "shared aversion to middle-class patronage" and their preference for the excitement of the streets over the "didactic lessons" in household management which were often the principal offerings of the clubs. See Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*, 171-178.

<sup>64</sup>UTA, A69-0011/014, Alumnae Association Annual Minutes, April 21, 1901, 9.

<sup>65</sup>University Women's Club Archives, Minutes, volume I, April 24 and November 27, 1903.

due to their ongoing search for vocational opportunities, beyond teaching, for female graduates,<sup>66</sup> and perhaps also because of the chronic shortage of respectable, inexpensive housing for single, middle class working women.<sup>67</sup> As we saw earlier, residence in settlement houses was one solution to which many graduates of American women's colleges, in search of both congenial accommodations and meaningful work, had turned, and for that reason it may well have appealed to some Canadian alumnae as well.<sup>68</sup> They lacked the support either of their alma maters or of wealthy benefactors, however, in addition to the sheer numbers necessary for the formation of a vibrant, independent movement of college women. Consequently, the possibilities for establishing settlements were unquestionably restricted for Canadian university women. Evangelia House for a time provided the only means for these women to participate in the settlement movement.

The Toronto YWCA, which was separate from the Dominion Council although it shared many of the latter's Board members, was so inspired by the creation of Evangelia that on June 5, 1902 it decided to establish its own settlement house near the district most often referred to as "The Ward." The Toronto executive judged that, in view of the "great need of such work . . . among the shiftless and untaught class of young girls" who resided in the

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<sup>66</sup>See, for example, UTA, A69-0011/014, Alumnae Association Minutes, March 31, 1902, and April 5, 1907.

<sup>67</sup>UTA, A69-0011/014, Alumnae Association Annual Minutes, March 31, 1902, April 17, 1903, and April 5, 1907.

<sup>68</sup>In an article entitled "The University Women's Club, and University Residences for Women" which appeared in the *University of Toronto Monthly* 5, 6(March 1905): 138-143, Helen MacMurphy discussed, among other things, the subjects which the Club members had addressed in their meetings, including "the question of settlement work in Toronto." While she does not directly link this discussion with the subject of university residences for women, she does mention that two Club members are residents at Evangelia, and many more are non-residential volunteers there, and then she goes on to describe women's university residences in terms similar to those which were used to describe settlement houses - as home-like, largely self-governing communities whose ultimate object was "to promote a higher standard of every-day life."

vicinity of Richmond and Adelaide streets, such an institution was especially required in the area.<sup>69</sup> A committee was struck to look into the matter, and a week later it reported that it was attempting to secure suitable rooms on Terauley St. and was hoping to engage a Miss Hilchen as head worker. Unfortunately, here the settlement committee ran into a major obstacle, for Miss Hilchen declined to take up the appointment for the \$25 monthly salary being offered, and the committee members could propose no other qualified candidate.<sup>70</sup> The committee persisted in its efforts, however. It sought, unsuccessfully, a meeting with Mary Bell and her colleagues at Evangelia over the summer, as well as Miss Hilchen's reconsideration of the original offer. Finally, in October of 1902, the committee members decided to "commence work among the young girls in the neighbourhood with the means we have already at hand. Namely to use the cooking equipments [sic] we have to teach plain cleanly cooking and to have sewing classes in our own building here." The committee also decided to use volunteers from the YWCA board as instructors.<sup>71</sup> In November this venture was formally organized as the Girls' Industrial Club, in which guise it was to continue for a number of years.<sup>72</sup>

#### IV

Progressive-style social reforms were not solely the reserve of women in groups like

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<sup>69</sup>PAO, Toronto YWCA Minutes, June 5, 1902.

<sup>70</sup>PAO, Toronto YWCA Minutes, June 12, 1902 and July [?] 1902. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any further information about Miss Hilchen, what her first name was, where she was from, or her antecedents.

<sup>71</sup>PAO, MU 3518, Box 2, Toronto YWCA Minutes, October 2, 1902. They were, eventually, able to find a woman to take charge of the work. See Toronto YWCA Minutes, Feb 4, 1904. For information regarding the progress of this venture see the minutes for Nov 3, 1904; Jan 1905; Sept 7, 1905 and Oct 5, 1905.

<sup>72</sup>PAO, Toronto YWCA Minutes, November 1902. See also *ibid.*, October 5, 1905.

the YWCA and the Toronto Local Council of Women. The exploration of innovative approaches to the problems of the poor occupied the attention and energies of many Toronto residents in the late 1890s and early 1900s. Indeed, in the 1890s a number of missions and other charitable institutions in the city incorporated into their programs services which many later came to identify with settlement work. Perhaps the best known of these establishments is the Fred Victor Mission, which opened in 1886 as a Sunday School Mission but had, by 1891, expanded its offerings to include "night school, gymnasium instruction, kindergarten classes, mothers' meetings, kitchen garden, sewing and cooking classes" in addition to the more predictable gospel services, temperance meetings and sabbath school.<sup>73</sup> When the Masseys donated the building at Jarvis and Queen in 1894 the mission's contributions expanded to include sleeping quarters for 226 men, a savings bank, employment bureau, baby shelter, and workrooms.<sup>74</sup> At the Mission Union Hall, another prominent institution in turn of the century Toronto, children were a special concern. Like the Fred Victor Mission, the Mission Union was also established in 1886; its offerings included free meals, religious services, sewing and savings clubs, and mothers' meetings, but in addition the mission ran a 'ragged school' for children too poor even to attend public school, as well as a kindergarten and a day nursery. J.M. Pitsula reports that by 1888 there were 1640 children in the nursery and 229 receiving industrial training and instruction in basic literacy skills in the school. By 1894 the Mission Union was operating homes for the Aged Poor, a nursing-at-home mission and a free dispensary.<sup>75</sup> The St. Andrew's Institute (1890), which grew out of the Dorset Mission (1870), also offered recreational facilities, a night school, and a penny savings bank,

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<sup>73</sup>Pitsula, 67.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., 67-70.

as well as Sunday School services and Bible classes.<sup>76</sup> Furthermore, specialized agencies such as the East End Day Nursery and the Women's Medical College's free dispensary also extended one or more settlement-like services to Toronto's working poor.<sup>77</sup>

Night schools, creches, free medical dispensaries, penny savings banks, mothers' meetings, gymnasium instruction, clubs for girls and boys - by the turn of the century a flourishing international network of social reformers had introduced these services, and others like them, to social agencies throughout the north-Atlantic triangle.<sup>78</sup> The links between the Canadian and American reform communities were particularly strong;<sup>79</sup> indeed, Diana Pedersen notes with regard to the development of the Canadian YWCAs that while British immigrants exerted a significant influence, Canadians tended to receive their introduction to the principles and practices of this and other innovations in the field of social welfare through their American cousins.<sup>80</sup> Canadians had been visiting and incorporating ideas from model American institutions (prisons, asylums and schools) since the mid 1830s,<sup>81</sup> but the strongest

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<sup>76</sup>Irving, Parsons and Bellamy, 12-13.

<sup>77</sup>City of Toronto Archives (CTA), finding aid for the East End Day Nursery; Lykke De La Coeur and Rose Sheinin, "The Ontario Medical College for Women, 1883-1906: Lesson from Gender-Separatism in Medical Education," *Canadian Women's Studies/les cahiers de la femme* 7, 3(Fall 1986): 73-77.

<sup>78</sup>Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, "Womanly Duties: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, 1880-1920," *American Historical Review* 95, 4(Oct 1990): 1076-1108.

<sup>79</sup>Tamara Hareven, "An Ambiguous Alliance: Some Aspects of American Influences on Canadian Social Welfare," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* I, 3(April 1969): 82-98. Despite some glaring errors of fact with regard to Evangelia's history, this article does demonstrate some important linkages between American and Canadian reformers.

<sup>80</sup>Pedersen, "The Young Women's Christian Association," 66.

<sup>81</sup>In 1835, for example, the Upper Canadian House of Assembly appointed a three man commission, headed by Charles Duncombe, to tour a variety of American educational institutions, such as prisons, asylums, penitentiaries and public schools, in order to determine the best means

bonds between reformers in the two countries were initiated in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, as Canadians began to join powerful American reform organizations such as the National Conference of Charities and Corrections (NCCC), and as they helped to create associations such as the Pan-American Congress on Education and Religion.<sup>82</sup> In the case of the NCCC, the Canadian presence in that organization became so visible that the annual conference of 1897 was held in Toronto.<sup>83</sup>

The importance to Toronto of the 1897 NCCC conference should not be underestimated. Middle class concern over problems like poverty and labour unrest had been growing in the city over the preceding decade,<sup>84</sup> and the presence of 500 delegates from across the continent, many of them among the most prestigious figures in the field of

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to organize and manage the Upper Canadian educational system. See Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871* (London, Ont.: Althouse Press, 1988), 25-30.

<sup>82</sup>It was through the auspices of the latter organization that Jane Addams visited Toronto in 1895 to deliver an address on Hull-House, and subsequently interested the young William Lyon Mackenzie King in settlement work. See "Pan-Americans: Opening of the Congress on Religion and Education," *The Globe*, July 22, 1895: 2; See also Irving, Parsons and Bellamy, 18.

<sup>83</sup>National Conference of Charities and Corrections, *1897 Proceedings* (Boston: Geo. H. Ellis, 1898). In his presidential address to the NCCC for 1897 Alexander Johnson asserted that the only real separation between Canadians and Americans was the border - that the two countries share the same origins and culture, and were faced with the same problems. See pp. 1-2.

<sup>84</sup>See, for example "Fun and Fervour - Amusement at the Social Problems Conference - 10 acre farms as a Panacea for Labour Troubles," *Daily Mail and Empire*, Feb. 22, 1897: 7. The reporter notes that meetings of this conference were held weekly, and were becoming so popular that a larger hall was being sought for them. The Forum Building was secured for the next meeting, at which James Mavor gave an address on social economics. In this address Mavor argued that social problems were far too complex to be solved by a single reform, such as the single tax or other proposals like it. His position was hotly debated by members of the audience in the discussion period which followed. See "Social Economics - Professor Mavor on the Solution of Modern Problems," *Daily Mail and Empire*, March 1, 1897: 6.

American social reform,<sup>85</sup> helped to crystallize this concern into action on various fronts. One immediate result of this conference occurred on July 13, the second to last day of the week-long conference, when a group of Canadian participants got together to form the Canadian Conference of Charities and Corrections (CCCC).<sup>86</sup> This organization was intended to be a corollary of its American parent; however, despite the growing efficiency of Canadian communication and transportation routes, and the increasing interest in social reform in centres like Vancouver, Winnipeg and Halifax,<sup>87</sup> during its first decade CCCC members were drawn almost exclusively from Ontario, and the majority were located in or near Toronto.<sup>88</sup> Like its American counterpart, members of the CCCC were often leading figures in law enforcement, corrections, philanthropy and the church. In addition, the founders of the Canadian organization made a concerted effort to enlist participants from women's voluntary groups such as the Local Council of Women - an acknowledgement of their importance in the

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<sup>85</sup>The *Daily Mail and Empire*, July 7, 1897: 8, remarked that this conference was one of the most important to be held in Toronto that summer, noting that the NCCC was widely influential - indeed, that most charitable and correctional institutions in Canada, the United States and Mexico were governed by the advice of this body.

<sup>86</sup>*Daily Mail and Empire*, July 14, 1897: 8.

<sup>87</sup>Paul Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880-1920," Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers*, 1971, 203-224. See also J.M.S. Careless, *Toronto to 1918: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co. and National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, 1984), 149-155.

<sup>88</sup>In his presidential address to the CCCC for 1900 Dr. W.L. Herriman noted that the organization had been formed as a result of the NCCC meeting held in Toronto in 1897, and remarked that so far they had only been able to draw delegates from Ontario. This was, in fact, not completely true; while the vast majority of participants were from southern Ontario, there were a number of visitors from the United States mentioned in the *Proceedings*, some of whom gave addresses to the conference. In addition, Mr. F.H. McLean, Secretary of the Montreal Association, was also a member of the CCCC, and spoke at the 1900 conference. There was concern, however, over the underrepresentation of the other provinces, and a strong desire to make the CCCC a truly national conference. Canadian Conference of Charities and Corrections, *Proceedings, September 27-28, 1900* (n.p. [Toronto]: n.d. [1900]), 4.

reform community.<sup>89</sup>

Many issues were discussed at the NCCC meeting in Toronto which subsequently became important topics of discussion at CCCC meetings. These included prison reform, the creation and management of juvenile reformatories, child rescue, charity organization, outdoor relief, and policy-making with regard to the treatment of tramps, epileptics, the insane, orphans and dependent children, and the 'feeble-minded.'<sup>90</sup> According to both press reports and the *Proceedings*, one session which excited great interest from the audience was the one at which Jane Addams spoke - her first time before the NCCC - on settlement work. The reporter for the *Daily Mail and Empire* commented that "Miss Addams' remarks were about as lucid and most fraught with sound common sense as any that have been heard at this conference" and that she and her colleague from Cambridge Mass., Robert E. Ely, "were almost besieged by a fusillade of questions on the management of their institutions."<sup>91</sup>

The proceedings of both the CCCC and the NCCC in the following decade or so indicate that proponents of the settlement movement began to gain some standing in these bodies. The explanations for poverty which the majority of NCCC and CCCC members espoused, however, and the strategies they most often adopted for dealing with the poor,

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<sup>89</sup>PAO, Local and Area Council of Women Papers, F805, 10-1-10, Press Releases, *Globe*, Nov. 5, 1898, notes that the Local Council of Women appointed delegates to the upcoming conference of charities and corrections. See also the *Proceedings* of the CCCC meetings for 1900-1908, which indicate that a number of representatives from women's groups were active participants. As Diana Pedersen has pointed out, however, most studies of Progressive reform have ignored the differences in the objectives of male and female reformers; the former, she argues, aimed for efficiency, while the latter sought to make the city a safer, more homelike environment. See Pedersen, "The Young Women's Christian Association," 195-96. Thus the fact that men and women joined the CCCC did not necessarily mean they were there for the same reasons.

<sup>90</sup>NCCC, *1897 Proceedings*, v-vii.

<sup>91</sup>*Daily Mail and Empire*, July 14, 1897: 8.

continued the nineteenth century pattern of focusing on the correction of errant individuals.<sup>92</sup>

Joey Noble argues that this behaviour is perfectly understandable, given the circumstances.

She notes that nineteenth century friendly visitors, for example, "were witnessing life circumstances very different from their own and these differences could only be rendered comprehensible as 'disorganization', 'demoralization' or some other variety of deficiency."<sup>93</sup>

As the settlement approach gained celebrity, particularly in the United States through the early 1900s, an ever-widening circle of welfare activists began to seek, at the larger societal level, explanations for, and solutions to, social unrest, crime, child neglect and 'degeneracy.' This sometimes resulted in the passage of legislation intended to protect the vulnerable from exploitation. For the most part, however, explanations for poverty and crime remained focused on individual failings. This is evident even when the speakers acknowledged the external circumstances, such as unequal access to the justice system, or illness, or unemployment due to cyclical downturns in the market, which might lead to poverty and crime. Rev. D.D. McLeod, for example, reported to the CCCC in 1900 that while industrious families might still need the help of the state due to insufficient wages, the illness or death of the major breadwinner, or unexpected unemployment, people who had been taught the habits of diligence would avoid requiring help because they knew that if they worked hard enough they could escape their poverty.<sup>94</sup> In his presidential address to the NCCC in 1897, Alexander Johnson maintained, despite his later acknowledgment that changes in the

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<sup>92</sup>For example, in his 1900 presidential address to the CCCC, Dr. Herriman argued that while some people become poor through no fault of their own, due to sickness, accident, or old-age, in his own experience he had found that intemperance, extravagance, or laziness accounted for the majority of cases.

<sup>93</sup>Joey Noble, "Class-ifying' the Poor: Toronto Charities 1850-1880," *Studies in Political Economy* 2, (1979): 121.

<sup>94</sup>Rev. D.D. McLeod, "How to Help the Deserving Poor," CCCC, *1900 Proceedings*, 43.

marketplace had led to much unemployment among the labouring classes, that the State should institutionalize the masses of chronically poor which had emerged over the decades because they had proven themselves to be incompetent as well as dangerous to the welfare of more prosperous citizens:

The State should say to each of them: 'My child, your life has been one succession of failures. You cannot feed and clothe yourself honestly. You cannot control your appetites and passions. Left to yourself, you are not only useless, but mischievous. I have tried punishing, curing, reforming you, as the case may be; and I have failed. You are incurable, a degenerate, a being unfit for free social life.'<sup>95</sup>

Given that the individual was ultimately held responsible for his or her own poverty, building 'character,' or its corollary, avoiding pauperization among the poor, was a weighty preoccupation of most NCCC and CCCC members in these years - it permeated almost all the commentaries on philanthropic, educational, and even prison reform. For example, in her presentation to the CCCC in 1900 on the Charity Organization Society, Alice Chown spoke at length on the importance of building the characters of those receiving relief "by the education of the hands and head and heart," by investigating the origins of their problems, and by offering advice and sympathy. F.H. McLean also spoke of character building in his presentation on American settlement work at the 1901 CCCC meeting.<sup>96</sup> By 1904, however, the papers given at some sections of the NCCC reflect a growing acceptance of the notion that poor housing, low wages, unemployment, and lack of opportunities contributed to many of the problems with which American society was faced.<sup>97</sup> Indeed, Donna Franklin argues that the NCCC was beginning to shift toward an environmental explanation for poverty as early as

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<sup>95</sup>NCCC, *1897 Proceedings*, 5-6.

<sup>96</sup>CCCC, *1900 Proceedings*, 37-39; CCCC, *1901 Proceedings*, 21-25.

<sup>97</sup>See, for example, the papers given at the section on Neighborhood Improvement, NCCC, *1904 Proceedings*, 456-495.

1896, when Albert O. Wright noted in his NCCC presidential address that the 'new philanthropy' was as interested in causes and conditions as it was in symptoms and individuals.<sup>98</sup> This gradual shift toward the reinterpretation of social problems, which Jane Addams had been promoting for some time, accounts in part for her election as president of the NCCC in 1909 - the first woman to hold that office in the NCCC. This perspective, however, was eclipsed in the Conference during the interwar period, when Jane Addams, and the practice of neighbourhood organization in general, became a target of the Red Scare, and when supporters of psychiatric social work gradually gained ascendancy over the social work profession as a whole.<sup>99</sup>

It must not be assumed, from all this, that the labouring community remained passive while middle class reformers attended conferences, deliberated on protective legislation, and discussed how best to build character and avoid pauperizing relief recipients. In fact, working class neighbourhoods often developed a number of their own support systems, frequently through social and cultural organizations such as benevolent associations, neighbourhood religious groups, workingmen's clubs, and unions. Such organizations did help alleviate some of the poverty which faced almost every member of Toronto's working class. They were too small and too isolated from each other, however, to provide a truly alternative source of relief to the working class community as a whole, especially during economic downturns like the

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<sup>98</sup>Donna Franklin, "Mary Richmond and Jane Addams: From Moral Certainty to Rational Inquiry in Social Work Practice," *Social Service Review* (December 1986): 509.

<sup>99</sup>Frank J. Bruno, *Trends in Social Work, 1874-1956: A History Based on the Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957). See also Franklin, 514-518, and Penina Glazer and Miriam Slater, *Unequal Colleagues: The Entrance of Women into the Professions, 1890-1940* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1987).

one which occurred in Toronto in 1907-08.<sup>100</sup> Moreover, women were seldom permitted to participate in working class benevolent associations, except in an auxiliary capacity. This appears to have been a fairly universal phenomenon; Judith E. Smith found that mutual benefit societies in working class immigrant neighbourhoods in Providence, Rhode Island often restricted their active membership to men, although the success of endeavours such as producer and consumer co-operatives, 'buy union-made only' campaigns, and consumer boycotts depended entirely on the support of women.<sup>101</sup>

Given the restrictions on their participation in male-dominated benevolent associations, it is curious that working class women in Toronto, and in other centres of light industry for that matter, apparently created few formal benevolent associations on their own behalf. The exception seems to have been the women of New York, especially those in ethnic communities; as Kathy Peiss has found, women in these groups created a number of formal societies of this kind.<sup>102</sup> Nevertheless, informal support networks, which are notoriously difficult for the historian to trace, clearly did exist in Toronto and were significant to the

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<sup>100</sup>See the articles in Robert Harney, ed., *Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985); see also Jean Burnett, ed., *Looking Into My Sister's Eyes: An Exploration in Women's History* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1986); and Michael J. Piva, *The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto*, Chapter VI.

<sup>101</sup>See Judith E. Smith, "Our Own Kind: Family and Community Networks in Providence," in Nancy F. Cott and Elizabeth Pleck, eds., *A Heritage of Her Own: Toward a New Social History of American Women* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 403. See also Barbara Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem* (London: Virago Press, 1986); and Wayne Roberts, *Honest Womanhood: Feminism, Femininity and Class Consciousness Among Toronto Working Women, 1893 to 1914* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, n.d.), 43-46.

<sup>102</sup>Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 26-27; 60.

strength and endurance of their members.<sup>103</sup> Those organizations which were created for them by others, such as the YWCA, nearly always had a religious foundation - they were usually established by middle class Protestant women in order to safeguard the morality of young working women, who were considered to be inadequately supervised in their off-work hours, or to 'improve' the homemaking and child-rearing skills of working class mothers.<sup>104</sup> Working class women, however, would only make use of those organizations which offered something they needed or wanted - social and recreational opportunities, classes which would help them to develop marketable skills, economical accommodation and food, and in the case of married women with children, practical services such as daycare, employment bureaus, and donations of food, fuel, and clothing. They were likely, also, to avoid if they could those institutions which were too intrusive, condescending and moralistic. It is probable, then, that the Local Council of Women's club for factory girls failed in 1901 because it did not offer its intended clientele what they wanted in the way of recreation or instruction, or perhaps

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<sup>103</sup>Carolyn Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); Burnett, *Looking Into My Sister's Eyes*; see also Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence, Boston 1880-1960* (New York: Penguin Books, 1988).

<sup>104</sup>Pedersen, "The Young Women's Christian Association in Canada," 118, 146-47, 160. Of course, the associations which middle-class women created for themselves in these years were most often religiously oriented as well. The difference was that the organizations which middle-class women created for working class women were usually aimed at the moral 'uplift' of the latter, while those they created for themselves were aimed at mutual support. See, for example, Carol Lee Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred?: The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983); Carol Baines, "Women's Reform Organizations in Canada 1870-1930: A Historical Perspective," *Working Papers on Social Welfare in Canada* (Toronto: Faculty of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1988); Ruth Compton Brouwer, *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); Rosemary Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); Wendy Mitchinson, "Canadian Women and Church Missionary Societies in the Nineteenth Century: A Step Towards Independence," *Atlantis* 2, 2(Spring 1977): 57-75.

because its leaders did not approach the women in an appealing manner.

## V

In contrast, the programme offered at Evangelia House during the first two and a half years incorporated many of the elements essential to the success of middle class establishments for working class women. Sara Carson, who was the settlement's main organizer and guiding light, was by all accounts a dynamic, attractive, and efficient woman. She and Mary Bell, who acted as Evangelia's head resident, concentrated their early efforts on Anglo-Protestant girls between about six and twenty years old, whom they organized into age-graded clubs with names like the Victoria, the Primrose, or the Loyalty Club. Those attending school came between four and six in the afternoon, while the older girls convened in the evenings. There were about fifty members per club, and each club had a volunteer leader - often a student from one of the Protestant or non-denominational colleges or from the Conservatory of Music - and its own song and club colours. While there was a volunteer leader, the clubs were self-governing and run according to strict parliamentary procedure, with weekly business meetings presided over by an elected president and executive that rotated amongst the members a few times a year. As Alberta S. Bastedo reported to *The Varsity* in 1906

The business meeting generally comes first, and to hear the diminutive President of the Primrose Club call the meeting to order and rattle off with scarcely a pause for breath: 'Ready for the question. All in favor pleath saye [sic] aye. Oppothed [sic] no. It is carried,' and to see the five-year-old Treasurer demand the 'dues' is certainly a privilege.<sup>105</sup>

One former member recalled feeling intimidated by the parliamentary rules when she was

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<sup>105</sup>A[ Alberta] S. Bastedo, "Fortnight at Evangelina [sic] House" in "The College Girl," column, edited by Miss K.E. Smith, *The Varsity* vol. xxvi, 2(Oct 11, 1906): 21.

president of her club.<sup>106</sup> It is interesting to reflect here on the reasons why these girls were being taught the parliamentary rules of procedure. No doubt part of the reason was that this was the way middle class women's clubs were run, and it was easiest to follow known procedures. It is also possible, though there is no evidence to support this supposition, that Sara Carson and Mary Bell were suffragists who thought the girls should know parliamentary procedures in hopes that one day they would be accorded voting rights, and greater autonomy in running their own affairs. Alberta Bastedo, however, tells us the most powerful justification:

it all has its very serious side. Lives that would otherwise know no law are, for a few hours a day at least, brought within the compass of system and of order, of justice and of fair-dealing. In the games which follow, whether croquet or basketball or French tag, a resident worker is always present to umpire - to control, just as she always sits upon the platform during a business meeting. The home training does not make for a peaceable settling of disputes ...<sup>107</sup>

Clearly, Alberta Bastedo's dominant impression, which was shared by many middle class observers, was that children of "the masses" lived lives of violence and disorder. The parliamentary rules of procedure, then, were to impose system on a group of girls who would be otherwise predisposed toward lawlessness and emotional excess. By demonstrating the superiority of orderly conduct, settlers hoped to instill this principle in their young clients and perhaps help to curb their excessive tendencies.<sup>108</sup>

Active games like the ones described above, stories, songs and skits, and snacks of cocoa and biscuits or buns were a regular feature of club meetings. These activities also had a

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<sup>106</sup>BR, S54, *History of Canadian Settlements - Notes*, Book B, C. Hogg, "Interview with Miss Golden Haliburton," 1963.

<sup>107</sup>Bastedo, "Fortnight," 21.

<sup>108</sup>See also Carolyn Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem*, for a discussion of middle-class perceptions of disorderliness among working girls.

remedial purpose for, as Alberta Bastedo claimed, "in their play, almost more than in their work, the girls unconsciously receive lessons in self-sacrifice and self-control."<sup>109</sup> After their recreation time the club members separated into whatever classes they had chosen to take or, if the girls needed it they could get help with their homework. Bastedo explained that even this tutoring served a crucial objective;

Children who are backward or bright at study, are given tuition in whatever subjects they desire, in order that they may find school work a pleasure, and that they may be tided over the stage of the get-to-work fever. If, at fourteen or fifteen, a girl enters a factory or a department store, it is almost surely a good-bye to her education. It is the interest in them that tells, the fact that a hand is ready to help them as, unconsciously, they sink into the slough of sordid toil and foolish pleasure.<sup>110</sup>

One of the aims, then, was to keep the girls in school for as long as possible. The reasons for doing this, however, had less to do with a commitment to women's education than with keeping working class girls out of the "slough of sordid toil and foolish pleasure." As Strange has established, for turn of the century middle class observers the growing numbers of working class girls who were flocking to Toronto to non-domestic employments raised the spectre of a degraded cohort of future mothers. According to reformers, the poor working conditions and low wages paid to these working girls, along with their apparently child-like attraction to "foolish pleasures," left them vulnerable to being drawn into prostitution.<sup>111</sup>

Each schoolgirl was required to pay a yearly membership fee of ten cents at Evangelia, as well as a penny per week in club dues. Senior members - girls sixteen and older, as well as girls between fourteen and sixteen who had gone out to "business," paid fifty

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<sup>109</sup>A[ Alberta] S. Bastedo, "A Visit to Evangelia House," in "The College Girl," edited by Miss J.M. Adie in *The Varsity* vol. xxv, 3(Oct 19, 1905): 43.

<sup>110</sup>Bastedo, "A Visit," 43.

<sup>111</sup>See Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem*, Chapter 4.

cents a year for their membership and a small fee for any classes they took. The fees were a hallmark of settlement work, and a great deal of significance was placed on them. As Alberta Bastedo succinctly put it: "Nothing is free. Consequently everything is valued."<sup>112</sup> The fees, small as they were, set settlements apart from charities. The requirement to pay for the services rendered was intended to build self-respect and to thus guard against pauperization.

The number of clubs varied; in December of 1903 Mary Bell reported that there were seven, but a year later Phoebe A. Magee reported in *The Varsity* that this number was five: three were for school girls and two for 'business' girls.<sup>113</sup> Besides their clubs, though, Evangelia members could take part in one or more of the thirty-four industrial and educational classes available, as well as in a variety of recreational activities. For school girls, Mary Bell noted, "[i]t is the policy of Evangelia House to, as far as possible, supplement and in no way duplicate school work. The class work provided for school-girls is very practical and tends to help them prepare for their larger place in the world when older."<sup>114</sup> Sara Carson and Mary Bell evidently anticipated that schoolgirls' "larger place in the world" would not be in the arena of paid work outside the home - at least, not in the long term. Rather than providing them with courses which might augment their marketable skills in industry, Evangelia offered the youngest girls instruction in 'kitchen gardening,' which focused on teaching students homemaking skills rather than on how to plant and maintain a garden plot, as the name implies; these girls were also given classes in gymnasium work and in physical culture. The former concentrated on the Swedish system of exercises which was then gaining world-wide popularity, as well as various sports, and the use of gymnastics apparatus, while the latter had

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<sup>112</sup>Bastedo, "A Visit," 1905, 43.

<sup>113</sup>P[hoebe] A. Magee, "The College Girl" *Varsity* 24, 8(Dec. 1904): 131.

<sup>114</sup>Mary Bell, "Settlement Work," 332.

an elocution and hygiene component.<sup>115</sup> Older school girls received instruction in subjects like plain sewing, embroidery and cooking, and, of course, got help with their homework if they needed it. It was only the older, working girls, those who came in the evenings, who were offered vocational instruction. As Phoebe Magee noted, these girls could take "physical culture, cooking, dressmaking, millinery and stenography, as well as the ordinary subjects of an English education."<sup>116</sup> Since they had already entered the working world, Evangelia's staff offered them instruction in subjects which might help to stimulate their minds and perhaps widen the scope of employment available to them. Moreover, as noted earlier in the chapter, working girls were remarkably difficult to attract to clubs which only offered instruction in domestic science and the like.

Evangelia also offered four Bible classes and two gospel meetings, but, according to Phoebe Magee's 1904 article, "no attempt is made to force direct religious teaching on the girls, as the society works rather through physical and intellectual channels up to the spiritual."<sup>117</sup> There was, in addition, a "reading room for quiet and rest, as well as the lawn for basket-ball, croquet and other games." Bell reported that both the physical and the intellectual channels were well-patronized in the summer, in part because Toronto had so little else to offer its single, working women;

Toronto, a city of homes, has not many social attractions for the business girl or woman, outside of the church social, theatre or vaudeville. The social times at Evangelia House have seemed to be particularly enjoyed, but although on such occasions our house has been crowded, we are glad to say it has been as much so for the Gospel meetings.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>115</sup>Pedersen, "The Young Women's Christian Association," 255-257.

<sup>116</sup>Magee, "The College Girl," 131.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid.

<sup>118</sup>Bell, "Settlement Work," 333.

Within eight months the settlement outgrew its original storefront location at 716 Queen St. East, and was perforce obliged to move down the block to 643 Queen St. East where it occupied three storefronts - one fitted up as the library and reading room, another as the gymnasium, and the middle one as the assembly hall/clubroom, with the residence for workers in the apartments above. Membership numbered 600 in 1903, with an average daily attendance of 110. Within a year Sara Carson and Mary Bell had attracted three other (unnamed) resident workers besides themselves - a graduate of Trinity (likely Edith Elwood, who took over as the settlement's head worker in 1908, and whose association with Evangelia dated back to at least 1904),<sup>119</sup> a graduate of University College, and one other woman who appears to have been a graduate of the Toronto Conservatory of Music, as well as twenty-two volunteers from outside the immediate community, many of whom were university students. Funding for Evangelia came partly from membership fees and club dues (about \$400 per annum, according to Sir Edmund Osler's 1905 appeal), and partly from Carson and Bell themselves (about \$500 or \$600), with the rest of the approximately \$3000 annual operating budget coming from donations collected from individuals and groups. The Dominion Council of the YWCA presumably also contributed financially toward the settlement in its early years, although the amount it bestowed is unknown.<sup>120</sup>

## VI

There appears to have been an intriguing discrepancy in the attitudes and perceptions

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<sup>119</sup>UTA, A69-0011/13, Alumnae Association of University College, Minutes, November 5, 1904; UWCA, Executive Minutes, February 13, 1905. Edith Constance Elwood graduated from Trinity with a B.A. in 1896, and received her M.A. from Trinity in 1903. Her association with Evangelia appears to have begun in 1904, when Carson and Bell began to set up chapters of Evangelia in the various colleges in Toronto. See also the Round Table Club's report in Toronto Local Council of Women *Annual Report*, 1908, 39.

<sup>120</sup>BR, M.S. files - Evangelia House, 1905 - Dear.

of Carson and Bell, of their volunteers, and of the businessmen and women's groups who supported Evangelia, with regard to the settlement's purpose and clientele. Bell, for example, saw it as "co-operative neighborhood work" where members came to learn and to enjoy themselves, and where their better-off sisters endeavoured to get close to their neighbours and bring to them "the best, as they know it, through Settlement principles, physically, socially, intellectually."<sup>121</sup> At a meeting of the University Women's Club in January 1904 Carson declared that "workers must not think that the benefit will all be on one side," but she did not go on to spell out the benefits to the settlement worker, and indeed, beyond the satisfaction of supporting a good cause, the benefits to the volunteer were rarely specified in most discussions of settlement work in Canadian circles during these years.<sup>122</sup> Sara Carson's few extant papers on settlements characterize labouring people as underdeveloped and lacking in the ability to think and act in their own best interests, but as we noted earlier, such attitudes can be easily inferred in the writings of even such radicals as Alice Chown.<sup>123</sup>

Phoebe Magee presented an alternative view in *The Varsity*. She described Evangelia's work in the unequivocal terms of more traditional charitable endeavours, rather than as a reciprocal relationship in which both the volunteers and the users were benefitted, however vaguely those benefits were defined. She remarked that "[i]t is appalling to think that some of these girls left school about the age of twelve, and after four or five years spent in factories or stores, they have almost forgotten how to read." Magee asserted that women university students were especially needed as volunteers "to aid in bringing to them something of the

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<sup>121</sup>Mary Bell, "Settlement Work," 332.

<sup>122</sup>UWCA, Minute book, volume I, January 22, 1904.

<sup>123</sup>See, for example, Sara Libby Carson, "The Social Settlement," *Social Service Congress Proceedings* (Toronto: 1914), 134.

advantages of education which we enjoy."<sup>124</sup> Alberta Bastedo, another writer for the *Varsity's* "College Girl" column, echoed Phoebe Magee's remarks;

The work is interesting, but it demands patience, tact, and sympathy. The basic idea of mutual benefit must be grasped. The people must feel your interest, be inspired by it, made to realize that it is by a friend and not by a patron that help is given. They respond eagerly. They avail themselves quickly of the privileges offered by their 'club.' For some portion of the week at least, the sordidness passes out of their lives, and they begin to comprehend the idea of culture, in a limited and primitive form certainly, but the seed is sown.<sup>125</sup>

While Alberta Bastedo pays lip service to 'mutual benefit,' it seems clear from the rest of this passage that she considered the sole beneficiaries of settlement work to have been the settlement members. Magee's and Bastedo's comments illustrate attitudes similar to those of the New York settlement workers of which Alice Chown complained so bitterly; the working class are portrayed as child-like or primitive, without even an idea of culture, let alone a culture of their own.

Businessmen like Sir Edmund Osler, W.A. Charlton, Byron Edmund Walker and Frank W. Strathy saw the settlement's objective in more pragmatic terms;

The aim of the Settlement is to provide social life, physical exercise, education in the domestic arts and the elements of an ordinary education, especially such as will assist a young woman who enters a business establishment for a livelihood. It should be regarded as a combined college and club for working girls and those who as yet are too young to work. . . . the object . . . is to provide an attractive social life for girls who cannot find this at home, and who are likely to seek it in the public streets if it is not provided elsewhere.<sup>126</sup>

These men perceived Evangelia not as a bridge between classes, nor as a charity, nor as a beacon of culture for the benighted working class, but primarily as a recreational and

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<sup>124</sup>P[hoebe] A. Magee, "The College Girl," *Varsity* XXIV, 8(December 1, 1904): 131.

<sup>125</sup>Bastedo, "A Visit," 1905, 43.

<sup>126</sup>BR, M.S. files - Evangelia House, 1905 - Dear.

educational institution which offered a wide range of activities focusing on working girls' physical, intellectual, and moral faculties. According to this view, there were both positive and negative reasons for businessmen to support Evangelia; they would be supporting young working women's efforts to improve their educations and augment their job skills, thereby increasing their value to their employers, and they would be supplementing working girls' 'inadequate' home lives and keeping them off the streets, thereby helping to protect the virtue of future mothers without actually having to raise their wages. In this there is a significant similarity between Osler's description of Evangelia's mandate, and the YWCA's account of its own work.<sup>127</sup>

## VII

Evangelia's relationship to the YWCA was central to the settlement's existence in its early period. Not only did the Dominion Council initially sponsor Carson and Bell's endeavours, but more importantly, because the YWCA was, as Diana Pedersen has shown, "one of the principal societies for women students" in Canada at this time, it was an important potential source of both volunteers and independent donations for the institution.<sup>128</sup> The YWCA branches at the colleges were among the first groups that Carson contacted when she was promoting the work.<sup>129</sup> Moreover, the YWCA connection provided Evangelia with the

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<sup>127</sup>See Diana Pedersen, "'Building Today for the Womanhood of Tomorrow': Businessmen, Boosters, and the YWCA, 1890-1930," *Urban History Review* XV, 3(February 1987): 225-242, for a discussion of the way in which the YWCA described its work to potential donors, the bulk of whom were businessmen much like Osler and his friends.

<sup>128</sup>Diana Pedersen, "'The Call to Service': The YWCA and the Canadian College Woman, 1886-1920," in Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid, eds., *Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 188.

<sup>129</sup>See, for example, UTA, A69-0011/13, Alumnae Association of University College, Minutes, October 27, 1902 and November 5, 1904; and United Church Archives (UCA) 90.135, Victoria College YWCA minutes, March 13, 1902.

kind of endorsement which would have allowed for easier access to church groups and voluntary associations outside the university, and since the pool of women university students and graduates in Toronto was still very small, such links would have been critical to the development of Evangelia's volunteer corps.<sup>130</sup> Indeed, Carson later said that settlement residents did not *necessarily* have to be university graduates, but they did need to be "men and women of trained mind and developed character, if they would meet the need of the neighborhood for its best development and become a guiding and directing force in its life - the brains and the clear thinking and the steady living for those who are still groping for these things."<sup>131</sup> It seems clear that Carson would have preferred university graduates, since many in this era believed that higher education was one of the best means to train the mind and develop the character, but she settled for those with lesser qualifications as long as they were of the right class and displayed evidence of intelligence. Her concession on this score may have been due, in part, to the smaller pool of university students available in Canada than that to which she had access in the United States.

Although Evangelia's activities were reported separately in the *Dominion Tie*, the settlement was originally part of the YWCA's larger attempt to link up with industrial workers through what the Y called extension work. Diana Pedersen argues that between 1900 and 1920 the YWCA "remained primarily identified with their clientele in the expanding service industries,"<sup>132</sup> yet the commitment to "bring together young women of all classes" led, in the early twentieth century, to increased efforts to offer services to women working in

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<sup>130</sup>Alison Prentice, et al., *Canadian Women: A History* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), 158-62.

<sup>131</sup>Carson, "The Social Settlement," *Social Service Congress Proceedings* (Toronto: 1914), 134.

<sup>132</sup>Pedersen, "The Young Women's Christian Association," 245.

factories as well.<sup>133</sup> While the Dominion Council apparently supported these efforts, the Toronto YWCA did not begin to extend its services into the factories until 1906.<sup>134</sup> Indeed, the Toronto branch executive initially viewed any increase in support to women in factories with some dismay, and were therefore unlikely to initiate programmes which might add to the comfort of factory workers. The minutes for January 4, 1904 note that the factories were fitting up their lunch rooms as attractively as possible in order "to ensure the best service from the girls. Some of the ladies thought this would make Domestic help a greater problem than ever,"<sup>135</sup> a comment which suggests that the Y's misgivings about assisting women workers in factories had selfish rather than moral origins. When the Toronto branch did initiate work in the factories that work was emphatically evangelical in orientation.<sup>136</sup>

### VIII

By late 1904 Sara Carson and Mary Bell were ready to expand Evangelia's programme to include the school-aged boys, young men, and parents in their neighbourhood. This involved the final severance of the settlement's ties with the YWCA, because the expanded programme went beyond the YWCA's self-defined mandate to provide services exclusively for young women and girls. Carson had evidently been preparing for this eventuality from the beginning, and making links with Toronto women's groups other than the

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<sup>133</sup>Ibid., 167, 245-47. As the *Dominion Tie* explained, extension work was intended to fulfil the needs of the approximately one million women working in factories in America for "common human sympathy, sweetened by the love of Christ" by extending "association privileges into factory districts, or into the factories themselves, where special apartments are fitted up for noon Gospel meetings, noon rest, reading and club rooms." *Dominion Tie* 1, 7(September 1902): 56-57.

<sup>134</sup>See PAO, MU3518, Toronto YWCA Minutes, April 5, 1906.

<sup>135</sup>PAO, A-MU3518, Box 2, Toronto YWCA Minutes, January 4, 1904.

<sup>136</sup>PAO, A-MU3518, Box 2, Toronto YWCA Minutes, especially April 5, 1906; May 1906; Dec. 6, 1906; April 4, 1907.

YWCA.<sup>137</sup> In November 1904 she and her co-workers began to introduce the notion of forming chapters in connection with Evangelia; each chapter would be expected to contribute \$25 per year, and would send two members to sit on the settlement's governing council, in addition to having the privilege of appointing either two of their junior members each year to be resident workers for a week, or one junior for a fortnight.<sup>138</sup> Some groups went well beyond these requirements; for example, in 1903 the Round Table Club of the Toronto Conservatory of Music reported sending three members to "the College Settlement" to teach physical culture, and three to teach expression. In 1905 the Club noted that it had contributed \$100 to Evangelia - the proceeds of a Dickens evening - and that some of its members regularly taught physical culture and English there.<sup>139</sup> Even with contributions from the chapters, however, it was clear that if Evangelia was to survive, let alone expand its programming, it would need support from the larger community. This the institution was

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<sup>137</sup>See, for example, UTA, A69-0011/014, Alumnae Association Executive Meetings and General Meetings, October 27, 1902 [mislabelled Nov. 27, 1902], the Toronto Local Council of Women, *Annual Reports*, 1903, 16, and Margaret Foster, *The First Fifty Years: A History of the University Women's Club of Toronto 1903-1953* (Toronto: Hunter Rose Co. [1953]).

<sup>138</sup>UTA, A69-0011/014, Alumnae Association Executive and General Meetings, Minutes, Nov. 5, 1904; on February 11, 1905 Miss Edgar, convenor of the committee on Settlement work, reported that the Alumnae Association would form a chapter of Evangelia together with the Women's Literary Society. See also UWCA Minutes, Oct 4, 1904, which report that it was Miss Elwood of Evangelia House who came to speak to the University Women's Club (UWC) about forming a chapter, indicating that the alumnae of the different colleges had been asked to do the same. Since Elwood was a member of the UWC she would have been the sensible liaison person. Elwood also told the club members that Evangelia was hoping that a lunch room, reading room and rest room for women working downtown could soon be organized. In addition, she reiterated her request for college women to come and teach classes at the settlement for an hour or two each week. See also UWCA, Executive Minutes, Nov 21, 1904; Foster, *The First Fifty Years*, 5.

<sup>139</sup>Toronto Local Council of Women, *Annual Reports*, 1903, 16; 1905, 221. In the *Annual Report* of 1908 (p. 39) the Round Table Club reported that its 30 members had held eight meetings in 1907, all of them at Evangelia. The Club secretary also noted that "one of our members is a resident worker there and all of our members in the past and do in the present try to aid this institution in various ways." For example, when asked Round Table members would put on an evening's entertainment for one of the settlement's clubs.

eventually able to secure, largely through the patronage of Sir Edmund B. Osler.

The 1905 appeal for Evangelia that Osler wrote with his colleagues W.A. Charlton, Sir Edmond Walker and Frank W. Strathy is the first extant evidence of his interest in the settlement. It was written in the form of an open letter, which was addressed to one thousand gentlemen of Toronto, asking each to indicate his interest in contributing to the settlement by signing the numbered card that was attached. The letter writers pointed out that if there were a large number of subscribers, the yearly subscription could be kept quite small.<sup>140</sup> The appeal noted that "[i]t has now become necessary to create further departments of the work, involving considerable increase in expense" and while no direct evidence has survived concerning the results of this particular campaign, Evangelia's programme and facilities did expand. Osler himself increased his involvement with Evangelia by becoming the president of Evangelia's executive committee, and by attracting other prominent citizens to the settlement's executive, including Sir Edmond Walker, Mrs. H.D. Warren, and Lady Kemp.<sup>141</sup> In 1907 he helped Carson to buy, renovate and equip a large building, complete with extensive grounds, located at the northeast corner of Queen and River Sts; the total cost for the building and the renovations was, reportedly, \$40,000, and its grand opening in October 1907 was an occasion important enough to warrant the attendance of a number of dignitaries, including Lieutenant-Governor Sir William Clark, Mayor Coatsworth, Robert Falconer, newly-installed as President of the University of Toronto, and most importantly, Governor-General Grey, who was guest of honour.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>140</sup>BR, M.S. files, Evangelia House, 1905, Dear.

<sup>141</sup>BR, S54, History of Canadian Settlements - notes, Book B, Evangelia.

<sup>142</sup>Until 1901 the building had been both the residence and the place of business of Thomas Davies, of Davies Malting and Brewing Company. Sometime in that year Davies moved his residence to 53 Wellesley St., and opened a carbonated drink manufacture. The building at Queen

While the bulk of the settlement's volunteers were co-eds from University, Victoria, and Trinity Colleges, and from the Round Table Club of the Toronto Conservatory, a number of students from private girl's schools in the city also came to assist the settlement's residents. As well, some non-university affiliated women donated their labour at Evangelia, and a few who did not come into the settlement sustained some form of personal contact through other means. For example, in addition to sitting on Evangelia's executive Lady Kemp opened her home in Castle Frank to sleighing parties from the settlement; Catherine Wright's parents did the same at their summer residence in Niagara, inviting boating and picnicking parties from Evangelia for the day.<sup>143</sup> Most volunteers managed to come into the settlement once or twice a week, however. The vast majority of them were women, but after the inclusion of males as members, a few men also donated some of their time to the settlement; Dr. Frederic H. Torrington, director of the University of Toronto affiliated Toronto College of Music, as well as renowned organist and choirmaster, taught singing and also led the settlement's children's choir and the people's chorus, and at least two other men taught the boys' gymnastics classes. There were also some male as well as female doctors who, along with several nurses, volunteered in the settlement's free medical clinic.

Carol Baines argues that the volunteer principle was a significant imperative for middle class Canadian women in the progressive era, in the period before social work was a

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and River remained vacant for a couple of years, and then became a boarding house until Evangelia bought it in 1907. The property had extensive grounds, according to the Toronto City Directory, as well as the reminiscences of former members and staff. See *Might Directories, Ltd., Toronto City Directory* (Toronto: Might Directories, Ltd., 1888-1907); "Earl Grey Here To-Day to Open Evangelia Home," *Toronto World*, October 16, 1907:2, "His Excellency Had a Busy Day," *Mail and Empire*, October 17, 1907: 2.

<sup>143</sup>BR, S54, History of Canadian Settlements - Book B - Carol Hogg, notes, interview with Miss Fleury, 1963. In another interview, Hogg recorded Mrs. Matthews (nee A.M. Osler) recollection of walking from Craigelea in Rosedale to Evangelia on her duty days. See *ibid.*

profession and a responsibility of the state.<sup>144</sup> For the women who helped out at Evangelia, volunteering had the potential to be an unnerving experience. Adeline Wadsworth's recollections are particularly evocative;

I can remember when I served midday dinner to the women who were workers in the laundry nearby. I can remember even now being very shocked with the condition of their hands - swollen, red, looking deformed and painful - probably due to the long duration in water, strong soaps and lye. Hands that seemed utterly destroyed.<sup>145</sup>

When Wadsworth saw the women she served at Evangelia, she was confronted with a lasting image of the results of long hours of poorly paid, debilitating work - the only kind of work available to many of Toronto's working women. It is impossible to determine how many of Evangelia's volunteers had experiences similar to Wadsworth's and alternatively, how many saw the settlement's clientele as Magee and Bastedo did. Perhaps one of the reasons settlement organizers like Carson preferred people with "trained minds" as volunteers was that such individuals were thought to be more likely to assume an 'objective' viewpoint from which they would see disordered lives when they looked at Wadsworth's laundry workers, and would thus be less apt to be touched by their destroyed hands.

With the inclusion of boys and parents and the growth of its volunteer corps, Evangelia's programme began to take on many of the characteristics of its more famous counterparts in the United States. Self-governing clubs remained the central organizing tool, with each club holding a short (15-20 minute) weekly business meeting before moving on to active games, magic lantern shows, or crafts. Club members continued to attend classes together. The school children's clubs were divided according to sex, but boys and girls

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<sup>144</sup>Carol T. Baines, "The Professions and an Ethic of Care," in Carol Baines, Patricia Evans, Sheila Neysmith, eds., *Women's Caring: Feminist Perspectives on Social Welfare* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991), 36-72.

<sup>145</sup>BR, S54, History of Canadian Settlements, notes, Book B, Evangelia House.

attended cooking, music, and probably also drama and art lessons together.<sup>146</sup> The twice-weekly gymnastics classes were segregated, however, with female instructors for the girls and males for the boys.

Working teenagers also had the opportunity to participate in twice-weekly gymnastics classes in the evenings, and in addition on Saturdays they came to the settlement for singing, games, and folk dancing. As before, they could also take high school subjects like English or mathematics, as well as courses in subjects such as stenography and wood carving, which were taught by volunteers on weekday evenings. According to the *Mail and Empire's* report on Evangelia's opening at the Queen and River location, the settlement's curriculum expanded with its physical plant; by 1907 Evangelia's offerings included "plain sewing, dressmaking, embroidering, bookkeeping, penmanship, drawing, physical culture, millinery, wood-carving, stenography, Bible study, literature, composition, arithmetic, and other things."<sup>147</sup>

While the neighbourhood's young people were no doubt drawn in by Evangelia's educational and recreational programmes, after 1904 working girls and boys may also have been attracted to the settlement because of the opportunity it afforded to meet members of the opposite sex; one former member recalled girls coming out to boys' ball games to cheer, and attending mixed parties at members' homes.<sup>148</sup> Matchmaking was not a dominant objective

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<sup>146</sup>BR, History of Canadian Settlements - Book B Notes - Evangelia - letter from Mrs. Lorne Jacques to Mrs Frances Golden Haliburton (her sister), 1961; letter from Miss Ethel Bunker to Miss Irene Hardy, February 18, 1963. Ethel Bunker first came to Evangelia to work as a gym teacher in 1910. In 1913 she went to Riverdale, a daughter institution of Evangelia's, and when it closed in 1916 she went to settlement work in Ottawa, but only stayed there a year. When she returned to Toronto in 1917 she went into City-funded playground work. See "Evangelia House Staff," *ibid.*

<sup>147</sup>"His Excellency Had a Busy Day," *Mail and Empire*, October 17, 1907: 2.

<sup>148</sup>BR, S54, History of Canadian Settlements - Book B - notes, Reminiscences of Mrs Jacques.

of the workers, however, as Alberta Bastedo makes clear in the following story about her two-week stay at Evangelia in the latter half of June, 1906:

One Saturday evening stands out distinctly in my memory. The reading-room, the club-room and the gymnasium are thrown open and the young people of the district flock in, wooed from the false glitter and objectionable companions of East Queen Street by the cosy brightness and good-fellowship within Evangelia House. On the lawn, the boys play roco by the light of flaring torches and their laughter and the jangle of the bell come floating through the open windows. In the gymnasium, one resident-worker referees basket-ball, while another is 'hostess' in the reading-room thronged by droppers-in who glance at the magazines, change libraries, or chat with friends. At half-past nine the men disappear into the club-room for the business meeting. A suspicion is abroad, strengthened by the earnestness with which a discussion is being carried on, that it has to do with baseball. Then the club song rolls out from behind the closed doors: 'Fidel-it-ies, Fidel-it-ies, \We're the men who always please ...\' A song against which the Loyalty girls are said to have put in an indignant protest."<sup>149</sup>

Any interest that members may have had in the opposite sex is muted in this account, as it was in most accounts of settlement activities written by settlers. Miss Bastedo characterized Evangelia's young people as preferring wholesome games and activities in the "cosy brightness and good fellowship" of the settlement over the "false glitter and objectionable companions" of the street just outside, implying that their preoccupations were essentially innocent. The professed indignation of the girls at the innuendo in this song, restrained as it was, was a further manifestation of their respectability. That they had to be "wooed" away from the attractions of the street suggested that their respectability could be easily endangered, however.

The contents of the courses taught at Evangelia is difficult to establish. The domestic science courses no doubt resembled the courses being taught in the YWCA classes at this time, and the high school instruction probably resembled that which was given in the

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<sup>149</sup>Bastedo, "Fortnight," 1906, 21.

collegiates and at the newly organized Technical School.<sup>150</sup> As for the other classes, a former resident reported that in gymnastics the students were taught a full range of skills, including marching and how to handle 'Indian' clubs, dumb-bells, and wands, how to use the parallel bars, the box horse and the horizontal ladder, how to fence and folk dance, and how to play active and singing games.<sup>151</sup> She also noted that even mothers in the neighbourhood had access to gym instruction; after their afternoon club meetings members of Evangelia's women's club could take part in classes in gymnastics, cooking or sewing while volunteers looked after their pre-school aged children. Once a month the women's club had an afternoon social tea, and they also went out for street car outings occasionally.<sup>152</sup> Men and teen-aged boys had the Fidelity Club, the people's chorus, led by Dr. Torrington, "illustrated lectures on interesting subjects," their own Bible-study class on Thursday evenings, "the line of work having been their own choice," and the use of the gymnasium on Saturday evenings.<sup>153</sup> Men were also included in family-oriented social occasions like picnics (complete with games and

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<sup>150</sup>See Pedersen, "The Young Women's Christian Association," Chapter Three, and "'Keeping Our Good Girls Good': The YWCA and the 'Girl Problem,' 1870-1930," *Canadian Woman Studies/Les cahiers de la femme* 7, 4(Winter 1986): 20-24. See also Terry Crowley, "Madonnas before Magdalenes: Adelaide Hoodless and the Making of the Canadian Gibson Girl," *Canadian Historical Review* LXVII, 4(1986): 520-547; and Ruby Heap, "Schooling Women for Home or for Work? Vocational Education for Women in Ontario in the Early Twentieth Century: The Case of the Toronto Technical High School: 1892-1920," in Ruby Heap and Alison Prentice, eds., *Gender and Education in Ontario* (Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press, 1991), 197-245.

<sup>151</sup>Bunker to Hardy, February 18, 1963. The same kinds of skills were taught in the physical culture course offered by the Athletic Club to women students at the university in 1905. Jessie M. Adie reported in "The College Girl" that the women students had been agitating for such a course since 1902. See *The Varsity* XXV, 2(Oct 12, 1905): 23. For a discussion of the development of women's athletics in Canada see Helen Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds: Women, Sport and Sexuality* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1986).

<sup>152</sup>BR, S54, History of Canadian Settlements, Notes, Book B, Evangelia House -Ethel Bunker to Irene Hardy, February 18, 1963.

<sup>153</sup>Bastedo, "A Visit," 1905, 43.

aces), skating parties (which were accompanied by a street organ), general interest lectures, and Sunday evening song services.<sup>154</sup> On summer evenings the settlement staff put out croquet sets, lawn chairs and tables on the grounds adjacent to their building for the use of their neighbours. They also served refreshments like ice-cream and cakes from time to time. At Christmas Evangelia's volunteers collected and distributed toys to the children of the settlement, and brought in and decorated a Christmas tree.<sup>155</sup>

It is clear that athletics received a considerable emphasis in Evangelia's programme, especially after boys and men were included; by the turn of the century many had begun to consider physical exercise to be the best way to channel the excess energy which was thought to build up in inhabitants of the urban environment during the working or school day, when they had no recourse to healthful exercise in fresh country air. Males were thought to suffer the most from the failure to expend this built up energy, but many experts began to recognize that even females could suffer if they had no physical means to release tension.<sup>156</sup> To this end, beyond the gymnastics programme both girls and boys at Evangelia had basketball teams, and the boys had baseball and football as well. It is not clear who the teams played against, but public and private school groups are the most likely candidates. Other opponents may well have come from some of the organized playgrounds which were established in Toronto beginning in 1905; after the move to the Queen and River location, Evangelia took a

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<sup>154</sup>BR, S54, History of Canadian Settlements - notes, Book B, Evangelia House; Ethel Bunker to Irene Hardy, February 18, 1963; Fleury interview.

<sup>155</sup>C.M. Knight, "The College Girl: One Christmas Tree," *The Varsity* XXVII, 11(Jan 16, 1908): 202. See also the yearly reports of the Round Table Club in the Toronto Local Council of Women, *Annual Reports*.

<sup>156</sup>Bruce Curtis, "The Playground in Nineteenth-Century Ontario: Theory and Practice" *Material History Review* (Fall 1985): 21-29; Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds*, p. 33. See also Lynn Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

leading role in the city's budding playground movement, initially by providing Toronto with its first lighted, supervised playground, and then by providing some of the leadership for the movement itself.<sup>157</sup>

## IX

The movements of Evangelia's senior staff are hard to trace, but the reminiscences of former volunteers and members, together with the surviving documentation, can provide a rough guide to them. Mary Bell left Evangelia sometime in 1906; according to a former member her health was poor.<sup>158</sup> Her activities for the next four years are not known, but in 1909 she resurfaced as head of Ottawa Settlement House.<sup>159</sup> When she left Sara Carson took over as head worker and Edith Elwood became her assistant. Together, Carson and Elwood effected the settlement's move to the Queen and River location in 1907. Shortly after this move Carson left Toronto to go back to New York, where she helped to establish Wesley House, a Methodist settlement.<sup>160</sup> Edith Elwood became the new head resident, with Catherine Wright as her assistant.

Elwood and Carson were apparently very similar kinds of women in terms of their administrative and fundraising skills, and their ability to draw wealthy patrons, middle class volunteers, and district residents alike to their cause. For her part, after graduating from St.

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<sup>157</sup>See, for example, UWCA, minutes, Vol. I, November 5, 1906. We shall explore more fully the role of the settlements in the expansion of the playground movement in Chapter Six.

<sup>158</sup>BR, S54, History of Canadian Settlements, Book B, Notes, "Mrs. Jacques, Reminiscences."

<sup>159</sup>Woods and Kennedy, *Handbook of Settlements*, 305.

<sup>160</sup>The City Directories list Carson until 1907, and in 1911 Woods and Kennedy list her as the headworker of Wesley House, which was established in New York in 1908. See *Handbook of Settlements*, 239; In *Neighbours*, p. 29, Irving, Parsons and Bellamy report that she returned to New York in 1908.

Hilda's Edith Elwood taught for a while in a private girls' school in Parkdale before coming to Evangelia as a resident worker sometime in 1904. She often utilized her old school ties in support of Evangelia, frequently urging students at both St. Hilda's, her alma mater, and at Parkdale, her former workplace, as well as members of the University Women's Club (of which she was a member, and president in 1912-13) to volunteer at the settlement. After Sara Carson left Edith Elwood embarked on a host of new initiatives, including organizing a penny savings bank and expanding the settlement's medical services to include a three bed infirmary, a free dispensary and a well-baby clinic. By 1913 Evangelia's volunteer corps of approximately 100 included 12 doctors, and among the 12 resident workers there were a number of district nurses from the public health department.<sup>161</sup> Some of these nurses were members of the Graduate Nurses Association, which also organised a chapter of Evangelia. Much of the nurses' time was taken up with attending births, making post-natal visits, and providing childcare during mothers' meetings.<sup>162</sup> When Toronto's Social Service Commission divided the city's welfare services into three districts, each under its own secretary, Evangelia became the headquarters for the eastern district.<sup>163</sup> With Sir Edmund's financial assistance, Edith Elwood also secured The Gables, near Barrie, as Evangelia's summer campground, and she had shower and deep baths installed at the settlement, for which members paid a penny per use. Perhaps most importantly, Elwood was able to work at

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<sup>161</sup>BR, S54, History of Canadian Settlements, notes, Book B, Evangelia House -"Bain interview." Grace Bain, who assisted in Evangelia's dispensary from 1915 to 1918, remembered that there were three specialists among the doctors who volunteered their services - an ophthalmologist, a nose and throat specialist, and a gynaecologist who was, incidentally, female.

<sup>162</sup>BR, S54, History of Canadian Settlements - notes, Book B, Evangelia, "Bain Interview." See also Kari Dehli, "'Health Scouts' for the State?: School and Public Health Nurses in Early Twentieth-Century Toronto," *Historical Studies in Education* 2, 2(1990): 247-264.

<sup>163</sup>We will examine Evangelia's relationship to the Social Service Commission in greater detail in Chapter Six.

least as effectively as Sara Carson had with Evangelia's executive and council, inspiring them to participate enthusiastically in her fund-raising efforts. As a result, within two years of moving into the Queen and River location Evangelia was fully equipped and free of debt.<sup>164</sup> Five years after she took over as head resident, Elwood married J.P. McLaren and left Evangelia to move to Ottawa, where she continued to do settlement work, presumably as a volunteer.

## X

In considering Evangelia's first decade, we can see that this institution was part of an international movement that by the turn of the century had become centred in the United States. It was an institution which invited the participation of women, and especially well-educated Protestant women in search of ways to employ their 'gifts' in service to their society. It was an institution which was embedded within the contemporary reform movement - part of a broad concern for the social problems which were emerging in connection with Toronto's developing urban-industrial complex. Anxiety was growing within the middle class about the widening gap between rich and poor, but when Evangelia was first organized, the greatest concern of its patrons was not labour unrest but the so-called 'girl problem' in Toronto. While this was a particular preoccupation of the settlement's first benefactor, the YWCA, Carolyn Strange has argued that many of the city's reformers and businessmen were becoming apprehensive about Toronto's blue-collar working girls. The prevailing view of these women as both victims and menaces in the city environment meant that they had to be both protected and contained. Evangelia's programmes were intended to do both, and their apparent degree of success at this endeavour prompted support for the extension of its services to other members of its community.

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<sup>164</sup>BR, S54, History of Canadian Settlements - Book B - notes.

Evangelia was, moreover, a site at which the middle class and working class met, but never as equals, despite the rhetoric of connection. Evangelia's residents were expected to provide leadership to working class women, and later men, to secure their acceptance of the class and gender dynamic which dictated the conditions of their existence in early twentieth century Toronto. Women's domestic role inside the home, and men's role as breadwinner, were emphasized throughout the settlement's programme, as was the 'superiority' of middle class family forms, social relationships, lifestyles and attitudes to work. When Sara Carson expanded Evangelia's mandate, the settlement came to embody the ambitions of many reformers, from those interested in supervised play to those whose primary concern was improving public health, or the perceived erosion of moral values in working class homes.

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century Evangelia faced a new set of challenges. During the time that it was the only settlement in Toronto it received the patronage of many of those who had been inspired by the examples of Jane Addams and her contemporaries in the United States. With rising non-Anglo immigration, labour unrest and poverty rates, and with Toronto reformers' growing familiarity with settlement work - a familiarity that Evangelia had helped to create - people began to see settlements as a practical means to address the "Problem of the City." The new settlements which they established as a result would eventually challenge their forerunner's position as Toronto's premiere non-denominational social agency.

## CHAPTER THREE

### 'THE CONSERVATION OF CITIZENSHIP:'

#### THE 'NEW IMMIGRATION' AND THE GROWTH OF THE SETTLEMENT MOVEMENT IN TORONTO, 1910-1911

The foreign problem, with its poverty, illiteracy and low ideals, is fast growing in this country....Undoubtedly it is to be the future home of many foreign people. These will likewise undoubtedly form a large portion of our city population, and the city population, sociologists tell us, will eventually control the nation.<sup>1</sup>

From the late nineteenth century onward, Toronto found itself increasingly confronted with the problems faced by most late nineteenth century industrial centres in the 'Western' world. The city's rapidly expanding population taxed its rudimentary services, such as water and sanitation, beyond their limits. Frequent lay-offs, low wages, unsafe working conditions, and the lack of an unemployment insurance scheme put intense pressure on Toronto's already faltering private and public poor relief system. Land speculators exploited the working poor's need to live close to their workplaces by charging exorbitant rents and refusing to maintain low-income rental properties and, in the absence of an efficient and affordable transit system which might allow them to live on the outskirts of the city and commute to work, most working class families had little choice but to subsidize their housing costs by sharing lodgings with other families, or by taking in boarders. As housing conditions deteriorated in downtown areas, the city became increasingly fragmented into rich and poor neighbourhoods;

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<sup>1</sup>Edith Elwood, "The Social Settlement," Twelfth Canadian Conference of Charities and Correction (hereafter CCCC) *Proceedings* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), 31.

the middle class and wealthy began moving to newly established residential developments in districts such as Rosedale and the Annex, and this trend served to increase a sense of social fragmentation and alienation between Toronto's affluent and indigent.<sup>2</sup>

The growing fragmentation of the city was distressing for many social commentators of the era, but from about 1907 onward middle class observers became even more alarmed by the rising numbers of non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants settling in the city. As the demands for workers in industry and agriculture took precedence in Canadian immigration policy, increasing numbers of Southern and Eastern European immigrants were encouraged to relocate in Canada, and many of these, lacking sufficient capital to establish themselves on Prairie homesteads, or preferring urban life to the country, came to industrializing centres like Toronto in search of employment. During the first decades of the twentieth century the growing presence of non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants living in more or less ethnically homogeneous neighbourhoods in some of the very poorest parts of town further exacerbated the developing sense of fragmentation in the city and of alienation between the classes. Moreover, it confirmed the opinion of some theorists that such peoples were culturally predisposed toward indigence, and thus had to be remoulded into 'proper' Canadian citizens. In this context the problems of heterogeneous immigration and the problems of urban industrialism within a capitalist economy became increasingly conflated, and as non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants came to comprise an increasing proportion of the city's poor, poverty itself came to be perceived in even more abstract terms than it had previously. Observers began to view social conditions in the city in less personal ways and ultimately started to focus less attention on the problems of poor individuals than on what they increasingly identified as the

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<sup>2</sup>See Peter G. Goheen, *Victorian Toronto, 1850 to 1900: Pattern and Process in Growth* (Chicago: Department of Geography, Research Paper # 127, 1970).

'Problem of the City.'

As many historians have pointed out, the early twentieth century was an era of reform which increasingly focused on the urban landscape, as the city came to be seen as the pacesetter for the nation. In the dawn of a new century, growing numbers joined the reform movement, and many of these began to label previously established responses to the problems of poverty as inefficient, unscientific, and inadequate. New problems in a new age required new approaches. It was within this environment, then, that a number of Toronto reformers in search of innovative methods and strategies began to investigate the possibilities encompassed in the settlement house approach. Interest in settlements heightened in Toronto after Evangelia took up its new quarters in 1907; by 1913 five new settlements had been established. The flexibility of the approach, however, meant that it could be variously interpreted to suit the predilections of the groups who wished to employ it. Thus, while the aims of solving the 'problem of the city' and assimilating 'foreign' immigrants united them, the different groups who took up settlement work in Toronto diverged on how best to accomplish those aims within the parameters of the settlement movement. These groups can be separated roughly into two categories, the sectarians - those who favoured incorporating some form of religious instruction into the settlement programme - and non-sectarians. The subject of this chapter will be an investigation of the circumstances and convictions which prompted the latter group to establish settlements.

I

The substantial growth of the city's immigrant community during the first decade of the twentieth century was perhaps the most significant circumstance generating the development of the settlement movement in Toronto. Between 1901 and 1911 Toronto's

population almost doubled, rising from 208,040 to 376,538.<sup>3</sup> Part of this increase resulted from the migration of rural residents, particularly women, in search of work in the city's rapidly expanding service and light-industry sector.<sup>4</sup> Most of it, however, came from a vast expansion of immigration from Britain and Europe, part of a federal government policy designed to develop Canada's resources, industry, and agriculture, especially in the western territories and provinces.<sup>5</sup> In this one decade Canada's population grew by an unprecedented 34.2 per cent., largely due to immigration; by 1911 one in four Canadians were recent immigrants, up from one in twenty in the previous decade. Moreover, for the first time since the 1850s most of these newcomers remained in Canada rather than heading to the United States or peregrinating between their countries of origin and North America.

While the majority of immigrants were destined for the Prairies, through the decade a growing number settled in cities like Toronto, Winnipeg, and Montreal, often drawn by the wider prospects of employment available in urban centres. As Donald Avery has pointed out, the people that Canadian immigration agents recruited rarely had sufficient funds to establish homesteads immediately upon arrival, and therefore often found it necessary to take on employment in the resource or industrial sector; moreover, those who worked mainly in resource industries tended to seek work in the cities during periods of unemployment. Indeed, despite the official government policy of seeking out agriculturalists, a large percentage of

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<sup>3</sup>J.M.S. Careless, *Toronto to 1918: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co. and National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, 1984), 201.

<sup>4</sup>Marjorie Griffin Cohen, *Women's Work, Markets, and Economic Development in Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 134-147.

<sup>5</sup>Donald Avery, *'Dangerous Foreigners: European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979); Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974).

these newcomers was obtained specifically in order to increase the size of the Canadian waged labour force.<sup>6</sup>

Many Canadian commentators agreed that immigration was perhaps the simplest way to develop the nation's resources and economic base (as well as forestalling any further encroachments on Canadian territory in the name of American manifest destiny), but a number of observers, particularly civic and religious leaders, educationalists and champions of organized labour, viewed the rapid pace and volume of this immigrant influx into the nation and into the city with growing alarm as the first decade of 'Canada's century' went on. For example, J.S. Woodsworth, who had been installed in 1907 as the superintendent of All People's Mission in Winnipeg, warned in 1909 that allowing immigration on a massive scale threatened the "clearly defined ideals of national well-being" that Canadians had established for themselves.<sup>7</sup> He conceded that it certainly allowed for a more rapid expansion of industry, settlement, and resource development, but pointed out that it did so at the cost of increased competition on the labour market. This kind of competition, he argued, degraded Anglo-Canadian labourers by lowering their wages, and permitting both the devaluation of their work and the erosion of their general standards of living. The result may have been increased prosperity for the nation in the short-term, but, he declared, "[t]rue prosperity cannot be measured by the volume of trade or bank clearings. It consists in the social and moral welfare of the people."<sup>8</sup>

According to Woodsworth and many of his contemporaries, the deterioration of the

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<sup>6</sup>J.P. Huzel, "Some Demographic Statistics for Canada," unpublished tables based on information gathered in the *Census of Canada, 1851-1981*. Avery, *Dangerous Foreigners*, 17-18.

<sup>7</sup>J.S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates: Or Coming Canadians* (n.p., 1909; repr. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 232.

<sup>8</sup>J.S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates*, 186.

Anglo-Canadian labouring class due to excessive labour market competition was only one of the threats posed by large-scale immigration.<sup>9</sup> The possibility that other nations were exporting to Canada their paupers, criminals, and "mental defectives" - indeed any of those who were defined as physically, mentally, or morally 'unfit' - also menaced the country's "highest national development." Indeed, Woodsworth attributed much of the severe distress experienced by Toronto's workers during the economic depression of 1907-08 to the destitution of many immigrants recently arrived from Britain, and he voiced the suspicion that some European nations, and Britain in particular, were emptying their poor-houses, asylums and institutions for the economically, physically and morally infirm by sending their inmates to Canada.<sup>10</sup>

Not all critics saw immigration, and especially British immigration, in this light, however. *The Presbyterian* noted in 1908 that the immigration boom was a contributory factor to the high rate of unemployment in Toronto, but it pointed out that "a speculative spirit" had resulted in "a period of financial stringency" which in turn resulted in closure of many "industrial operations," and thus those with "no capital but their labor" were forced onto relief.<sup>11</sup> S.A. Cudmore argued in the December 1909 issue of the *University Monthly* that the many "pessimistic accounts of the increasing degradation of the British masses" were both

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<sup>9</sup>In their discussions of the new immigration, few writers in English Canada even acknowledged the existence of Francophone Canadians, and fewer still considered Canada's First Nations peoples, or debated the justice of their displacement by European immigrants of any origin. In *Strangers* Woodsworth characterised French Canadians in the same terms that he used to refer to Southern and Eastern Europeans - as decadent, ignorant, superstitious and backward. Indeed, Woodsworth was exceedingly anti-Catholic. In this book he maintained a conviction that the Roman Catholic church was at the least anti-democratic, and declared that Italian Christianity was merely a "baptized paganism." See 245-46 and 252.

<sup>10</sup>Woodsworth, *Strangers*, 188-190.

<sup>11</sup>*The Presbyterian* Feb 13, 1908, 195.

offensive and objectionable. Undoubtedly the condition of Britain could be vastly improved, he admitted, but after examining the statistics on her income from trade, as well as those which reflected the condition of her working people, relative to their counterparts in other industrial nations, he concluded that the British as a whole were prospering rather than degenerating. Moreover, through the social settlements Britain's best and brightest were addressing the pressing social issues of the day and seeking to bring about social regeneration in the spirit of Carlyle, Ruskin, Kingsley and Hughes, while armchair critics in Toronto ignored conditions endured by the residents of the Ward, "a slum as vile as the worst in London," as well as the dangers they posed if their needs were not met. Better to work toward remedying these evils, he concluded, than heap scorn upon England.<sup>12</sup>

While the 'quality' of the immigrants who arrived in greater numbers with each passing year remained a significant subject for debate in the period before the onset of the Great Depression, the ethnic composition of the influx became an even more frequently discussed topic as ever larger numbers of Eastern and Southern European labourers and agricultural workers arrived on Canadian shores. The concern lay in the conflict between the exigencies of economic versus social policy; industrialists and their supporters contended that the development of Canada's economic infrastructure demanded the unrestricted immigration of cheap labour, regardless of its origins, and initially many middle class Britons and Anglo-Canadians accepted these arguments. For example, in October 1907 the *Toronto World* reported that Rudyard Kipling had come out in favour of an unrestricted immigration policy for Canada, as long as preferential treatment was given to British immigrants. According to the *World*, Kipling asserted that Canadians could not avoid taking up what he called the

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<sup>12</sup>S.A. Cudmore, "The Condition of England," *University Monthly* X, 2(December 1909): 70-78.

'white man's burden' by restricting access to their nation's land, which was badly needed by the rest of 'mankind.' The *World* agreed with Kipling's view, noting that while some Canadians favoured keeping the 'surplus' lands of the Northwest for future generations of Eastern Canadians, and others advocated the active recruitment of a huge flood of immigrants in order to "supply the labor market and reduce wages," most people who expressed their views floated between the two extremes, vaguely recommending quality rather than quantity in immigration, but defining quality in very different ways. Significantly, the paper noted "[t]here is not much dispute but that 'quality' means 'white.' But does it include all possible white immigration?" Pointing out that various Canadian commentators were disparaging of one group or another among the recent flock of immigrants - of Italians, or Doukhobours, or Galicians, or Russian Jews, or Americans, or the French, or Catholics, or even of the English, the article asked, "[w]ho are left?" Readers were reminded that if they believed that only those immigrants who were familiar with Canadian laws, language, and institutions were desirable, Canada had two languages, and two kinds of laws, civil and common. Furthermore, constitutional monarchies like Canada's were the typical form of government throughout Europe except in Russia. The *World* concluded by saying that, while it opposed Asian immigration, and therefore could not completely agree with Kipling about the prudence of a completely unrestricted immigration policy, all white (that is, European) immigrants should be considered desirable, regardless of their religion or their nationality, as long as they were healthy, intelligent, and industrious.<sup>13</sup>

By 1909, however, a number of observers, apprehensive about the ability of Anglo-Canadians to maintain their cultural hegemony as the numbers of non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants grew, began to question the potential effects of an immigration policy which

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<sup>13</sup>"Mr Kipling on Immigration," *Toronto World* Oct 18, 1907, 6.

permitted the admission of large numbers of non-Anglo-Celtic Europeans. One fear centred on the reputed criminal tendencies of Southern and Eastern Europeans. In *Strangers Within Our Gates* Woodsworth rather vaguely assured his readers that the percentage of immigrants brought before the police court was far higher than it should be when their numbers in the population were taken into account.<sup>14</sup> This claim was echoed many times by many writers in subsequent years despite the statistical evidence which consistently disproved it. An interesting caveat to that claim was that it was not, in fact, the immigrants themselves who committed a greater number of crimes than their Anglo-Saxon counterparts, but rather the children of those immigrants.<sup>15</sup> Alternative views of 'foreigners' were also expressed, however. For example, at the 1911 Canadian Conference on Charities and Correction Mr E. Sweet of Brantford noted that as a result of his work with "foreigners" in his town he had had to change his opinions about them in many particulars. He pointed out that circumstances forced these people to live in overcrowded quarters - they did not prefer to live that way, as many had formerly thought. As for other preconceptions, foreigners were not, in fact, alcoholics, and as for being ignorant, Sweet had found them to be "far better educated than the average English-speaking laboring man," in addition to being a great deal more orderly than the Irish(!). With regard to the belief that foreigners preferred a low standard of living, Sweet had found instead that they were anxious to advance themselves in Canada: to learn English and the principles of good Canadian citizenship and proper comportment. In general Sweet found that as their standards of living rose, the people he worked with became increasingly industrious, thrifty, and law-

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<sup>14</sup>Woodsworth, *Strangers*, 206.

<sup>15</sup>See W.W. Lee, "Immigration and its Effects on Canadian Life," Fourteenth Canadian Conference of Charities and Correction, *Proceedings* (1913), 21; see also Avery, 41.

abiding.<sup>16</sup>

But the political and cultural implications of admitting a large number of non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants into Canadian citizenship remained a concern. Some observers contended that ethnic and racial characteristics determined government form, and characterized "Latins" and "Slavs," for example, as inherently less autonomous and individualistic than Northern Europeans, and thus innately predisposed towards despotic rather than democratic forms of government. Others held that if southern and eastern Europeans were properly screened prior to immigration, and were assisted to become proficient in English and the principles of Canadian citizenship afterward, they might eventually be capable of becoming completely assimilated into Anglo-Canadian society.<sup>17</sup> But, Woodsworth cautioned ominously, mixing the "races" might result in something other than a Canadian 'type' which combined the best characteristics of the disparate peoples who were flooding into the country; perhaps the worst, not the best qualities would surface.<sup>18</sup> Fears such as these soon found 'scientific' justification in the eugenics movement.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>E. Sweet, "Educating the Foreigner," Twelfth CCCC *Proceedings*, 104.

<sup>17</sup>Woodsworth, *Strangers*, 181-82. See also J.T.M. Anderson, *The Education of the New Canadian: A Treatise on Canada's Greatest Educational Problem* (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1918); F.L. Tilson, "The University Man and the School," *Acta Victoriana* 35, 4(January 1912): 211-214. Assimilation was something which most thought would be impossible in any circumstance for Asian and "negro" immigrants. Colour prejudice had deep roots in Canada. See, for example, Dan Hill, "The Blacks in Toronto," and Dora Nipp, "The Chinese in Toronto," both in Robert F. Harney, ed., *The Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985), 75-106 and 147-176. See also Alice Chown's *The Stairway*, 40-45, for an account of her own struggle with colour prejudice, both in herself and in her friends and neighbours in Kingston.

<sup>18</sup>Woodsworth, *Strangers*, 182.

<sup>19</sup>Eugenics had an significant impact on the settlements in Toronto, particularly toward the end of the First World War and beyond. For an early, and laudatory, description of this 'science' see J.R. Diamond, "Eugenics: The Application of Biological Principles to Social Science," *Acta Victoriana* XXXV, 5(February 1912): 265-268. See also Stephen J. Gould, *The Mismeasure of*

As apprehension grew over the possible consequences of non-Anglo-Celtic immigration, a number of theorists began to maintain that the only solution to the threats posed by immigration was to reduce immediately the number of immigrants accepted into the country each year, in order to ensure their proper assimilation and to preserve the quality of the Canadian working-class. As Donald Avery has shown, however, such a reduction would never have been acceptable to the powerful Canadian railroad, mining, and lumbering conglomerates.<sup>20</sup> This created a profound tension between those who were concerned about the rapid economic development of the country and those who were uneasy about what that development might mean for the character of Canadian society itself, and it was, in part, this tension which the settlements, on a broader level, meant to address.

Part of the "foreign problem" for many turn-of-the-century social reformers lay in the way non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants tended to settle together. Toronto is fairly representative of large industrializing North American cities in this regard. Proportionally speaking, between 1901 and 1911 Toronto's population went from 73% to 63% Canadian-born, from 21% to 28% British-born, and from 6% to 9% 'Foreign-born.'<sup>21</sup> It is clear from these figures that the percentage of non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants residing in Toronto was not high, even with the increased numbers brought by immigration; nevertheless, the visibility of the 'foreign

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*Man* (New York: Norton, 1981) and Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990). It is important to keep in mind that pervasive as the eugenicist arguments became through the 1910s, -20s and -30s, alternative views were also expressed throughout this period. For example, in 1911 the First Universal Races Congress was held at the University of London, and in reporting on that conference the editor of *The Presbyterian* remarked "[i]t is well for us to be reminded that modern authorities claim a monogenetic origin for mankind ... that color of skin and hair is only the effect of environment .... There are differences - and important ones - but they are all skin-deep and due to environment." September 7, 1911, 228-29.

<sup>20</sup>See Donald Avery, *Dangerous Foreigners*, especially Chapter One.

<sup>21</sup>Careless, *Toronto to 1918*, 201.

element' in the city population was heightened by its practice of forming small, culturally homogeneous enclaves. Not surprisingly, in the unfamiliar and frequently hostile North American environment, non-English speaking immigrants typically gathered in close proximity to others of their own language or cultural group, or even of the village or district in which they were born, often establishing homes and businesses on the same street as their compatriots.<sup>22</sup>

A number of these small "ethnic" communities had been established in various parts of the city before the turn of the century,<sup>23</sup> but the largest and most cosmopolitan immigrant reception area, particularly after 1900, was St. John's Ward, (or simply the Ward, as it was more commonly known). Located in the heart of the downtown area, just south of the provincial parliament buildings, the Ward was early twentieth century Toronto's most notorious slum.<sup>24</sup> Its humble, run-down shacks and cottages, most of which were owned by land speculators, housed the largest number of the city's poor;<sup>25</sup> the city's House of

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<sup>22</sup>The articles in Robert F. Harney, ed., *Gathering Place* discuss the formation of a number of ethnic enclaves in Toronto. In particular see John E Zucchi, "Italian Hometown Settlements and the Development of an Italian Community in Toronto, 1875-1935," 121-146.

<sup>23</sup>See [William Lyon Mackenzie King], "Foreigners Who Live in Toronto," *The Daily Mail and Empire* September 25, 1897, 7 and October 2, 1897, 10.

<sup>24</sup>In the nineteenth century Cabbagetown, a largely Anglo-Irish community located just west of the Don River, held this dubious distinction. See J.M.S. Careless, "The Emergence of Cabbagetown in Victorian Toronto" in Robert F. Harney, ed., *Gathering Place*, 26. But in "St. John's Shtelt: the Ward in 1911" Stephen A. Speisman maintains that the Ward "was considered to be a slum from the beginning," that is, from the late 1840s, as evidenced by the establishment of the House of Industry at the corner of Elm and Chestnut Streets in 1848. *Gathering Place*, 107.

<sup>25</sup>[W.L.M. King] "Crowded Housing, Its Evil Effects," *Daily Mail and Empire* Sept 18, 1897, 7. Careless, *Toronto to 1918*, 179, 183. See also F.S. Spence, "Some Suggestions as to Toronto Street Railway Problems," Address delivered to the Canadian Club, November 30, 1908, Canadian Club of Toronto, 1908-9 Season *Addresses* (Toronto: Warwick Bros & Rutter Ltd., 1909) 37-40, for more on the problems of overcrowding and its relation to the unreliable and expensive transportation in Toronto.

Industry, was camped in their midst. The largest 'ethnic' component of the Ward's population was Jewish; in 1900 this group outnumbered all other ethnic groups in the Ward, and by 1911 almost half of the Ward's population was Jewish of eastern European origin.<sup>26</sup> The city's largest Italian, Asian, and African-Canadian communities were also centred in the area, in addition to large numbers of the poorest recent arrivals from Britain and from other parts of southern and eastern Europe.<sup>27</sup> In these circumstances theorists of the day felt justified in drawing a connection between increased urban poverty and increased 'foreign' immigration.

The perceived self-sufficiency of small ethnic enclaves, together with the tenacious certainty on the part of many writers that poverty was inextricably linked to moral and intellectual degeneracy, greatly alarmed many social reformers in North America. Some critics of Canadian immigration policy maintained that people living in such communities were content to accept a lower standard of living than their Anglo-Saxon counterparts, that they would see no need to become "Canadianized" if left to themselves, and that they therefore posed serious social, economic, and political threats. On the political front, American and Canadian commentators alike warned that unassimilated, non-English speaking voters were almost certain to fall under the control of unscrupulous 'ward bosses,' who would corrupt democratic government for their own aggrandizement. Critics argued, furthermore, that immigrants living in self-contained "foreign" districts endangered national strength and unity simply by being different. In *Strangers* Woodsworth quotes an American authority, Prescott F. Hall's emphatic claim that "[t]he heterogeneity of these races tends to promote

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<sup>26</sup>Speisman, "St. John's Shtetl," 108.

<sup>27</sup>See Zucchi, "Italian Hometown Settlements," Nipp, "The Chinese in Toronto," Hill, "The Blacks in Toronto," Varpu Lindstrom-Best, "Tailor-Maid: the Finnish Immigrant Community of Toronto before the First World War," Zofia Shahrodi, "The Polish Community in Toronto in the Early Twentieth Century," all in Harney, ed., *Gathering Place*.

passion, localism and despotism, and to make impossible free co-operation for the public welfare."<sup>28</sup> Members of a heterogeneous population, experts claimed, would only seek to benefit their own narrow ethnic group. Indeed, Woodsworth stated, "the idea of a homogeneous people seems in accord with our democratic institutions and conducive to the general welfare."<sup>29</sup> This homogeneity included ethnicity and race as well as culture. Thus, while block settlements and ethnic enclaves in cities were believed to restrict the gradual homogenization of the Canadian population, the presence of the strong taboo against inter-racial marriage made the acceptance of Asian and black immigrants that much more inconceivable.

During this period of large-scale immigration Canadians began to perceive the rise of an array of social conditions which, taken together, came to be termed 'the Problem of the City.' Poor housing and sanitation, overcrowding, high infant mortality rates, 'foreign' immigration, unemployment, prostitution and crime all came under the mantle of the Problem of the City, as did most other problems and issues of this nature. While the wretched conditions endured by most of Toronto's working class had been the subject of newspaper reports and public debates for some years,<sup>30</sup> when in 1909 a group of Victoria College students did a detailed survey of the city's congested districts in conjunction with an upcoming evangelical revival, their findings helped to heighten a sense of social concern and desire for

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<sup>28</sup>Woodsworth, *Strangers*, 208.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid, 231.

<sup>30</sup>See, for example, [W.L.M. King], "Crowded Housing, Its Evil Effects," and "Foreigners Who Live in Toronto"; see also Paul Rutherford, "Introduction," *Saving the Canadian City*, and Alice Klein and Wayne Roberts, "Besieged Innocence: The 'Problem' and Problems of Working Women - Toronto, 1896-1914," Janice Acton, Penny Goldsmith and Bonnie Shepard, eds., *Women at Work: Ontario, 1850-1930* (Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974), 211-259.

activism, particularly among the religiously-inclined.<sup>31</sup> This intensified proclivity toward activism was further stimulated by the publication of books like Woodsworth's *Strangers*, by the growing number of conferences on social issues being held in the city, and especially, for Toronto's middle class female population, by the two week long Fourth Quinquennial Congress of the International Council of Women, which was held in Toronto in June 1909.<sup>32</sup> Within this climate, members of a variety of groups agitated for change in a number of areas, but those issues which pertained to children and to young women particularly garnered the attention of the middle-class reform community. Playgrounds, milk inspection, truancy, health examinations of children, women's working conditions, recreations, and housing - these concerns and others related to them became the subjects of many popular reform campaigns.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>"In the Slums of 'Toronto the Good,'" *The Christian Guardian* May 26, 1909, 3. The students repeated their survey the next summer, and also attempted to initiate a number of social and religious services in the areas they studied. See "Students' Social and Evangelistic Movement," *The Christian Guardian*, August 31, 1910, 6. C.S. Clarke noted in his *Toronto the Good: The Queen City as She Really Is* (Montreal: Toronto Publishing Co., 1898), that church attendance in the city was very extensive, particularly among members of the Protestant middle class, so the religiously-inclined would likely include most of the middle class, although only a comparatively small number of them were also inclined towards social activism. Still, the Protestant religious press, overall, shows a distinct interest in questions of social reform, thus support for this position was evident in many quarters. See also John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* ([Toronto]: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1972; repr. Burlington, ON, Welch Publishing Co., 1988), 98-99, 102-103.

<sup>32</sup>Social activism was a major theme of the International Council of Women conference, and settlement work was particularly highlighted, as the numerous reports in the local daily papers indicate. For a summary of the highlights, see Fidelis, "Impressions from the International Council," and "Fourth Quinquennial Congress of the International Council of Women," in *The Presbyterian* July 1, 1909, 802 and 807-810.

<sup>33</sup>See, for example, "Caring for the Bairns," *The Presbyterian* June 4, 1908, 708; J.H. Fenton, "The Civic Playground," *Acta Victoriana* 38, 4(January 1914): 184-189; and Kari Dehli "'Health Scouts' for the State?: School and Public Health Nurses in Early Twentieth Century Toronto," *Historical Studies in Education* 2, 2(Fall 1990): 247-64. For discussions of middle class women's interest in and attempts to regulate working class women's lives, see among others, Diana Pedersen "Keeping Our Good Girls Good: The YWCA and the 'Girl Problem'

One issue which reformers in the pre-World War One era had to confront over and over again, and which made the problem of the city even more perplexing, was the prevailing attractiveness of the urban environment. Indeed, although they often experienced exploitative, degrading and unsafe working and living conditions in the city, the working poor persisted there, obstinately refusing, as many middle-class commentators saw it, to give up the pernicious pleasures and dubious ease of urban living for the supposedly more healthful surroundings of the countryside. More alarmingly, their numbers were constantly augmented by in-migration from the countryside and from outside Canadian borders. While some saw this as the result of a lack of character among the poor, perhaps even as a preference for degradation, others were a little more discerning. For example, Edith Elwood, speaking in 1911 to the Canadian Conference of Charities and Correction had a different view.

We may assume this to be almost axiomatic, that once a city dweller, always a city dweller; for the cry of 'back to the soil' touches not appreciably the masses, but rather those whose position of comparative affluence renders possible a temporary residence in the country during a portion of the year.<sup>34</sup>

Clearly Elwood was including both the middle and working classes among the city dwellers, and as she pointed out, even among the middle class the preference was for the city, on the whole. Given this preference, it was unlikely that a simple solution to urban problems would be found in the nostalgic 'back to the land' movement, regardless of its romantic appeal for some. The answer, it appeared, had to come from the city itself.<sup>35</sup>

## II

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1870-1930," *Canadian Women's Studies* 7, 4(Winter 1986): 20-24, and Wayne Roberts, *Honest Womanhood: Feminism, Femininity and Class Consciousness Among Toronto Working Women, 1893-1914* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1976).

<sup>34</sup>Elwood, "The Social Settlement," 31.

<sup>35</sup>See J.S. Woodsworth, *My Neighbor* (n.p., 1911; repr. University of Toronto Press, 1972), especially Chapter 1.

In looking for alternatives, Canadian reformers frequently observed conditions and considered initiatives undertaken in older, more established industrial centres in Britain and especially in the United States. Canada's southern neighbour had been encouraging large-scale "foreign" immigration since the mid-1880s, and in this context social settlements had come to be seen as highly effective in advancing the process of assimilation among the non-Anglo-Celtic urban proletariat.<sup>36</sup> Yet some Canadian religious leaders saw the growth of the American settlement movement as another indication of the American Protestants' regrettable abdication of responsibility for the moral health of the immigrant and the poor. They applauded the largely secular American settlement workers' ambition to assist their neighbours, but were saddened that it was not the American churches which were offering this assistance. Nevertheless, Canadian churchmen found they could not argue with the success of the settlement movement, which was clearly more attractive to the 'dangerous classes' than city missions had ever been. Given this, the success of Evangelia Settlement, and the strong ties between American and Canadian, particularly Ontarian, social reformers, it is not surprising that several of Toronto's reform-oriented groups would begin to see settlement houses as a possible answer to their concerns about their city's "foreign problem." Indeed, some members of the public became most enthusiastic on the subject. In a speech given at the dedication of Evangelia's new building at Queen and River in October 1907 George Wrong, professor and chairman of the History Department at the University of Toronto, claimed that

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<sup>36</sup>See Rivka Shpak Lissak, *Pluralism and Progressives: Hull House and the New Immigrants, 1890-1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Mina Julia Carson, *Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement, 1885-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Howard Jacob Karger, *The Sentinels of Order: A Study of Social Control in the Minneapolis Settlement House Movement, 1915-1950* (Lanham MD: University Press of America, 1987); and Ruth Hutchinson Crocker, *Social Work and Social Order: The Settlement Movement in Two Industrial Cities, 1889-1930* (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

"there was the need for at least half a dozen or a dozen similar institutions in other parts of the city," while Charles Cockshutt put the figure, rather more temperately, at two or three. For his part, Governor-General Grey, the guest of honour at Evangelia's official opening, remarked that this evidence of the spread of the settlement movement into Canada "leads me to hope ... that just as Toynbee Hall, as a moral force has crossed the Atlantic, so this offshoot may grow, so that other offshoots will spring from [Evangelia] to reach not only the other parts of Toronto, which are already calling for them, but will reach every other city and town in our fair Dominion."<sup>37</sup>

Calls such as these became more and more numerous in the period between 1907 and 1912. For example, in 1909, when Jane Addams visited Toronto to participate in the quinquennial meeting of the International Council of Women, the rising concern about immigration in Canada made Addams' words additionally pertinent to her audience, as Flora MacDonald Denison later reported in *The Toronto World*.<sup>38</sup> For her part Edith Elwood, headworker of Evangelia House from 1908 to 1913, confirmed the connection between settlement work and the assimilation of the city's growing 'foreign element' in her presentation on settlement work at the 1911 Canadian Conference of Charities and Correction (CCCC); she noted the statistics on non-Anglophone immigration in recent years, the tendency of these newcomers to congregate in the city, and the important role the settlement

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<sup>37</sup>On this occasion a number of prominent citizens, including Lieutenant-Governor Clark, Mayor Coatsworth, newly-installed University of Toronto President Robert Falconer, Professor Wrong, along with E.B. Osler, Byron Walker, and other members of Evangelia's board appeared on the platform along with the Governor-General Grey. While this may not indicate widespread support for settlement work in Toronto at this time, it certainly points to a degree of awareness of it. *Mail and Empire* October 17, 1907, p. 2; see also *The Toronto World* October 16, 1907, p. 2.

<sup>38</sup>[Flora MacDonald Dennison], "A Social Settlement for Toronto," *Toronto World* May 14, 1911, 2, magazine section.

was intended to play both in assisting immigrants to adjust to their new environment, and in improving the conditions in which they lived and worked. A significant element in this work, according to Elwood, was that

Settlement work aims at being preventive. Its watchwords are cooperation and adaptation, the latter essential in meeting the conditions of a changing neighborhood, which five years ago was almost entirely English speaking, but which now presents 10 different nationalities and upon many shops, stores and churches are a variety of signs in an unknown tongue.<sup>39</sup>

Ultimately, in response to this heightened concern over the assimilation of non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants, and the growing problem of the city, in the period between 1910 and 1913, five reform-oriented groups in Toronto followed the lead of Evangelia's organizers and established settlements.

### III

The first of these was University Settlement, an institution which was greatly influenced by University of Toronto president Robert Falconer. Falconer, a Presbyterian scholar and university administrator, had studied in Edinburgh University in the 1880s, where he had been introduced to the thought of the British Idealists whose theories helped inspire the British settlement movement.<sup>40</sup> When he came to the University of Toronto in 1907 it was with a reputation for being distinctly oriented toward voluntary social service; indeed he

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<sup>39</sup>Edith Elwood, "The Social Settlement," 32.

<sup>40</sup>In "A History of the University Settlement of Toronto 1910-1958: An Exploration of the Social Objectives of the University Settlement and of Their Implementation" (D.S.W. diss., University of Toronto, 1975), 65, Hortense Wasteneys reports that Falconer also gained some experience in settlement work while studying at Edinburgh. This is confirmed in a letter Falconer wrote to J.J. Kelso in October 1907, in which he states that he had been acquainted with settlement work while in Edinburgh. UTA, A67-0007/002, Falconer Papers, Falconer to Kelso, October 11, 1907. For a detailed discussion of the influence of British Idealism on the faculty and students of the University of Toronto see Sara Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good: Social Service and Gender at the University of Toronto, 1888-1937* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996). See also Brian J. Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988), especially 26.

introduced the subject in his very first address to the student body after becoming president. In this speech Falconer denounced "intellectual aloofness," and argued "that the real university ideal was one of cooperation and service, in which the student was obligated to address the problems of contemporary society."<sup>41</sup> In the years leading up to the establishment of University Settlement, Falconer continued to encourage student involvement in social activism, and he also maintained his own interest in the latest methods and theories employed in reform circles; for example, he visited Toynbee Hall in the summer of 1909.<sup>42</sup> In February 1910 he addressed the students of Victoria College on the subject of how best to cope with social evils. In this speech he contended that students must use their "scientific training" for humanitarian ends, and in particular that they must "assist poor people by raising them to the proper environment." Humanitarian efforts, he asserted, would be useless if they did not incorporate scientific methods. Settlements, in which men and women combined "the scientific instrument with their splendid ethical instrument in the right way" would produce solid results.<sup>43</sup>

Falconer maintained strong personal ties with Britain; according to Hortense Wasteneys, he always referred to it as "the Old Country," and, she says, he "generally spent part of every summer there, either attending university conferences, recruiting faculty or renewing friendships made while he was a student at the University of Edinburgh."<sup>44</sup>

Falconer's orientation toward Britain in general, and British-style social service in particular,

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<sup>41</sup>On Falconer's reputation as a social activist while in Nova Scotia see Wasteneys, "University Settlement," 25; Robert Falconer, "Inaugural Address," *University of Toronto Monthly* VIII, 1(November 1907), 7-12; see also Burke, 52.

<sup>42</sup>Wasteneys, "University Settlement," 68.

<sup>43</sup>UTA, Registrar, A73-0051/244(06) "clippings - settlement," *Mail* February 22, 1910.

<sup>44</sup>Wasteneys, "University Settlement," 27.

was mirrored in the faculty and students at the University. Historian Sara Burke notes that in the period between 1907 and 1910 University of Toronto's male students and faculty came increasingly to favour the Balliol view of social service, a view which was heavily influenced by British Idealism. Burke maintains, along with Standish Meacham, that the Balliol view was that social service was a "voluntary and masculine responsibility" and that it explicitly devalued the work of professional female social workers.<sup>45</sup> Burke argues that, as in Oxford, social reform at the University of Toronto was presented "as a man's responsibility, but not, however, a man's career." Settlement work, within this context, was a means to acquire experience and information which would enlighten those who were to be the future leaders of society. Men's participation was considered more important than women's because male settlement workers would be more likely than their female counterparts to go on to positions of power.<sup>46</sup>

As interest in settlements grew among the male university community, this emphasis on the importance of male participation in social service led to a tacit, and even at times an overt, devaluation of the activities at Evangelia of the University of Toronto's women students. For example, in his article in *The Arbor* in February 1910 A.M. Goulding noted that

The need of a University settlement has long been vaguely felt among the undergraduates; but hitherto nothing definite has been done toward meeting this want .... There is, it is true, a certain amount of settlement work being done at the present moment, but it is more an experiment than anything else; and although it reflects great credit on the disinterested few who have undertaken it, it can scarcely be considered as fittingly representing the University. It is about time that the four thousand undergraduates in Toronto

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<sup>45</sup>Burke, 47. It was members of Balliol College at Oxford who helped to establish Toynbee Hall. See Standish Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and Social Reform 1880-1914: The Search for Community* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 34 and 46-47.

<sup>46</sup>Burke, 48.

should awake to a sense of responsibility in this matter and make their settlement work bear some fair relation to their numbers and ability.<sup>47</sup>

Goulding's dismissal of Evangelia's work as "more an experiment than anything else" can be interpreted in a number of ways: it may have been a simple case of gender bias, since most of Evangelia's volunteers and all of its residents were female; it may have been intellectual arrogance, since a number of the volunteers at Evangelia were not members of the university community; or it may have been a case of anti-Americanism, for although she had left Toronto for New York in 1908, Sara Carson, Evangelia's founder, was an American, and most of the methods and programmes she introduced in Evangelia had been developed in American settlements. Moreover, as we saw in Chapter Two, the substantial presence of university-educated women among settlement staff and volunteers was a hallmark of the American movement. Perhaps all three of these elements led Goulding to dismiss Evangelia. His contention, however, that the settlement could "scarcely be considered as fittingly representing the University" may have had more to do with the scanty numbers of male university members involved in the work than with his concerns over Evangelia's adequacy as an institution, for he went on to point out that there was a growing and extremely pertinent demand for settlements in various parts of the city, and that majority of Toronto's university students had been sadly neglecting their duty to fill this void. Focusing in particular on the unmet needs of working-class men for an alternative to the saloon, the street corner, or the cheap theatre, Goulding asserted

All they want from those more fortunate than themselves is a fair chance for self help and self cultivation. Such a chance we students seem qualified by nature to provide, for we are young, energetic, and, above all, sympathetic, - as agents for this work should be.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>A.M. Goulding, "An University Settlement," *The Arbor* 1, 1(February 1910): 33.

<sup>48</sup>Goulding, 34.

On a more pragmatic level, Goulding also pointed out that a university settlement could provide students in household science, divinity and medicine, as well as athletes and those students whose apparent excess of youthful energy usually landed them in mischief, with opportunities for the practical application of their knowledge and vitality.

Evangelia's connection to the women students, alumnae, and faculty of the University of Toronto, though substantial, was not officially acknowledged by the university administration, despite Robert Falconer's presence on the platform at the opening of Evangelia's new building in Cabbagetown in 1907, (and his expectation of an invitation to speak on that occasion), and despite the fact that Edmund Osler, who was the president of the university's board of governors, and other university administrators, advisors, and benefactors were members of Evangelia's board as well. This neglect may be a reflection of the fact that Evangelia's focus was on matters which held no interest for university men, since the settlement primarily concentrated on serving the practical needs of working-class families, and especially on those of women and children. In contrast, the most significant preoccupation of British university settlement work was the transmission of 'high culture' to male wage-earners. Inasmuch as the intellectual stimulation of working-class men was not Evangelia's main concern, the contributions which male students academics thought themselves best qualified to make in the settlement field were relatively inconsequential there. Since it lacked this cultured, androcentric focus, Evangelia could never have been considered a university settlement as the term was understood in Britain.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>See Meacham, 40-48, and Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 215, for discussions of the intellectual orientation of British men's settlements. Sarah Burke argues, from a somewhat different perspective, that male members of the University of Toronto may have seen Evangelia as an explicit challenge to the Balliol view of social service, and as a representative of American-style professional social work which, she maintains, was antithetical to the Balliol view, and which therefore explains the neglect of Evangelia by the male academic community in Toronto.

The lack of a 'proper' university settlement which Goulding criticized was soon to be remedied, however. Members of the University of Toronto branch of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) had begun discussing the establishment of a university-affiliated settlement house in the Ward in 1908, not long after Falconer took over as university president; in his report on the work that was being done at the LaPlante and the Fred Victor Missions by members of the university YMCA, J.N. Blodgett, the convener of the Y's newly created city missions committee, expressed the hope that the Association would itself create a university settlement in the not too distant future. Blodgett clearly had a religiously oriented settlement in mind, for he noted that a fully equipped university settlement would facilitate "even greater work" along the lines of that which YMCA members were then carrying out in the city missions.<sup>50</sup> George P. Bryce, the convener of this committee in the following year, reported the Y's continuing interest in settlement work, noting that Mr. T.H. Billings, Travelling Secretary for Canada, and Mr. Roswell Bates of New York, had come to speak to the University YMCA's city missions committee regarding the subject. He also remarked that the committee had been working steadily towards establishing a University Settlement, and that its members believed it important that they attract the broader university community to social service in general, and to service on behalf of the residents of the Ward in particular.<sup>51</sup>

Interest in creating a university settlement continued to grow among Y members until,

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I have found no direct evidence to indicate that the male students and academics considered Evangelia itself as a threat, although it is certainly possible that they did. See Burke, 42.

<sup>50</sup>UTA, SCM/YMCA, B79-0059/008, J.M. Blodgett, Convener, "City Missions," *Fourth Annual Report of the YMCA - University of Toronto*, 14.

<sup>51</sup>UTA, SCM/YMCA, B79-0059/008, George P. Bryce, Convener, "City Missions," YMCA, University of Toronto branch *Fifth Annual Report 1908-1909*, 14.

early in March 1910, the Massey family made an unanticipated offer to finance the construction of a new student recreation centre at the University of Toronto. This meant that the funds the University YMCA branch had been raising for the purpose of erecting its own recreation centre could be redirected to some other use.<sup>52</sup> The decision to use the building fund to establish a settlement must have been made almost immediately after the Masseys made their offer, for on March 11, 1910 the *Toronto World* announced that the University YMCA was set to organize a settlement along the lines of the Fred Victor Mission and the British university settlements. The *World* also noted that J.M. Shaver, a Methodist minister recently graduated from Victoria College, was to be in charge of the settlement, which was expected to include a gymnasium, baths, and a reading room. The report added that "[t]he idea of a down town house is to get in touch with the boys and men of the streets." To that end "[s]ome of the university students will live in the house so as to be close to the work all the time."<sup>53</sup> Although the settlement plan was announced in March,<sup>54</sup> the final decision to go ahead with it was not approved until the YMCA's annual general meeting in May 1910,<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>*The Varsity* (October 21, 1910), 2, asked those who subscribed to the YMCA building fund in 1909 to permit the transfer of their subscription to the University Settlement, since the Massey estate was going to pay for the new YMCA building and the student subscription money could thus be transferred to this other most worthy cause. The new Y building eventually became Hart House.

<sup>53</sup>UTA Registrar's Office, A73-0051/244(06) clippings - settlements, "University Settlement in Down-Town District" *Toronto World* March 11, 1910. The *World's* knowledge of the details of the plans for the settlement's organization - who its director was to be, how much the physical plant was expected to cost, and so on, suggest that these plans had been well advanced prior to the announcement of the Massey's offer, indicating that perhaps the offer was not as much of a surprise as it at first appeared.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid*; see also *The Varsity*, XXIX, 40(March 15, 1910).

<sup>55</sup>UTA - SCM/YMCA B79-0059/008, YMCA - University of Toronto, "General Secretary's Report" YMCA, University of Toronto Branch *Sixth Annual Report* (1910), 7; see also Allan Irving, Harriet Parsons and Donald Bellamy, *Neighbours: Three Social Settlements in Downtown Toronto* (Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press, 1995), 85.

when the members also sanctioned the expenditure of \$3500 to cover the cost of the settlement's first year of work.

Though J.M. Shaver in particular did a great deal of preliminary planning and promotion of the settlement among YMCA members in the spring of 1910, the University Settlement's official organizing committee did not itself meet until June 21, 1910, when it convened in Falconer's office.<sup>56</sup> The committee, many of whose members Falconer later appointed to the settlement's first Board of Directors, was comprised of university faculty, YMCA representatives, and businessmen and professionals from the community; these included President Falconer, who was chair, and Professors G.I.H. Lloyd, E. M. Walker, William A. Kirkwood, H.C. Griffiths, E.F. Burton, Dr. W.B. Hendry, and M.W. Wallace - the last of whom joined the committee later, at Falconer's request; the YMCA was represented by Professors H.T.J. Coleman and R.W. Angus, and G.A. Warburton, who was secretary of the Toronto YMCA; committee members of the business and professional community included Robert C. Matthews, the owner of an investment firm, R.J. Clark, an executive with the Toronto Street Railway, Thomas A. Russell, an industrialist, Harry McGee, W.F. Greene, James S. McLean, the secretary-treasurer of the Harris Abattoir and husband of Edith Flavelle, and last but certainly not least, J.J. Kelso.<sup>57</sup> Two of the

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<sup>56</sup>"The University Settlement," *University of Toronto Monthly* XI, 4(February 1911): 113.

<sup>57</sup>UTA A67-0007/011, R. Falconer to M.W. Wallace, June 24, 1910; A67-0007/045b, committee report, n.p., n.d. [July-August 1910]; background information on some of the committee members was obtained from the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, and from the city directory (Toronto: *Might's Directories, Ltd.*, 1910); see also Irving, Parsons and Bellamy, 86. Links to the business community were especially important for the success of settlement houses in Toronto; not only were businessmen important sources of funding, but some also rendered the services of their enterprises to the settlements for free, or at cost, and they sometimes also provided job opportunities for settlement clientele, as will be discussed in Chapter Six. For the importance of businessmen to the YWCA, in similar circumstances, see Diana Pedersen, "'Building Today for the Womanhood of Tomorrow': Businessmen, Boosters, and the YWCA, 1890-1930," *Urban History Review* XV, 3(February 1987): 225-242.

committee's faculty members, G.I.H. Lloyd and M.W. Wallace, had had previous experience working in a settlement, the former in England and the latter in Chicago, and in addition, J.J. Kelso had visited Jane Addam's Hull-House in 1893. But for the rest, and most importantly for J.M. Shaver, University Settlement's first headworker, (or 'Resident Secretary' as he was titled, in keeping with the YMCA administrative structure), this was a new undertaking.<sup>58</sup>

The committee quickly selected a storefront at 467 Adelaide St. to be the site of their settlement. Their chosen district lay on the outskirts of the Ward, west of Spadina Ave.<sup>59</sup> It was a mixed industrial/residential area, in which about 70% of the population was non-Anglo-Celtic. W.A. Scott, a medical student, and E. Murray Thomson, a student at University College, volunteered to assist Shaver. The three men lived on site over the summer, overseeing the renovations and studying the neighbourhood.<sup>60</sup> Shaver's bride, E.C. Asselstine Shaver, moved in in September to act as housekeeper, a role for which she was paid \$25 monthly.<sup>61</sup>

While they went into it with great enthusiasm, the overall lack of experience among

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<sup>58</sup>UTA, A67-0007/011, Falconer to Wallace, June 24, 1910; Wasteneys, 71.

<sup>59</sup>It is possible that the committee chose a site near the edge of the Ward's boundaries because they did not want to be seen as going into competition with the numerous religious groups then active in the Ward's centre. See "Eighteen Bodies are Doing Neighborhood Work in Ward," *Toronto Star*, November 5, 1912, 2.

<sup>60</sup>"The University Settlement," *University Monthly* (February 1911): 112-116. According to the Organizing Committee's first report, one of the vice-presidents of the T. Eaton Company had agreed to supply both materials and workers at "the best of bargain" prices. See UTA A67-0007/045b, Falconer Papers, committee report.

<sup>61</sup>Irving, Parsons, and Bellamy, 86. An M.A. from Queen's, until 1913 Mrs. Shaver was to be the only full-time female worker at the settlement, yet her presence was rarely acknowledged. This does not mean that her only role was that of housekeeper, however. The University Women's Club *Minutes* for May 16, 1911 noted that "Mrs. Shaver of the University Settlement gave an interesting account of her work." Unfortunately, they give no details of what that work was, although the impression given in the minutes is that it involved more than housekeeping. See UWCA, Volume II Minutes, May 16, 1911.

the fledgling settlement's administrators and staff was telling. As Edith Elwood noted in 1911:

[o]ne reason for delay in taking up settlement work [in Canada] has been the lack of trained workers, for it requires to be understood that settlement work is scientific, and the social settlement worker must either feel his way experimentally, groping in the dark amid the intricate network of city life channels, or else bring a trained intelligence to bear upon the solution of the city's problems.<sup>62</sup>

Elwood might well have had University Settlement in mind when she wrote those words. Yet in spite their inexperience, it appears that Falconer and his committee preferred to 'grope in the dark' rather than ask Elwood or her staff for advice, for there is no indication that anyone from University Settlement consulted with anyone from Evangelia in the initial stages. University Settlement's organizing committee did feel itself in need of advice, however; in their first report, written in July 1910, the committee members confessed with some frustration that they did not feel themselves to be sufficiently knowledgeable about the organization, general purpose, and work of a settlement to be able to make the policies and plan the programme of the institution with any kind of competence. They were further handicapped in the early part of the summer by the absence of J.M. Shaver, who had recently married and was evidently off on his honeymoon. Although Shaver had provided the committee with the annual reports of a number of settlements prior to his departure, what the committee members wanted was a specific model and a detailed description of the process by which university settlements in other cities had been formed. To this end the committee's secretaries, Professors G.I.H. Lloyd and R.W. Angus, wrote to some American settlements asking for pamphlets describing their organizations and their work; it is unclear whether or not they received the material they wanted, however. More ominously, the committee reported that as a result of its first inspection of the site it was clear to them that Shaver had

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<sup>62</sup>Elwood, "The Social Settlement," 31.

seriously underestimated the cost of furnishing, cleaning, equipping, and maintaining the building.<sup>63</sup>

Shaver's lack of practical experience in the establishment and operation of settlements, and particularly of university settlements, was probably the most significant handicap in the initial stages of University Settlement's formation. It could account for the striking similarity between University Settlement's programmes and the programmes of the city missions with which Shaver and the other members of the YMCA were already familiar.<sup>64</sup> In the absence of specific training, Shaver, like his board of directors, spent the first six months of the settlement's existence essentially 'groping in the dark.' It seems logical that in lieu of definite directions from the governing board concerning methodologies and approaches, Shaver would fall back on the model he knew best and in which, by nature of his religious convictions, he was most confident. This was unlikely to satisfy the settlement's governing board, however.

The *University Monthly* reported in February 1911 that the YMCA "felt sure that it was the students who must take the initiative in forming an organisation that would succeed in bringing these two classes [students and 'down town' residents] together in such a way as to satisfy the needs of both."<sup>65</sup> This conviction could explain why, despite its heavy financial commitment, the Y decided fairly early on in the planning process that it did not want to take

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<sup>63</sup>UTA, A67-0007/045b, Falconer papers, untitled, undated [July 1910] report of the organizing committee of the University Settlement. It is, perhaps, significant that the committee wrote to American, rather than English university settlements, in light of Burke's argument that University Settlement was intended to be modelled on the British prototype. It may be, however, that the committee members wanted advice immediately, and were concerned that information from Britain would take too long to arrive.

<sup>64</sup>UTA A67-0007/045b, organizing committee report, untitled, undated [July 1910]. See also UCA, Dr 15, No. 467, Fred Victor Mission *Annual Report, 1909*, "The Story of Our Work by Our Workers."

<sup>65</sup>"The University Settlement," *University Monthly* XI, 4(February 1911): 112.

responsibility for operating University Settlement. On June 24, 1910 Falconer wrote to M.W. Wallace:

Some time ago it was decided by the Directors of the University Y.M.C.A. to set on foot a Settlement for social work. A Secretary [J.M. Shaver] was appointed, and a house has been chosen on Adelaide Street. It is the desire of the Y.M.C.A. to put this under the direction of an independent committee, and while the Y.M.C.A. will stand behind it financially ... [illegible] all their endeavours to get it under way, they do not wish it to be a Y.M.C.A. Settlement, but rather a University Settlement.<sup>66</sup>

There may have been other factors involved in the YMCA's decision to turn the settlement over to the university, however. For example, the YMCA executive might have concluded that a settlement was too costly a proposition, in both volunteer time and money, to operate relying solely on the Y's resources. It is also possible, as Sara Burke has suggested, that the university administration, and Falconer in particular, were opposed on philosophical grounds to the creation of an explicitly religious settlement, even if it was a non-denominational one, under the university mantle.<sup>67</sup> Either way, the Y continued its abundant and very public support of University Settlement during its first few years, a practice which may have helped to maintain the vague perception among the student body that, despite claims to the contrary, the settlement was a religious institution.

Regardless of the notions of the student body, University Settlement's Board accepted the argument that direct religious teaching excluded too many potential settlement members to be useful in a cosmopolitan neighbourhood.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, the Board seems to have perceived

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<sup>66</sup>UTA, A67-0007/011, Falconer Papers, Falconer to Wallace, June 24, 1910.

<sup>67</sup>Burke, 59-69.

<sup>68</sup>Examples of these arguments can be found in "Discussion on Social Settlements," National Conference of Charities and Correction *Proceedings, 1897* (Boston: Geo. H. Ellis, 1898), 474; Jane Addams, "The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements," *Philanthropy and Social Progress* (n.p., 1893; repr. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1969), 20-21.

it as a deterrent to potential volunteers as well. *The Varsity* assured its readers in October 1910,

[t]he work is not directly religious at all. The idea of it, however, is that of social service, which is one the striking characteristics of the present age. University men should be interested. Higher education certainly broadens a man's intellect, but sometimes it also has a tendency to narrow his sympathies. The real University man is both intellectual and sympathetic.<sup>69</sup>

Settlement work, then, was presented to male university students as a means to round out their educations and stay on the cutting edge of current social trends, but not as a religious enterprise. University Settlement's resident secretary may have been a Methodist minister, but the extent of his settlement's religious teaching, according to *The Varsity*, was to encourage "those with whom it comes in contact to attend some church."<sup>70</sup>

Commentators in the university press and elsewhere were in general rather unclear in their definition of the role of religion in university settlement work. For example, writing in early 1912 C.B. Sissons said he found that at Mansfield House, one of the men's university settlements he visited in 1911 while in London, England, "[d]evotional exercises are not much in evidence, but one never feels that the spirit of devotion is wanting. It is only that the men have gotten away from the forms which trammelled mediaeval Christianity and are realizing the essentials.... Thus, the religious motive, while it is behind the various aspects of the work, is made to operate unobtrusively."<sup>71</sup> These sentiments, so typical of the British idealist viewpoint, found their echo in many of the statements made by the head residents of

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<sup>69</sup>"Intellect and Sympathy," *The Varsity* (October 10, 1910): 2.

<sup>70</sup>*The Varsity* XXX, (January 6, 1911): 1.

<sup>71</sup>C.B. Sissons, "Some Aspects of Settlement Work in London," *Acta Victoriana* XXXV, 5(February 1912): 253-54.

university settlements in Britain and the United States.<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, during the 1910-11 school year *The Varsity* continued to publicize periodically the fact that University Settlement did not hold devotional meetings or engage in any form of religious work.

The University Settlement's specific aims, and its method of work, were never explicitly defined in its first years of operation, and the first publicity pamphlet made only a general statement that the organizing committee aimed "to bring the University Students into direct contact with those living amidst the unfortunate social conditions of our modern cities and thus broaden the one and elevate the other," as well as, more vaguely, to carry on "all kinds of social work and investigation."<sup>73</sup> The educational role of the settlement is evident, but the institution also had a mandate to develop students' characters. Thus, during a fundraising campaign which the YMCA held for the settlement in January 1911 *The Varsity* asserted that settlement work gave students the opportunity to repay the city, which had given them the best it had to offer, by applying their education and skills to the problem of how to eliminate slums. In addition to building character among university students, the exercise of applying abstract knowledge to a practical problem, through settlement initiatives, also had an immediate value for the general community. Shaver argued that university men's social service work could stimulate further efforts on the part of the city inhabitants, and would, moreover, set those efforts on a firm foundation.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>Addams, "The Subjective Necessity of Social Settlements," 19-21; "Discussion on Social Settlements," *NCCCC Proceedings*, 474.

<sup>73</sup>UTA, B79-0059/034, Student Christian Movement, *The University Settlement: 1910-1911* (pamphlet).

<sup>74</sup>"Campaign News from Settlement," *The Varsity* XXX (January 17, 1911): 4. The students responded with enthusiasm; the campaign was successful in achieving its goal to collect the \$2500 necessary to cover the settlement's operating costs for the rest of its first year. See "Letter of Appreciation," *The Varsity* XXX, 28(January 31, 1911), 4; see also "The University Settlement" *University Monthly* XI, 4(February 1911), 116.

In an interim report on the settlement's first six months these rather vague goals were clarified somewhat; the *University Monthly* reported that the YMCA had been motivated to establish University Settlement in order to serve both the downtown residents needs for help, and the students' needs for a closer connection with the rest of humanity; the report asserted that this was indeed the larger goal of settlement work, as defined by Jane Addams, who was the reigning North American authority on the subject.<sup>75</sup> In the fall of 1911 the University Settlement published another, slightly more definite statement of its aims; these were, firstly, "to bring University life to bear on the problems of the city"; secondly, "to afford students the opportunity and privilege of enjoying and having a part in social welfare work"; and thirdly, "to establish in the community a permanent socializing agency for bringing about civic betterment."<sup>76</sup>

While University Settlement's goals remained vague during the first year of its existence, its administrative organization did not. In October the Organizing Committee drafted the settlement's constitution, which dealt mainly with its administration; the governing board was to consist of the University President, who was automatically the president of the settlement, and was, as well, elected chairman of the Board, plus two businessmen, one faculty member, one University YMCA boardmember, one member of the Athletic Association directorate, and the honorary president of the University's undergraduate

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<sup>75</sup>"The University Settlement," *University Monthly* XI, 4(February 1911): 112. Indeed most discussions of University Settlement emphasized its potential benefits to students, such as a chance to apply the skills and knowledge they had accumulated while in university, a broadened general outlook, and a deeper understanding of how 'the other half' lived, in addition to the 'feel good' factor associated with participating in altruistic endeavours. While the potential benefits to the settlement's clientele were mentioned less often, this may have been simply because the latter seemed self-evident.

<sup>76</sup>UTA, B78-1395, University Settlement (Ephemera), *Some Facts About the University Settlement* (pamphlet), (Toronto: University Press, n.d. [1911]).

parliament. While they made provision for only one student to sit on the Board, the settlement's organizing committee considered student involvement to be of paramount importance; thus they established a student work committee consisting of the headworker, or 'resident secretary,' the University YMCA secretary, the settlement's resident students and non-resident volunteers, representatives from the men's literary societies of each of the colleges faculties, the athletic association, and the medical, dental and engineering student societies. What precisely the student work committee's duties were remained unidentified, but clearly, student involvement was primarily to consist of providing volunteers to run the settlement's clubs and classes. Even Shaver, the resident secretary, had no voice on the Board.

In its first six months University Settlement seems to have satisfied most people's expectations of it. The *Globe* reported in January 1911 that "[t]he University Settlement on Adelaide Street is making marvellous progress. The staff has been increased, and yet the number of boys who come to the headquarters demands the assistance of a dozen more men, for whom the Settlement now makes appeal."<sup>77</sup> A week later Falconer wrote to R.J. Clark, a former member of the Board who had moved to Kansas City in the fall, that "[t]he Settlement is going on as well as we could have expected."<sup>78</sup> The interim report on the settlement published in the February 1911 issue of *University Monthly* noted that 80 neighbourhood boys had enrolled in its various clubs and classes, 65 "foreigners" were attending English classes at the settlement, 150 men had been treated in the settlement's dispensary, 60 students and 6 doctors volunteered for at least one hour each week, and the settlement library had received

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<sup>77</sup>UTA, Registrar's Office, A73-0051/244(06), clippings - settlement, *The Globe*, January 10, 1911,

<sup>78</sup>UTA A67-0007/012, Falconer Papers, Falconer to R.J. Clark, January 19, 1911.

large donations from Mr. Locke, the head of the Toronto Public Library, and from the boys of the University Schools.<sup>79</sup> It is important to emphasize here that University Settlement catered solely to boys and men in its first year of operation. Yet this limitation appears not to have been problematic for anyone.

Despite its apparent satisfaction, it appears that subsequent to the interim report on the settlement either the Board decided that Shaver had to go, or Shaver himself resolved that it was time to leave. The decision came about abruptly. In March Falconer wrote to Graham Taylor, director of the Chicago Commons, (a settlement in Chicago almost as famous as Hull-House), asking that Shaver be permitted to observe Taylor's methods, as the resident secretary wished to visit Chicago "in order to gather some suggestions as to the way in which the work might be conducted."<sup>80</sup> One month later, however, Falconer wrote to Rev. J. Tallman Pitcher of Gananoque and Rev. C.S. Deeprise of Ottawa, saying that Shaver had asked him to write "stating how it is that he is severing his connection with the Settlement, and desires to return to the ministry of the Methodist Church. This has arisen from no dissatisfaction with Mr. Shaver's work, but has been occasioned by the financial necessities of the Settlement, which require an unmarried man to carry on its work in its present quarters."<sup>81</sup> He later wrote a very terse note to Shaver saying, "I have sent the letters direct to Mr. Deeprise and Mr. Pitcher, and I hope they may be of service to you."<sup>82</sup>

It is difficult to tell, from this evidence, if Shaver resigned or if the Board dismissed

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<sup>79</sup>"The University Settlement," *University Monthly* XI, 4(February 1911), 116.

<sup>80</sup>UTA A67-0007/015, Falconer Papers, Falconer to Professor Graham Taylor, March 9, 1911.

<sup>81</sup>UTA A67-0007/012 and 015, Falconer Papers, identical letters from Falconer to Revs. C.S. Deeprise and J Tallman Pitcher, both dated April 10, 1911.

<sup>82</sup>UTA A67-0007/015, Falconer Papers, Falconer to Shaver, April 10, 1911.

him, and what really prompted the move in either case. It seems most likely that the settlement's living arrangements were part of the difficulty; Falconer's letters to Revs. Pitcher and Deepröse suggest that the accommodations may have been too small to ensure the privacy of a married couple who had to share their space with unmarried men. Indeed, at a time when 'the lodger evil' was gaining notoriety, the settlement's living arrangements might have been thought to set a poor example in the neighbourhood.<sup>83</sup> Shaver's salary may also have been an issue; possibly, he asked for a raise. This impression is strengthened in a letter Falconer wrote to Graham Taylor in 1913 regarding a successor for Milton B. Hunt, who replaced Shaver in September 1911; in this letter Falconer emphasized that a married man would not be suitable for the position because of the higher salary requirements.<sup>84</sup> Some historians, however, have suggested that the University Settlement Board perceived the imminent opening of Central Neighborhood House as a threat which they needed to meet by hiring a trained social worker to head University Settlement.<sup>85</sup> Certainly Milton B. Hunt, Shaver's successor, had excellent qualifications: an M.A. in economics and social science from Brown University, and a year's study at the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, in addition to two years experience working in Chicago settlements. Yet as the Board discovered, a settlement required not only a trained and experienced worker as director, but also one who could provide dynamic leadership, and Hunt's capability in the latter was, by one report, sadly lacking.<sup>86</sup> In the meantime, however, a new settlement had appeared on Toronto's horizon.

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<sup>83</sup>See, for example, City of Toronto Archives (hereafter CTA), RG 11, Box 167, "Monthly Reports of the Medical Officer of Health," for 1911-1914.

<sup>84</sup>UTA A67-0007/025, Falconer Papers, Falconer to Graham Taylor, April 7, 1913. Both Hunt and his successor, Norman J. Ware, were paid \$1200 per annum.

<sup>85</sup>Burke, 66-70; Irving, Parsons and Bellamy, 88.

<sup>86</sup>Wasteneys, 81.

## IV

Plans to establish Central Neighborhood House were inaugurated in April 1911, when George Bryce and Arthur Burnett, two Victoria College students who had been active in the 1909 and 1910 student surveys of Toronto's slum communities, decided to enlarge upon a Boy Scout troop which they had organized in the Ward.<sup>87</sup> They sent a letter to many of the city's most prominent and progressive reformers and religious leaders,<sup>88</sup> inviting them to attend an organizing meeting in the opposition lobby of the provincial parliament buildings. The idea, they said, was "to proceed on broad and non-sectarian lines, and to meet the people of the vicinity, Jews, Italians and others, as far as possible on common ground .... the ultimate aim would be the promotion of the best Canadian citizenship, and a contribution towards solving the problems of the modern city." Their intention, Burnett and Bryce said, was to widen the scope of their Boy Scout work "so as to form a meeting-place and centre of influence among all classes in the neighborhood, if quarters are made available."<sup>89</sup>

The April 13th meeting resulted in a great deal of interest on the part of those who attended, as well as a two-page statement of the aims and methods of the proposed settlement. The central aim was "the promoting of a high type of citizenship." In order to do that, the

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<sup>87</sup>Their survey work galvanized these two men to action in a variety of ways; Arthur Burnett was centrally involved in establishing the Student Christian Union at Victoria College in 1909 and 1910, and he helped to shape its programme toward addressing the problem of the city, while George Bryce became secretary of the university YMCA's city missions committee during 1909, when it first began to express a real interest in settlement work. See UTA - SCM/YMCA, B79-0059/008, YMCA, University of Toronto Branch, *Annual Report, 1908-09*, 14; A67-0007/026, Falconer Papers, Arthur Burnett to Falconer, April 5, 1913.

<sup>88</sup>Falconer was among those who were invited to attend, but he declined, saying "[a]s you may be aware we are already interested in [a social settlement] in connection with the University on Adelaide Street, and I do not think that we could divert our energies in another direction at present." UTA, A67-0007/012, Falconer Papers, Falconer to G.P. Bryce, April 12, 1911.

<sup>89</sup>CTA, Central Neighborhood House (CNH) SC 5 D Box 1, file 1, "Dear Sir:" letter from George Bryce dated 11 April 1911.

settlement had to become "a neighborhood force," and given the character of the neighbourhood, it was thus essential that those interested "proceed along broad and non-sectarian lines." The institution's lack of religious affiliation, its organizers asserted, would allow it to emphasize "matters of common agreement" rather than "points of greatest difference."<sup>90</sup> Given the number of differences between the various Protestant groups, and the historical antipathy between Protestants, Catholics and Jews, non-sectarianism was a logical, yet potentially treacherous, starting point for an institution meant to appeal to all community members.

Non-sectarian philanthropic institutions were very rare in Toronto at this time, so this step on the part of CNH's organizing committee was especially innovative. It is important to distinguish between non-denominational settlements, like Evangelia, which offered to its membership devotional meetings broadly based on the tenets of Protestantism, and a non-sectarian institution like Central Neighborhood House, which was in fact ecumenical in the sense that its organizing committee and later its board included "a Methodist, a Presbyterian, a Catholic, a Jew, and a Plymouth Brother, presided over by a Baptist."<sup>91</sup> Any form of active proselytizing might offend one or another of these religious leaders, so workers at Central did not "talk religion," but the emphasis on the presence of these representatives of their faiths indicates that this was, at least initially, not a secular institution. As we saw in Chapter One, the re-establishment of a sense of community, which settlement workers believed existed in pre-industrial times, was fundamental to the settlement ethos. Central's organizers maintained that the refusal to respect religious differences jeopardized this goal.

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<sup>90</sup>CTA, SC5 D Box 1, file 1, CNH "A Neighborhood House for Central Toronto."

<sup>91</sup>"Eighteen Bodies are Doing Neighborhood Work in Ward," *Toronto Star*, November 5, 1912, 2, 5.

Without the sense of community interdependence, the settlement's subsidiary aim, "to help in solving the problem of the city" would be that much more difficult to achieve.<sup>92</sup>

The first order of business, according to Central's Organizing Committee, was to find "suitable quarters ... with floor space for various social activities and rooms for resident workers." The settlement was to be "typical," in that it would serve several purposes at once; it would be a "democratic meeting-place" where "[p]eople of all races, creeds and stages of culture could get together and come to a better understanding, and by mutual contact gain in many ways;" it would also be a neighborhood social centre, where people of all ages would be encouraged toward personal development and self-expression. The settlement was expected, as well, to become an "observation post" where "the conditions and needs" of the district would be studied and "information of all kinds" could be obtained, where "various methods of social service could be tested and developed" and where "data properly interpreted and methods sufficiently tested could be used for promoting definite movements for social reform." As for the practical details of where to start and how to proceed, the statement of aims and methods made several propositions;

Work with boys was thought to be a good first step, and the Scout movement not only has a firm foothold, but is elastic in methods, high in ideals, and thoroughly useful.

Later on, self-governing clubs are proposed for boys above or below Scout age, and also for girls. In addition, classes would be conducted in various subjects, including English for foreign-speaking adults, different kinds of manual training or 'sloyd,' sewing and cooking for girls not reached by other agencies, and so on. There would be also gymnastic training, and library, and recreational facilities.<sup>93</sup>

As in University Settlement, then, Central's organizers decided to start with work with boys. The difference was that at Central these plans were soon expanded to include both male and

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<sup>92</sup>CTA, SC 5 D Box 1, file 1, "A Neighborhood House for Central Toronto," typescript, 1.

<sup>93</sup>CTA, SC5, D Box 1, file 1, "A Neighborhood House for Central Toronto."

female members of the community; when CNH opened its doors in September 1911 its programme included both males and females of all ages.<sup>94</sup>

Although some of the same people were involved at the organizational level, Central Neighbourhood House drew upon a somewhat different group of supporters than either Evangelia or University Settlement. When they decided to expand their scouting work, George Bryce and Arthur Burnett first approached J.J. Kelso, one of the most prominent social reformers in Canada at that time, who was then also involved with University Settlement. Actually, it is interesting that Bryce and Burnett were not themselves involved in the organization of University Settlement. Like Shaver, both men had been training for the clergy while attending the University of Toronto in 1909 and 1910, and Bryce later became a missionary in India. Burnett, for his part, appears to have turned away from religious social service by 1911, despite his heavy involvement in the Student Christian Movement while attending university. He published an article in the November 1911 issue of *Acta Victoriana* in which he asserted "settlements fundamentally differ from 'missions,' whose inadequate and frequently vicious charities and whose preaching services are rapidly becoming obsolete." It is possible, then, that Burnett had some reservations about the connection between University Settlement and the YMCA. Most likely, though, it was simply that by the time University Settlement was organized Bryce and Burnett were already engaged in their scouting work. In any case, as we saw from the statements made at the opening of Evangelia's new building and elsewhere, the prevailing attitude was 'the more the merrier' when it came to the proliferation

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<sup>94</sup>SC 5 D Box 1, file 2, E.B. Neufeld, "Annual Report of Head Worker," and "Weekly Schedule," in *CNH Year Book, 1912*.

of settlements in the city.<sup>95</sup>

Kelso helped Bryce and Burnett to secure space at the parliament buildings for the initial meeting, and his participation may have helped to attract the interest of other reformers to their cause. But Central's two framers also solicited, on their own, the participation of such individuals as Helen MacMurchy, Flora MacDonald Denison, and a number of other prominent social critics and welfare experts.<sup>96</sup> Those present at the second meeting, held at City Hall on May 1, 1911, not only endorsed the aims and methods which had been agreed upon on April 13, but they also nominated a sub-committee to further promote the new settlement, comprised of J.J. Kelso, Rev. Hutcheon, a Unitarian minister, and Rosaline R. Torrington,<sup>97</sup> Helen MacMurchy, Helen Leys, William A. Firstbrook, Rabbi S. Jacobs and

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<sup>95</sup>In the summer of 1910 Bryce prepared reports for the Presbyterian Brotherhood Committee on downtown conditions in Toronto and New York. The Presbyterian Board of Moral and Social Reform was at that time considering taking on a larger role in city welfare work. See United Church Archives, (hereafter UCA) 79.169C, Presbyterian Board of Moral and Social Reform and Evangelism, "Executive minutes of the Board of Moral and Social Reform, Sept 6, 1910, 7; see also UCA, biographical files, A.H. Burnett; Arthur H. Burnett, "The Conservation of Citizenship: A Critique on Settlement Service" *Acta Victoriana* 35, 2(Nov 1911): 62.

<sup>96</sup>The organization meeting, held at City Hall on May 1, 1911, was attended by Dr. Helen MacMurchy, Miss Helen Leys, Mrs. F.H. Torrington, Dr. Margaret T. Johnson, Miss Madeline Ellis, Mrs. Hendry, Miss Annie Staunton, Rev. R.J. Hutcheon, who was a Unitarian minister, Mrs. E.M. Hoban, Misses M.A. and C. Maud Cayley and their father Canon Cayley, Rev. J.L. Murray, A.P. Lewis, J.J. Kelso, and A.H. Burnett and George P. Bryce. CTA SC5, Box 1, file 1, CNH, Minutes, Organization Meeting, May 1, 1911.

<sup>97</sup>Rosaline Torrington was president of the local Council of Women, director of the YWCA, a member of the Women's Canadian Club, and was elected president of the National Council of Women in June 1911. Henry James Morgan, ed., *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Hand-book of Canadian Biography of Living Characters* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), 1105. See also Carol Lee Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred?: The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 52, 140-41. She was also the wife of Frederic Torrington, the director of the Toronto College of Music and volunteer choir master at Evangelia House.

Father Minehan, as well as Bryce and Burnett.<sup>98</sup>

The committee worked very quickly; on May 12 it drafted Central's constitution and appointed a sub-committee to find an appropriate site. On May 14, Flora MacDonald Denison published an lengthy article in the Sunday magazine section of the *Toronto World* in which she emphasized Kelso's, Hutcheon's, Mrs. Torrington's and MacMurchy's involvement with the project. She noted that their intention was to address the problem of the city before too much damage was done; "the object of the work" she maintained, "will be the promoting of a high type of citizen," not by challenging the religious beliefs of the people of the neighbourhood, but by offering 'neighbourly' assistance and practical instruction in things like English and hygiene. Paraphrasing the statement of aims agreed upon at the first organizing meeting, she assured her readers that Arthur Burnett and George Bryce, who were to be the volunteer resident workers in the settlement, would ensure that the institution would become a democratic meeting place for all the people of the crowded central district, regardless of race, creed, or "degree of culture," that the members would be encouraged to grow and develop their 'best selves,' and that the methods and schemes employed at the settlement would be scientific, sane and sympathetic.<sup>99</sup>

As Denison mentioned in her article, the settlement's most pressing need in its initial stages was for money. In June the canvass for funds resulted in only four subscriptions, but these amounted to \$260, a substantial sum to collect from just four people. It was just enough

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<sup>98</sup>CTA, SC5 D, Box 1, file 1, CNH, Minutes, Organization Meeting, May 1, 1911. The Organization Committee later added Mrs. Jacobs, Rabbi Jacob's wife, and Mrs. Leo Frankel, Mrs. Sigmund Samuel, Alice Chown, Elizabeth Neufeld, Central's first headworker, and A.L. McCredie, A.St.L. Trigge, and W.L. Symons to their number. This body acted as Central's board of directors for 1911 and 1912.

<sup>99</sup>[Flora MacDonald Dennison], "A Social Settlement for Toronto," *Toronto World Magazine* Section, May 14, 1911, 2.

to acquire a lease on a building in the Ward, to buy a few furnishings, and to take care of the start up costs. Over the fall, as a result of a letter of appeal for funds, Rabbi Jacobs' meetings with prospective contributors, and newspaper coverage of the settlement's opening, Central began to receive a number of small, and a few large, donations.<sup>100</sup> Throughout the history of this settlement, funding remained a significant problem, however; Central had neither a wealthy benefactor, as did Evangelia, nor an institutional affiliation, as did University Settlement and the other settlements which were subsequently established in Toronto.

By September 1911 Central's organizing committee had secured 84 Gerrard St. W, a house right in the heart of the Ward, at the corner of Gerrard St. and La Plante, and had hired Miss Elizabeth B. Neufeld, a dynamic American who spoke four languages fluently, and was a trained settlement worker and graduate of Baltimore University, as Central's headworker and only salaried employee (although her salary was not guaranteed, and was indeed paid only sporadically in the first year of Central's existence).<sup>101</sup> Neufeld was also Jewish, a feature which was bound to appeal to many of the Ward's residents, more than half of whom were themselves Jewish, but her religion did not endear Central Neighborhood

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<sup>100</sup>CTA, SC 5 Box 1, file 1, "Subscriptions to Central Neighbourhood House" June 1911 to March 1912. The first subscribers were W.H. Scott, \$50; W.A. Firstbrook, \$100; Mrs. N.S. Strathy, \$10; and J. Dinwoody, \$100. In the fall Central received large donations from Mrs. S.T. Warren, \$100; Mrs. J.H. Atkinson, \$75; S.C. Smoke, \$50; Geo. H. Gooderham, \$100; and W.A. Firstbrook again, \$110. Some donations also came in the form of cast-off furniture, china, linens, and so on from 'up-towners.' See BR, S54, "History of Canadian Settlements" Notes - Book B, Reminiscences of Carol Stanton Hogg."

<sup>101</sup>CTA, SC 5 I Box 1, File 1, CNH Record Book #2, November 1911-September 1912, Minutes, August 31, 1911, letter, J.J. Kelso to Mrs. Warren, September 29, 1911; SC5 B Box 1, file 1, Board of Directors Minutes, Jan 6, 1912 and Feb 20, 1912. How Neufeld came to be hired is not quite clear. According to the minutes of the August 31, 1911 meeting, the committee apparently began contemplating her appointment in the summer. Likely, one of the members had met her previously at a social work conference.

House to the more virulently anti-Semitic members of the larger community.<sup>102</sup> Arthur Burnett and George Bryce were the 'official' residents in the settlement during its first year, by virtue of living in the top floor of the building, while Neufeld, Alice Chown, and Misses Gertrude and C.M. Sanborn, Miss E. Kenny and Miss E.B. Orford, the Victorian Order nurse, lived at 193 McCaul St., a few blocks away.<sup>103</sup>

It is significant that the male and female residents did not live together in Central Neighborhood House during its first year. This was probably at least in part due to a shortage of space in the settlement itself, but far more pressing was the perceived impropriety of unmarried men and women sharing living space. According to Hortense Wasteneys, university regulations in 1911 prohibited male and female students from staying at the same boarding house unless they were members of the same family, and this probably included settlement residences as well.<sup>104</sup> The impropriety of respectable young women living on their own in the Ward was cause enough for alarm for some critics, and their misgivings were not entirely unfounded. In *The Stairway* Alice Chown includes a few anecdotes from her time living CNH's women's residence; in one she describes how, for the first few weeks at 193 McCaul the women from Central were continually being woken up in the middle of the night by young, well-dressed men. It soon became apparent to Chown that the house they were renting

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<sup>102</sup>See *Toronto Star*, November 5, 1912, 2 and 5. The articles describe a damning report on Central Neighborhood House which Alderman Wanless presented to the Parks Commission in the wake of Central's application for civic assistance in refurbishing the old Elizabeth Street school as a playground shelter. The report in the paper noted that behind all the complaints that Wanless levelled against Central "runs the belief that the settlement is Judaizing, is no more non-denominational than the work of the Presbyterian Church, and is preventing the people of the Ward from becoming real pork-eating Canadians." Neufeld categorically denied that Central was "Judaizing," pointing out that on the Board of the institution were representatives from all the major Protestant denominations. We will examine this incident further in Chapter Six.

<sup>103</sup>CTA, SC 5 D, Box 1, file 2, *CNH Year Book, 1912*.

<sup>104</sup>Wasteneys, "University Settlement," 73.

had until recently been a brothel. There were also concerns about the health risks of living in the Ward, concerns which were confirmed by the 1911 *Report of the Medical Health Officer of Toronto*, which detailed the overcrowded, unsanitary housing conditions endured by most residents in the Ward. These circumstances did not seem to deter Central's female residents, however. In *The Stairway* Chown also described some of the dinner parties she and her roommates gave, at which they sat their wealthy acquaintances beside the penniless; despite the relative informality of these occasions, at one party one of their more refined guests, who was unaccustomed to dining without a finger bowl, used her water glass for that purpose instead.<sup>105</sup> By the time Central's 1913 *Yearbook* was published, however, the settlement had expanded to occupy both 82 and 84 Gerrard, and when this happened the women residents began living 'in' as well. Neufeld justified this by pointing out that it helped in the settlement's efforts "to bring the spirit of family life into the work."<sup>106</sup> Presumably, the male residents continued to live in 84 Gerrard, while the women moved into 82.

Central Neighborhood House quickly gained the support of a number of civic-minded voluntary associations in the city. For example, in its annual report to the Local Council of Women, the Round Table Club of the Toronto Conservatory of Music announced that, in addition to the usual activities its membership undertook at Evangelia House, they had also "become keenly interested in the Central Neighborhood House, recently opened on Gerrard Street West, and several of our members assist in the work there."<sup>107</sup> The Toronto Froebel Society also spoke glowingly of "Miss Neufelt" and her work among "the foreign element in

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<sup>105</sup>Alice Chown, *The Stairway* (Boston: Cornhill Company, 1921; repr., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 93-96.

<sup>106</sup> See SC 5 D Box 1, file 5, Elizabeth B. Neufeld, "Head Worker's Report" *CNH Year Book, 1913*.

<sup>107</sup>Toronto Local Council of Women, *Annual Report, 1912*, 34.

Toronto," noting that "[s]everal of the kindergartners are assisting her in taking charge of some of the younger classes."<sup>108</sup> Moreover, a number of students from the University of Toronto, mostly women, became volunteers at Central soon after it opened.<sup>109</sup> In addition, the Local Council of Women itself supported Central Neighborhood House during this first year, as did the Council of Jewish Women, the Toronto Parks Department, the Toronto Suffrage Association, the Social Study Club, the Balmy Beach Culture Club, the Broadway Tabernacle Y. M. Class, and a number of local businesses.<sup>110</sup> While some of these groups probably limited their contributions to small donations of money, others, like the Social Study Club, also supplied volunteers. In addition, some groups contributed according to their special interest; for example, the city's music conservatories provided musicians for Central's monthly concerts for adults.<sup>111</sup>

The wisdom of avoiding religious affiliation became apparent soon after Central opened its doors. Many non-Protestant immigrants refused to utilise the services of most social agencies in the area because of the latter's evangelical focus. When Central first opened, one newspaper reported, the Jewish and Italian children in the neighborhood would come to the door to ask if it was a mission, for if so they would not be allowed to enter. When they were told it was not they would run home to tell their parents, the paper said, and

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<sup>108</sup>Toronto Local Council of Women, *Annual Report, 1912*, 35.

<sup>109</sup>CTA, SC5 D Box 1, file 2, "Annual Report of Headworker," and "Volunteer Workers," *CNH Year Book, 1912*; "The University and the Ward," *The Varsity* XXXII, 4(Oct 7, 1912), 4.

<sup>110</sup>CTA, SC5 D, Box 1, file 2, "List of Contributors," *CNH Year Book, 1912*.

<sup>111</sup>CTA, SC5 D, Box 1, file 2, "Annual Report of the Headworker," *Yearbook: CNH, 1912*; SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, Board of Director's Minutes, Dec 20, 1911 and Jan 16, 1912.

then come back.<sup>112</sup> Nevertheless, for some months the people in the community continued to suspect that Central was in fact a mission; since very few social agencies in Toronto were not affiliated with a church, this suspicion was not unreasonable. By January 1912, however, Elizabeth Neufeld was able to report to her board that this feeling had disappeared in the neighborhood, and that the older people in the area had begun to think more highly of Central in the past month, and had started coming in to the settlement for assistance with a number of private concerns.<sup>113</sup> Possibly the community's higher opinion of CNH was in part a result of the Board's decision to hold Central's children's parties at the end of January instead of the end of December, in order to avoid the appearance of holding Christmas celebrations.<sup>114</sup> By the end of the first four months Central could boast of a monthly attendance of 1120 in its various classes and clubs.<sup>115</sup>

## V

Anxiety over the 'Problem of the City,' combined with concerns over increasing non-Anglo-Celtic immigration, prompted social reformers in Toronto to consider seriously the prospect of creating social settlements as a means to address a situation which, they perceived, was becoming critical. While both of the groups who established non-sectarian settlements in Toronto were motivated by a desire to assist the working poor and the immigrant, clearly they both also believed that the benefits of their institutions would reach beyond their own small neighbourhoods. The University saw settlement work as a character-

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<sup>112</sup>CTA SC5, J, Box 1, file 1, "Newsclippings, 1911-1930." Unfortunately, the clippings in this file rarely include a note on their original sources.

<sup>113</sup>CTA, SC 5, B, Box 1, file 1, Board of Directors' Minutes, "Headworker's Report for January 1912.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid.

<sup>115</sup>CTA, SC 5 D, Box 1, file 22, "CNH Headworker's Reports," January 1912.

building endeavour for student volunteer and settlement member alike; the reformers who organized Central Neighbourhood House concluded that a strengthened sense of community, in addition to the application of 'scientific' principles to social service, would lead to the solution to the problems which Toronto faced. Instructing Southern and Eastern Europeans in the principles of democratic citizenship was central to the programmes they developed, as we shall see in Chapter Five, but neither group insisted that overt 'Christianization' was necessary to accomplish their aims. Rather, both groups, in their different ways, believed that evangelism would create a barrier that would make their goals difficult to achieve. As we will see in the next chapter, however, some groups in Toronto did not agree that the principles of Canadian citizenship could be taught independently from the principles of Protestantism.

CHAPTER FOUR  
'THE GOSPEL OF SERVICE:'  
THE ORGANIZATION OF RELIGIOUS SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS IN TORONTO,  
1912-1913

On November 16, 1910 the Committee on "Down-Town Conditions and Work" of the Presbyterian Board of Moral and Social Reform presented an interim report to the Board's executive council. The situation in Canadian cities was alarming, the committee declared, but it could not be redeemed using the methods presently being employed in most American and Canadian urban-industrial communities; in particular, social settlement work, as it was usually practised, did not go far enough, and the YM and YWCAs did not reach many of those they were intended to serve. Convener Rev. E.B. Horne conceded that these groups did good work, but in view of the seriousness of the problem Canadians were facing, and the inadequacy of existing institutions to address it, strong and decisive action had to be taken; the committee concluded that the Presbyterian Church needed to establish its own nation-wide chain of settlement houses. These would be settlements with an important difference, however; they would actively 'Christianize' as well as 'Canadianize.'

St. Christopher House was the Presbyterian Church's first settlement, and the mother house of the Presbyterian chain. It was established in the old Gzowski mansion, near what is now Kensington Market, on June 15, 1912. Chronologically, its organization fell between the transformation of the Baptist Memorial Church into Memorial Institute, a settlement house initiated and sponsored by a Baptist congregation, and the establishment of Riverdale

Settlement, a daughter institution of the non-denominational Evangelia House. All three settlements became part of Toronto's social reform community, but St. Christopher House's mandate extended beyond the limits of its neighbourhood, and its city. More than any other settlement in Toronto, its roots within the Canadian social gospel are plain, and it thus affords us the opportunity to examine more closely the place of religion within the Canadian settlement movement.

## I

The social gospel was a movement which, according to Richard Allen, "was part of a widespread attempt in Europe and North America to revive and develop Christian social insights and to apply them to the emerging forms of a collective society." Rising, in Canada, in the period between 1890 and 1914, the movement rested "on the premise that Christianity was a social religion, concerned, when the misunderstanding of the ages was stripped away, with the quality of human relations on this earth."<sup>1</sup> As we saw in Chapter One, the quality of human relations was the central concern of the settlement movement, and in fact, a number of historians have demonstrated important links between the social gospel and the settlement movement.<sup>2</sup> But the social gospel was a complex phenomenon, and although it affected in some way nearly every major Christian denomination in Canada, it touched each one differently. Thus, the acceptance of the social gospel on the part of church leaders did not necessarily lead to widespread support for social settlements, either religious or secular.

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<sup>1</sup>Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 3-4.

<sup>2</sup>See, for example, Richard Allen, *The Social Passion*, 11-12; Jacqueline Gale Wills, "Efficiency, Feminism and Cooperative Democracy: Origins of the Toronto Social Planning Council, 1918-1957" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1989); and Ruth Hutchinson Crocker, *Social Work and Social Order: The Settlement Movement in Two Industrial Cities, 1889-1930* (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

According to some historians, the roots of Christian Socialism, and of the social gospel in particular, lay in the early nineteenth century Owenite movement, and in initiatives such as the cooperative movement which emerged from it.<sup>3</sup> While this background might suggest to some that the movement was inherently radical in nature, Richard Allen notes that as the Canadian social gospel movement evolved, it in fact crystallized into three branches, which he identified as radical, progressive, and conservative.<sup>4</sup> These branches were not specific to denominations, but some creeds were more amenable to the more radical aspects of the social gospel than were others; in particular, he says, The Anglican Church had the most difficulty accepting the social gospel at the institutional level, while the Calvinist heritage of Presbyterianism fostered a more traditional attitude to social issues than did the revivalist legacy of the Methodists. Indeed, Allen argues that early Calvinist social constructions "had been intended more to keep society from disintegrating than to provide the staging for the society of regenerated man." By the end of the nineteenth century, however, Canadian Presbyterians were also becoming greatly influenced by the evangelical Free Kirk movement, and it was through this avenue, Allen tells us, that Presbyterians came to adopt the social gospel.<sup>5</sup>

Evangelicalism was in fact a cornerstone of the Canadian social gospel. This may at first seem paradoxical, for the social gospel is usually associated with a commitment to progressive, even radical, societal reforms, while evangelicalism implies, for many modern-

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<sup>3</sup>Barbara Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Virago Press, 1983); and Wills, "Efficiency, Feminism and Cooperative Democracy."

<sup>4</sup>Allen, *The Social Passion*, 17.

<sup>5</sup>Allen, *The Social Passion*, 5-6; see also Brian J. Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988), 33-38, 106-109.

day observers, a commitment to fundamentalism - to the redemption of individual souls rather than the collective social order. But as Phyllis Airhart illustrates, the contemporary association between evangelicalism and fundamentalism evolved in the wake of what she identifies as "the collapse of the nineteenth-century evangelical consensus," a collapse which forced evangelicals to choose between either the fundamentalist or the progressivist camp.<sup>6</sup> Prior to this collapse, turn-of-the-century evangelicals were often, according to Norris Magnusson, much more progressive, and had a far more enlightened view of the urban poor than did many of their philanthropic peers.<sup>7</sup>

In addition, the social gospel's identification with societal reform is less straightforward than it might first appear. While William R. Hutchison's definition of the movement as one in which "social salvation precedes individual salvation both temporally and in importance" may have held true in the post-World War One era, Phyllis Airhart's work on Methodists and Brian Fraser's on Presbyterians has demonstrated that between the end of the nineteenth century and the outbreak of World War One social gospellers in these denominations came to perceive individual and social salvation as complementary processes, not separate ones. One form of deliverance did not necessarily transcend the other; rather, for Canadian social gospellers the two were closely interwoven. Indeed, as Airhart points out, "[r]ecognizing the importance of 'saving society' did not end concern for 'cure of souls' of individuals." In fact, she maintains, this intertwining of the two was often played out at the personal level, as many resolved their personal crises of faith through performing voluntary

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<sup>6</sup>Phyllis D. Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 4.

<sup>7</sup>Norris Magnusson, *Salvation in the Slums: Evangelical Social Work, 1865-1920* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, and the American Theological Library Assoc., 1977).

acts of social service.<sup>8</sup>

The social gospel gained wide currency, not only in Canadian pulpits but also in non-denominational social reform circles in the decade following the turn of the century. For example, in 1911 Samuel Arnold told the Canadian Conference of Charities and Corrections (CCCC) that it was well within the province of ministers of the gospel to speak out against exploitation, injustice, and crime, asserting that the gospel was being broadened to include physical and intellectual, as well as moral salvation. There were, indeed, many agencies working on the 'social problem,' he said, but none were as suited to meeting the situation as the church. If the church ignored its duty, and continued to concentrate solely on preparing people for the next world, it would be left behind in the march of human progress, but if it accepted the challenge it would enter "a new era of strength and prosperity."<sup>9</sup> Arnold's assertions provided an interesting contrast with comments made just a decade earlier to this same organization; at the 1901 CCCC meeting Miss L.E. Taylor, of the Charity Organization Society, argued that the church was wholly inadequate to deal with work outside of matters spiritual - that the clergy lacked the time to take on the cure of society in addition to the cure of souls and, moreover, sectarian divisions within the field of charity, which resulted from the church's involvement in philanthropy, promoted pauperism by permitting the distribution of alms to spurious converts. Rather than increasing its role in social amelioration, Taylor asserted that it would be much wiser for the church to turn this duty over to agencies such as

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<sup>8</sup>William R. Hutchinson, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* 2nd. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 165, quoted in Airhart, *Serving the Present Age*, 104; see also *ibid.*, 104-126, and Fraser, *The Social Uplifters*, 84.

<sup>9</sup>Samuel Arnold, "The Social Problem and the Church's Share in its Solution," *Canadian Conference of Charities and Correction Proceedings, 1911* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), 121-123. Quotation on 123.

hers.<sup>10</sup>

The fact that a female representative of a non-denominational social agency made these remarks raises a significant question; how did religious leaders' acceptance of the social gospel, and therefore of a greater temporal role for the church, affect those philanthropic organizations which were established and run largely by women? As many scholars have made clear, most nineteenth-century middle class women's social service organizations were sanctioned by the church; indeed, clergy approval was vital to the initial success of these groups, yet as long as charity remained a mostly female concern the groups themselves were relatively free of male control.<sup>11</sup> As the social gospel prompted early twentieth century religious leaders to urge that the church itself get more directly into the business of social service, how did it affect the autonomy of women's organizations?

In fact, in the period before World War One women's denominational social service groups appear to have been benefitted, overall, through the advent of the social gospel. While the characterization of the social gospel as a movement dominated by male religious leaders

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<sup>10</sup>L.E. Taylor, "The Charity Organization Society," *Canadian Conference of Charities and Correction Proceedings, 1901* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1901), 25-28.

<sup>11</sup>See, for example, Carol Baines, "Women's Reform Organizations in Canada, 1870-1930: A Historical Perspective," *Working Papers on Social Welfare in Canada* 26 (Toronto: Faculty of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1988); Wendy Mitchinson, "Early Women's Organizations and Social Reform: Prelude to the Welfare State," in Allan Moscovitch and Jim Albert, eds., *The Benevolent State: The Growth of Welfare in Canada* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987), 77-92; Diana Pedersen, "'The Call to Service': The YWCA and the Canadian College Women, 1886-1920," in Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid, eds., *Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 187-215; T.R. Morrison, "'Their Proper Sphere'" Feminism, the Family, and Child-Centred Social Reform in Ontario, 1875-1900," *Ontario History* 68, 1(March 1976): 46-64, continued in 68, 2(June 1976), 65-74; Stephen A. Speisman, "Munificent Parsons and Municipal Parsimony," *Ontario History* 65, 1(March 1973): 33-49; and Gail Cuthbert Brandt, "Organizations in Canada: The English Protestant Tradition," in Paula Bourne, ed., *Women's Paid and Unpaid Work: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1985).

can lead to a devaluation of women's roles within it, in reality women's groups played an important part in advancing the social gospel. Indeed, Carol Baines argues that the dramatic rise of women's social reform organizations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was partly due to a growing recognition that the regeneration of Christianity would depend on the 'agency' of Christian women.<sup>12</sup> She maintains that women's reform groups derived legitimacy and reinforcement from the mainline Protestant churches, and that rather than detracting from it, the social gospel contributed to that legitimacy.<sup>13</sup> While women's reform activities often focused exclusively on work with women and children,<sup>14</sup> an area which, as we saw when we explored the establishment of Evangelia and of University Settlement, men tended to disregard, it could be argued that the bulk of the movement's practical accomplishments derived from the initiatives undertaken by women's groups. As Gale Wills points out, the leadership of the social gospel was male, but most of the 'rank and file' of the movement was female; in other words, while men were providing the rhetoric, women were doing most of the work.<sup>15</sup>

## II

The Presbyterian Board of Social Service and Evangelism, the body that was eventually responsible for creating and overseeing the Presbyterian church's chain of social

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<sup>12</sup>Baines, "Women's Reform Organizations," 1.

<sup>13</sup>Baines, "Women's Reform Organizations," 3.

<sup>14</sup>Mitchinson, "Early Women's Organization and Social Reform," 77; T.R. Morrison, "'Their Proper Sphere.'"

<sup>15</sup>Wills, "Efficiency, Feminism, and Cooperative Democracy," 61, and Baines, "Women's Reform Organizations," *passim*. It is even possible that the level of acceptance of the social gospel within a denomination corresponded to the level of its acceptance of a broad role for women in the church. Further research on this question is necessary, however, before any firm conclusions can be reached.

settlements, was a national group created in 1907 for the purpose of studying the moral and social problems which Canadians were beginning to encounter across the nation. Its members were male, and most of them were fairly high-status members of clergy. The Board's mandate was threefold; to investigate the social and moral problems which were materializing, "to establish a Bureau of Information on moral and social questions; and to indicate lines of action calculated to remove the existing abuse and improve conditions in these regards."<sup>16</sup>

While the Board was concerned with a broad range of issues, from political corruption to rural depopulation, from its inception in 1907 some of its members had been particularly concerned about Canada's growing 'down-town' problem, and a belief that the church as a body had a duty to solve it.<sup>17</sup> By 1909 the Board as a whole had begun to focus much of its attention on the moral and social conditions of Canadian cities, and frequently, the concerns expressed by the Board were echoed in the church press. For example, one issue that especially concerned the Board was that Presbyterians seemed less interested in assisting the poor than they should be; in February 1908, at the height of a depression which was especially severe for blue-collar workers in Toronto, *The Presbyterian* ran an editorial maintaining that church members had a special responsibility to relieve poverty brought about by unemployment or other causes. Noting that some degree of unemployment was inevitable in any industrial centre, the editorial pointed out that the circumstances they were currently

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<sup>16</sup>General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, *Acts and Proceedings*, Minutes, 53, quoted in Brian J. Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo, ON; Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1988), 70. As Fraser notes, the Board changed its name several times between 1907 and 1915; "[i]n 1908 it reported as the Committee on Moral and Social Reform; in 1909 as the Board of Moral and Social Reform; in 1910 as the Board of Moral and Social Reform and Evangelism; in 1912 as the Board of Social Service and Evangelism." See p. 76, footnote 73. In order to avoid confusion, in the text I will refer to it as the Board of Social Service and Evangelism throughout.

<sup>17</sup>See, for example, UCA, 79.169C, Presbyterian Church in Canada, Board of Moral and Social Reform and Evangelism, Executive Minutes, April 13, 1908, and Sept 9, 1908.

facing were exceptional; a large influx of immigrants had come to the city at precisely the time when the "speculative spirit born of almost too great prosperity" had brought about "a period of financial stringency." Those who were suffering were not habitual paupers; rather, they were individuals who had nothing but their labour to sell, and nowhere to sell it. Remarking that the distress of the unemployed in Toronto was nowhere near as bad as it was in American industrial cities, and Canadian workers were therefore not as militant, the paper went on to note that "here is an opportunity for the Christian Church which it cannot afford to allow to pass .... let every congregation in the country, whether great or small, become a league of service seeking out and ministering to cases of need."<sup>18</sup> In 1909 C.W. Gordon extended this responsibility to include the assimilation of Southern and Eastern European immigrants when he argued that "the Christian Church after all must solve this problem as to what to do with the foreigners .... We must disarm these people; we must remove their suspicions; we must awaken confidence in them, and we must draw them to us by the bands of love."<sup>19</sup>

But how to do that? Brian Fraser notes that the members of the Presbyterian Board of Social Service and Evangelism, who were all middle class, urban-based professional men, lacked early pastoral experience in the urban slums, experience which had provided many of the most prominent Canadian and American proponents of the social gospel with a somewhat more intimate knowledge of the working poor than a typical middle-class lifestyle might allow. This deficiency of background had, Fraser says, a profound influence on the way Presbyterian progressives perceived city conditions, as well as on the solutions they

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<sup>18</sup>"A Great Opportunity," *The Presbyterian*, February 13, 1908, 195-96.

<sup>19</sup>Rev. C.W. Gordon, "Our Duty to English-Speaking and European Settlers," *Canada's Missionary Congress* (Toronto: Canadian Council, Laymen's Missionary Movement, 1909), 107.

formulated to address the situation, for in the absence of 'seasoning' on what might be considered the 'front-lines,' the members of the Presbyterian Board tended to have a very conservative view of the urban poor, and to see immigrants only in aggregate, a threat to the established social order. Certainly, none of these men envisioned moving into a slum neighbourhood or doing actual settlement work themselves. Rather, they saw their role as administrative, which was perhaps unfortunate; as we saw in an earlier chapter, for some clergymen and others who assisted in educational work among Southern and Eastern European immigrants, the experience of actually interacting with their pupils had exploded many of their preconceived notions about 'foreigners.'<sup>20</sup> In lieu of this experience J.G. Shearer and the rest of the Board relied upon published accounts of city work, and sympathetic or not, these accounts often tended to portray the immigrant and urban poor as an ominous, undifferentiated mass. As a result, Brian Fraser argues, Board members were motivated to work on behalf of the poor and the immigrant for conservative ends; essentially, they wanted "to legitimate the system and assimilate foreign elements into it, rather than transform its values and structures."<sup>21</sup>

Many American settlement leaders were proponents of the social gospel;<sup>22</sup> indeed, Ruth Crocker notes that religion "played a much greater role in the settlement movement than many historians have recognized."<sup>23</sup> In fact, individual American churches often sponsored

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<sup>20</sup>E. Sweet, "Educating the Foreigner," Canadian Conference of Charities and Corrections, *Report of the Proceedings, 1911* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), 104-106.

<sup>21</sup>Fraser, *The Social Uplifters*, 77-78.

<sup>22</sup>See, for example, Ellen Fitzpatrick, *Endless Crusade: Women Social Scientists and Progressive Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 38.

<sup>23</sup>Ruth Hutchinson Crocker, *Social Work and Social Order: The Settlement Movement in Two Industrial Cities, 1889-1930* (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 211.

settlements. Moreover, some American settlements which began as secular institutions were forced by financial exigencies to seek church affiliation, while others, which began as religious institutions, evolved into secular establishments. Crocker argues that these circumstances resulted in the social gospel having a greater impact on what she calls the "second-tier" American settlements (those which gained little or no celebrity), than did the newly-developed discipline of sociology, regardless of the latter's influence on the more famous institutions like Hull-House and the Henry Street Settlement.<sup>24</sup>

Nonetheless, in 1910 the religious underpinnings of many of the American settlements were not obvious to Canadians. In fact, according to the Presbyterian Board of Social Service and Evangelism's Committee on Down-Town Conditions, the problem with American settlements as a whole was that they lacked a firm religious foundation upon which to base their work. The committee insisted that it was essential that the settlements established by the Presbyterian Church in Canada should

seek not merely to humanize and civilize but also definitely to Christianize. The Church must tackle this down-town problem as a Church. We are going into this work not merely inspired by a thin, sentimental humanism, but because we are Christian people who seek the advancement of Christ's Kingdom and the saving of men's lives.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Crocker, *Social Work and Social Order*, 212-213.

<sup>25</sup>UCA, 79.169C, Presbyterian Church in Canada, Board of Social and Moral Reform and Evangelism, 1907-1916, "Executive Minutes" Nov 16, 1910, 3. See also Ethel Dodds Parker, "The Origins and Early History of the Presbyterian Settlement Houses," in Richard Allen, ed., *The Social Gospel in Canada: Papers of the Interdisciplinary Conference on the Social Gospel in Canada, March 21-24, 1973, at the University of Regina* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975, National Museum of Man Mercury Series, History Division, Paper No. 9), 93-94. Parker, St. Christopher's headworker from 1917 to 1921, has suggested that Rev. E.B. Horne, the convener of the Committee on Down-Town Conditions, was the one who insisted on defining the proposed settlement's role as both a 'civilizing' and a 'Christianizing' influence. It is clear from the minutes, however, that while committee members may not have seen the execution of evangelical settlement work in the same light, the inclusion of evangelistic activities of some kind was never in question for any of them.

Supporters of the plan to establish Presbyterian settlement work had to acknowledge openly, the committee argued, that the teachings of Christ and of the Presbyterian Church had inspired them and provided the foundation for their settlement work. This acknowledgement was particularly important if they expected, as they did, that church members would provide the bulk of the moral and financial support for the venture. Moreover, the church was itself "absolutely necessary" to the conduct of the work, so from the committee's perspective it would be fatuous to downplay the affiliation. A Presbyterian Church settlement, then, would "not only carry on the ordinary activities of a 'Settlement,' but also a positive, definite, aggressive, evangelical, evangelistic propaganda." As the committee saw it, unified national leadership and a high degree of local voluntary support was essential to the success of the scheme, and the best way to garner that support was to declare to their congregations, and the public at large, that the ultimate aim and purpose of Presbyterian settlement work was "to bring men into conscious and confessed relationship to Him."<sup>26</sup>

This was something that, as far as many Canadian religious leaders were concerned, Americans had clearly failed even to attempt. Canadian churchmen were inclined to attribute the severity of the problems faced by American cities to the failure of mainline American churches to accept their responsibility for the assimilation, Americanization, and evangelization of 'foreign' immigrants in their lands. Instead of embarking on an aggressive campaign to bring these newcomers "into harmony with the laws, the institutions and the Christian ideals which they [Americans], as we, covet and hold dear," American congregations had abandoned the down-town areas for the more 'comfortable' up-town

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<sup>26</sup>UCA, 79.169C, Presbyterian Board of Social and Moral Reform, Executive Minutes, November 16, 1910, 3.

districts.<sup>27</sup> As William Knox put it in a letter to J.G. Shearer, the General Secretary of the Board,

[t]here is no question that this neglect is the most damaging feature of the work of the churches in the large American cities. It is rather a disgrace that this work had to be taken up by social settlement workers[,] many of whom have been led to despise the churches in their search for comfortable quarters up town. In Canada fortunately we have not got quite so far but it is quite apparent from present tendencies that as a church we will find ourselves declared guilty of this same neglect .... If the Presbyterian church would grapple with the situation, other churches would follow and then the church of Christ would be worthy of her name.<sup>28</sup>

According to Knox, by abandoning the down-town districts, Protestant churches in American cities had neglected one of their principle duties, that of serving and protecting the weak and the disadvantaged. Over the next three years a growing number of Presbyterian leaders came to accept this view. Rev. Robert Haddow, the editor of *The Presbyterian*, appears to have been speaking on behalf of many when he wrote in February 1911 that

In great centres like Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, we have all the phenomena which have become so familiar in the American cities, and which are felt to be the shame and almost the despair of the Church. We see the population shifting, the well-to-do church-goers forsaking the down-town districts, the churches moved [sic] to follow the congregations and the foreign and other newcomers in tenements and boarding houses left, in matters religious, to look out for themselves. This is the situation which has repeated itself over and over again in the United States.<sup>29</sup>

Given the wretchedness of living conditions in the immigrant reception areas in Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg, conditions which seemed to be worsening daily with the arrival of ever more immigrants, it seemed clear to Haddow and to many of the Board members, that

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<sup>27</sup>N.W. Rowell, "Canada's Opportunity at Home and Abroad," *Canada's Missionary Congress* (Toronto: Canadian Council, Laymen's Missionary Movement, 1909), 41-42; Fraser, *The Social Uplifters*, 81.

<sup>28</sup>UCA, 79.169C, Board of Moral and Social Reform, "correspondence, agendas, 1909 -" Wm. J. Knox to J.S. Shearer, Sept 3, 1909.

<sup>29</sup>"Facing the City Problem," *The Presbyterian*, Feb 9, 1911, 164.

this abandonment had to be circumvented immediately, before Canadian cities became as seemingly hopeless as were their American counterparts. The problem, *The Presbyterian* noted in 1908, had arisen because a great many church-goers had become "religious paupers"; they attended church services without rendering any service to those who were less fortunate than themselves.<sup>30</sup> The effect, according to the paper, was akin to that which occurs when a preservative is withdrawn from the thing it is meant to preserve - inevitable decay. The same would undoubtedly occur in Canada in the twentieth century, unless the trend toward the suburbs was stopped.

Saloons and dance halls are not decreasing in the congested centres; Protestant Churches are. There is a slow but steady trend of churches away from the districts of greatest need into the residential districts where the better-off people and those who are not foreigners live. This movement has been going on for years in Montreal and Toronto. It is begun in Winnipeg. It looks as if we had not profited by the folly of our national neighbors.<sup>31</sup>

As Canadian social gospellers saw it, not only was the character of the future Canadian city dweller at stake, but also the future of Canada itself, for if the churches did not control public opinion in the cities, the "bar rooms, brothels and boodlers" would,<sup>32</sup> and as technological innovations like the railroad and the telephone carried the city to the countryside, this would eventually lead to their domination of the whole nation. Only by redeeming and safeguarding the moral condition of the city and its residents could the Christian church protect and cultivate the health of the state. By taking on a leadership role in this field, Presbyterian church leaders believed they could prevent the degeneration they had observed in American cities from happening in Canada, and *The Presbyterian* supported this conviction, contending

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<sup>30</sup>"Editorial Etchings," *The Presbyterian* (Feb 13, 1908): 195.

<sup>31</sup>See "The Problem of the City," *The Presbyterian* (June 1, 1911): 676-77.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

that the continued presence of the Protestant churches in the down-town districts in Canada would stop the spread of the slums, and would help to ensure that down-town residents would enjoy sanitary homes, safe recreation, and protection from grinding poverty. As Brian Fraser has pointed out, however, this abandonment was already underway in Canadian cities, and despite the arguments the Board put up against it, it only accelerated in the ensuing decade.<sup>33</sup>

The Board took up Knox's suggestions regarding its acceptance of a more aggressive role in assimilating 'foreign' immigrants almost immediately. On September 15, 1909 the Board's executive authorized J.G. Shearer to organize, in consultation with the Knox College Foreign Mission committee's secretary and other interested individuals, "a conference regarding the problem of the Foreign Settlement in Toronto."<sup>34</sup> On December 3 Shearer reported that representatives of the Board and of the Foreign Mission committee had indeed conferred, and had come to the opinion that the best way to address the problem was not to take up any new initiatives, but merely to conduct the committee's work among the Jews more vigorously, and to encourage the Methodists, who had undertaken work with the Italians, as well as the various 'independent' churches working with several other 'nationalities,' also to intensify their efforts.<sup>35</sup> When the Board again took up the issue on March 24, 1910, this judgment was reiterated, but Knox, who was very disappointed with the Board's position, objected. He pointed out that "rapid growth of the larger Canadian cities and the tendency to the congestion of population of all nationalities in the down-town sections,

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<sup>33</sup>Fraser, *The Social Uplifters*, 91-92.

<sup>34</sup>UCA, 79.169C, Presbyterian Board of Moral and Social Reform, Executive Minutes, Sept 15, 1909, 2.

<sup>35</sup>UCA, 79.169C, Presbyterian Board of Moral and Social Reform, Executive minutes, Dec 3, 1909.

presented a new problem alike to the State and the Church."<sup>36</sup> In light of this new problem, Knox argued, the Church's work was to care for people's physical and intellectual condition, as well as to prepare them for the after-life. After presenting the results of his own investigations of settlement work in Chicago, New York, and some British cities, he urged the adoption of a policy on downtown work which would be recommended to the city presbyteries throughout the country.

In the ensuing discussion of Knox's proposal, the perspective of proponents of the social gospel on the social duties of the church clearly won the day. Dr. McLaren began by pointing out, rather mildly, that the problem lay in the Church's usual practice with regard to moral and social problems arising in city districts, which was to treat them as the responsibility of the individual presbyteries; these could appeal to the Home Mission committee for assistance when they found those problems to be overwhelming, but otherwise they were on their own. A.S. Grant went further, arguing that the present methods of philanthropic work "were seriously lacking in wisdom, inasmuch as they were only in a small way dealing with the product of anti-social influences without endeavouring to get at the economic and other causes of the evils recognized by all." In the short term such work was best done on an interdenominational basis, he asserted, but "sooner or later legislation that would make it possible to deal effectively with the questions of housing, over-crowding and sanitation, would be imperatively required." After some further discussion along these lines the Board decided to appoint another committee, this time consisting of J.G. Shearer, A.S. Grant, and R.G. MacBeth, the new Chairman of the Board, "to investigate conditions in our cities, to study methods of meeting these conditions, and to report to the Board in

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<sup>36</sup>UCA, 79.169C, Presbyterian Board of Moral and Social Reform, Executive minutes, March 24, 1910, 2.

September.<sup>37</sup>

The new committee went at its work with enthusiasm, and in September 1910 presented the results of social surveys on the downtown conditions in Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Winnipeg and New York. After some considerable discussion of the contents of these reports, the Board made its overall position clear in the following resolution:

INASMUCH as the country is to-day receiving a large foreign immigration, often ignorant of our language, and out of sympathy with Canadian ideals of life, and in view of the fact that much of this immigration centres in our larger Cities, in congested areas, creating serious problems of a moral and political nature, and in view of the fact also that methods of Church work, satisfactory in the past, no longer meet the needs of this changed situation-  
 THEREFORE this Board is of the opinion that the time is opportune for undertaking some form of work commonly known as Social Settlement work, adapted to our circumstances by which we might be able more satisfactorily to touch the total life of the people.<sup>38</sup>

The Board further resolved to appoint a steering committee to formulate policy and plans which it could then present to the 1911 General Assembly. The Board was careful to endorse the methods of the Home Mission committee, and in particular its persistent efforts to encourage all church members "to support and assist those carrying on the work in the difficult and critical places."<sup>39</sup> Clearly, the Board was determined that the Church as a body should actively support this new venture, both financially and morally.

Throughout the entire period of the Board's involvement in establishing and administering Presbyterian settlement work, Shearer and his colleagues maintained an unambiguously social gospel orientation toward the problem of the city, arguing that in order for it to be solved it would be necessary to mesh the "Spirit of Christ" with knowledge of

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 3.

<sup>38</sup>UCA, 79.169C, Presbyterian Board of Moral and Social Reform, Board minutes, Sept 6, 1910.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

"the facts of life, the elements that enter into the problem, and its knowledge must be clear, accurate, unbiased, first-hand, scientific."<sup>40</sup> A church affiliated social settlement could do all this, they argued, and do it better than a mission or a non-denominational settlement could, because a church settlement would "touch the total life of the people" - not just their spiritual condition, or their physical and intellectual needs alone, but all three at once. In addition, a denominational settlement could help to increase church members' understanding of their society, and give them the opportunity to perform individual acts of service, hoping thus to achieve the sense of connection between the classes that was so integral to both the settlement ethos and Presbyterian tenets of faith concerning spiritual salvation. As well, a church settlement could function as a training centre for aspiring specialists in the field, who would eventually be qualified "to speak to the Church and to the country with the assured confidence and wisdom that expert special knowledge alone can give. And some day in the future that will be of inestimable value in guiding the policy of the Church and shaping the future of the Nation."<sup>41</sup> Essentially, then, the Presbyterian church's Board of Moral and Social Reform hoped to be granted specialist status in the area of immigration, and thus to gain some influence over national policy-making in the future.

It is possible that the evangelical mandate for the prospective institution was strengthened by the participation of the committee of Home Missions in the planning process. On March 30, 1911 *The Presbyterian* reported that both the Home and the Foreign Missions Committees "were anxious that if this matter [the Problem of the City] is taken up it should be put into the hands of these committees and the Board jointly" rather than simply leaving it

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<sup>40</sup>UCA, 79.169C, Presbyterian Board of Moral and Social Reform, Executive Minutes, Nov 16, 1910, 3.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, 4.

to the Board alone.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, the Board minutes suggest that it was the mission committees who were at first reluctant to endorse this new departure in city work, and then subsequently insisted that they have a say in the management of "work in down-town districts of cities."<sup>43</sup> This may well have been prompted by territoriality; mission committee members may have feared that, despite the best intentions of the Board, a denominational social settlement would eventually find its evangelical focus overwhelmed by the many temporal problems it would encounter.

Regardless of the reservations of the mission committees, by 1911 the proposal to create a church settlement was gaining acceptance. For example, arguing in February of that year that the seriousness of the problem of the city in Canada was becoming increasingly evident to the church-going public, *The Presbyterian* declared that people were renouncing their complacency and demanding to know what they and their churches could do.<sup>44</sup> This, the paper asserted, was already clear; in the past the Church had emphasized preaching and religious teaching through missions, while "philanthropic people, outside of the Church," had stressed the "social side." The ideal, editor Robert Haddow maintained, would be to combine the two;

It will be found that the city problem implies a care for the physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual interest of those with whom it has to do, and no one of these lines of effort can be most effectively prosecuted alone. The Church should take over and make her own those 'settlement' and 'institutional' ideas whose value has been proved and should wed them to her proclamation of the gospel.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>"Moral and Social Reform and Evangelism," *The Presbyterian*, March 30, 1911, 391.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, 392.

<sup>44</sup>"The Problem of the Immigrant," *The Presbyterian*, March 16, 1911, 324.

<sup>45</sup>"Facing the City Problem," *The Presbyterian*, Feb 9, 1911, 164.

Haddow argued that the church had to stay physically close to the people it intended to help; it had to live and move among them, contending that a "'mission' supported by a congregation in a distant part of the city cannot play the part of an organized church upon the ground." There was too great a distance, in every sense of the word, between the helpers and the helped. But Haddow did not insist that wealthier congregations should stay in their old, now deteriorating neighbourhoods and minister to the needy themselves. Rather, he maintained that prosperous congregations could fulfil their responsibility to the weaker by providing "money and workers for those upon the front."<sup>46</sup> As for what needed to be done, this also was clear;

The foreigner must be taught English and citizenship with all its rights and responsibilities. Even Canadians need to be taught true citizenship. All must be helped to health, to sanitary housing, to employment. Clean, helpful recreation must be made possible. Their social life must be enriched.<sup>47</sup>

Citizenship training, then, was as important to denominational settlement supporters as it was to their non-sectarian counterparts. Moreover, Presbyterian settlement organizers were as interested in bridging the social gap between rich and poor. What set the supporters of religious settlements apart, however, was that they perceived the gap more in terms of a division between Protestants and non-Protestants, than in terms of other kinds of divisions. There is no doubt that Presbyterian settlement organizers associated the benefits of education, wealth and morality with an Anglo-Celtic ethnic heritage, but when they considered the central settlement goal of building a homogeneous community, they saw it in terms of religion. This is evident in the link the Board made between the increase in 'foreign' immigration, the growth of overcrowded slums in Canadian cities, and heightened levels of

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>"The Problem of the City - Its Solution," *The Presbyterian*, June 8, 1911, 709.

"disease, vice, ignorance and crime, and not infrequently, strong antipathy to the church."<sup>48</sup>

In view of these increasing tensions, Robert Haddow declared to the readers of *The Presbyterian* that 'foreign' immigrants "must be made to feel that the Christian people in comfortable or wealthy circumstances are their brothers and sisters in Christ not only willing but eager to serve and help and be a blessing to them. This involves an organized working force that the traditional mission does not supply."<sup>49</sup>

The Presbyterian General Assembly officially endorsed the Board's plans and policy statements in the 1911 annual meeting. The next step was to consider the question of who should undertake this work on behalf of the church. Apparently, Shearer and his colleagues thought that "the combination of strong sane evangelism with social service," which was "the one hope of success" in this venture, was beyond the scope of the ordinary Presbyterian deaconess, city mission worker, or church volunteer; the *Presbyterian* noted in September 1911 that the Board (now under the name of the Board of Social Service and Evangelism) had decided

that specially trained workers would be needed for this work, and it was accordingly agreed that scholarships should be offered for students or graduates, who would be expected to spend six months or more in taking lectures on social questions and engaging personally in down-town work in large cities outside of Canada.... for immediate action, it is proposed to secure, if possible, the services of a trained worker.<sup>50</sup>

It seems that Board members felt they personally lacked sufficient expertise as well, for within a few months they had sent Dr. Gordon, Dr. Shearer, and Col. R.M. Thomson, of

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<sup>48</sup>Board of Social Service and Evangelism, "The Problem of the City," in the Thirty-Eighth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, *Acts and Proceedings* (hereafter Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P*) (Toronto: Murray Printing Co., 1912), 320.

<sup>49</sup>"The Problem of the City - Its Solution," *The Presbyterian*, June 8, 1911, 709.

<sup>50</sup>"Board of Social Service and Evangelism," *The Presbyterian*, Sept 14, 1911, 264.

Winnipeg, to New York for further study of slum conditions and American settlement methods. Interestingly, Shearer chose to live "in a down-town rear tenement," in the manner of a settlement worker, for the month or so that he was in New York.

According to its annual report to the Presbyterian General Assembly in June 1912, the Board secured the services, beginning March 1st, of an eminently suitable trained worker to head up its settlement work: Sara Libby Carson. The Board assured the General Assembly that Miss Carson, the founder of New York's Christadora House and Toronto's Evangelia House was "an expert of exceptional ability and consecration to the service of Christ." Her role, according to the Board, was

to give expert counsel in making careful social surveys of the down-town sections of our cities, and in organizing evangelical, religious, social settlements, one of which is already being established in a neglected down-town district in Toronto, and another likely to be established in the near future in Montreal.<sup>51</sup>

St. Christopher House was established on June 15, 1912, just days after the Board made this report to the General Assembly. The Board had solicited financial support for the venture from James Woods, a philanthropically-minded Presbyterian and president of the Gordon Mackay Company Ltd., a large drygoods firm. Woods' patronage soon became a vital component of the life of the institution; it was he who initially purchased, renovated, and equipped the property for use as a Presbyterian settlement, and he continued his active involvement with St. Christopher for many years to follow.<sup>52</sup> Woods hired an architect, who

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<sup>51</sup>"Board of Social Service and Evangelism, Annual Report, 1912," *Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-Eighth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, June 5-13, 1912* (hereafter Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P*) (Toronto: Murray Printing Co., 1912), 321.

<sup>52</sup>In Chapter Seven we will explore in greater detail the nature of James Woods' involvement. It is interesting to note at this juncture, however, that James Woods' involvement in St. Christopher House mirrored Sir Edmund Osler's involvement in Evangelia, which Sara Carson secured in 1905 while she was with the latter institution. One might speculate that while the official request for James Woods' sponsorship of St. Christopher may have come through the

turned the third floor and attic rooms into staff bedrooms, with a dining room and kitchen on the second floor, and the rest of the house was devoted to settlement work. Careful attention was paid to decorating; the atmosphere they sought to create was that of a well-appointed middle class home.<sup>53</sup>

It is interesting that despite the strong religious focus of the Board, according to its own reports the settlement became equally popular among its Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic neighbours. By the time of its first annual report St Christopher's had already outgrown its physical plant; it had a total enrolment of 701, and an average monthly aggregate attendance of 3460. This was increased in the next year to 800 members, with an aggregate monthly attendance of almost 6000.<sup>54</sup> Former St. Christopher staff have attributed the settlement's popularity to the influence of Sara Carson and Helen Hart, noting that these two modified the Board's vigorous evangelical stance and attempted to create a congenial, accepting atmosphere for the settlement's clientele.<sup>55</sup>

Like the other Toronto settlements, the people in St. Christopher's district came from

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Board, Carson may well have been the one who initially interested him in the project.

<sup>53</sup>Ethel Dodds Parker, "St. Christopher House: Stories of My Time," typescript, 1962, United Church Archives library. See also Allan Irving, Harriet Parsons and Donald Bellamy, *Neighbours: Three Social Settlements in Downtown Toronto* (Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press, 1995), 77-78. Irving, Parsons and Bellamy note that St. Christopher's founders recreated both the "warmth and beauty ... [of] a cultured, middle-class Toronto home" and a "women's college atmosphere," with cut flowers in bowls, framed pictures, and comfortable furniture, 78.

<sup>54</sup>Thirty-Ninth Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P*, 1913, 3, and Fortieth Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P*, 1914, 318.

<sup>55</sup>Parker "St. Christopher House: Stories of My Times," 4. This may well have been the case, but it is important to note that Carson and Hart were deeply religious women, and that former staff members' recollections may have been coloured by intervening developments in the field of social work. According to Irving, Parsons and Bellamy, Helen Hart wrote to some of her former classmates at Mount Holyoke that her duties included, among other things, giving Sunday sermons. Irving, Parsons and Bellamy, 77.

a wide variety of national backgrounds: there were Anglo-Canadians, British and Americans in addition to Netherlanders, Germans, Italians, Hungarians, Russians, Poles, Austrians, Roumanians, and "a few coloured people." In keeping with the Board's evangelical objective, in her first annual report Sara Carson described the religious affiliations of St. Christopher's constituency; there were about equal proportions of Roman Catholics, Jews, and Protestants. Yet, Carson reported,

The Gospel services on Sunday are regularly attended to the limit of our space. Frequently we are compelled to refuse admittance to many. Many of those attending are among the rough gangsters that infested the lanes and alleys of the district before St. Christopher was opened in June last. The discipline, order and attention would do credit to an average church and the best of Sunday schools. The Gospel of service is manifestly doing its leavening work. When it is remembered that numbers of those attending are of Jewish and Roman Catholic stock, this is the more noteworthy.<sup>56</sup>

In this first annual report Carson emphasized St. Christopher's beneficial moral influence on individuals in the neighbourhood, something which she continued to do throughout the period she was associated with Presbyterian settlement work. For her the social services the settlement initiated in the first ten months of its existence - clubs to rehabilitate gang members, home care for ailing children and their mothers, children's after-school activities, kindergarten classes for preschoolers, day care for the infants and children of working mothers, assistance to families experiencing problems with their teen-agers, and the medical dispensary, milk depot, and summer camp on Lake Scugog - were all intended to bind their users to St. Christopher's with the ties of friendship. As Carson noted;

One mother says, 'If it had not been for the teachers, I would not have my baby now.' The father was ill, then died, the child fell ill with pneumonia, the mother was worn out, the workers took charge of the home and sick baby. This mother was a very brutal woman that nothing seemed to touch. The help

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<sup>56</sup>Thirty-Ninth Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P* 1913, 290.

in time of need has won her.<sup>57</sup>

Carson and her subordinates frequently recounted stories similar to this one in their reports to the Board and to the Presbyterian press concerning St. Christopher's activities.

But the Board's ambition extended far beyond establishing just this one settlement in Toronto. St. Christopher House was to be the mother house of a chain of Presbyterian church settlements, extending from Vancouver to Montreal, all of which were to be under the superintendency of Sara Carson. Accordingly, Carson expected to be absent from Toronto a good deal of the time, so when she accepted the position with the Presbyterian Board in the spring of 1912, she also had the Board engage Miss Helen Hart as St. Christopher's head resident. According to the Board report for 1913-14, Helen Hart was a "daughter of the manse, scholarly, cultured, consecrated, with splendid devotion, serving the church in ministering to the poor at no small financial sacrifice."<sup>58</sup> In 1912, when she was hired, she was 21 years old, but had already served a long apprenticeship in social service administration; her father was Hastings Hart - head of the Russell Sage Foundation, former superintendent of prisons in New York state, and long-time member of the executive of the National Conference of Charities and Correction - and from the time of her mother's death when she was 12 years old, Helen Hart had accompanied her father on his visits to social agencies on behalf of the Russell Sage Foundation, and on his inspections of penal institutions. She was a graduate of Mount Holyoke College, and she and Carson were long-time friends.<sup>59</sup> Ethel Dodds Parker, one of Hart's first trainees at St. Christopher's, and

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

<sup>58</sup>Fortieth Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P* 1914, 318.

<sup>59</sup>Thirty-Ninth Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P* 1913, 289; see also Ethel Dodds Parker, "The Origins and Early History of the Presbyterian Settlement Houses," 101; BR, S54, History of Canadian Settlements, Notes, Book B, Ethel Dodds Parker reminiscences. As noted in Chapter

eventually her successor as St. Christopher's head resident, noted that Helen Hart's extensive experience with the operation of social welfare agencies, which she gained during her travels with her father, stood her in good stead at the settlement; for the first few years she ran St. Christopher's with the help of only two trainees and a volunteer staff of about 20. By the spring of 1914 her staff had increased to include a district nurse, a deaconess, and Mr. J.M. Wyatt, who had a master's degree, as boys' worker. Interestingly, Rev. D.C. MacGregor, who in 1912 had been appointed Associate Secretary to the Board of Social Service and Evangelism, was also among the residents of St. Christopher's in the spring of 1914, as was his wife, but no explanation, or even further mention, is made of his presence at the settlement, so it is unlikely that he was there either to assist in the work or to supervise it.

### III

The Presbyterian Church was not the only religious body to open a settlement in Toronto during the years immediately prior to the outbreak of the First World War.<sup>60</sup> On April 1, 1909 the *Canadian Baptist* noted that Memorial Church, a Baptist institution located on the outskirts of the Ward, at the corner of Tecumseh and Richmond Sts., had come to recognize that it was no longer influencing the people in the district through its worship services. Most of its original congregation had moved out to the suburbs, and non-Anglo-Protestants were moving in. A perusal of the church periodical indicates that the Baptists were

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2, Carson had established a close relationship with Mount Holyoke College in 1898, when she and her colleague, Christina I. McColl founded Christadora House in New York City. It is possible that Carson and Hart became friends as a result of that connection, although it is equally possible that their friendship predated Hart's college years.

<sup>60</sup>While I recognize that there were many religiously-oriented social agencies, sponsored by Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant faith groups, during this period, and that many of them offered several of the same services that settlements did, as I noted in Chapter 1, I am including in this study only those institutions which identified themselves as settlements during the years between 1900-1914, because part of my purpose is to explore what the organizers understood a settlement to be, and their reasons for defining their institutions as such.

less concerned than were the Presbyterians about abandoning the city core. Indeed, some Baptists pointed out that while the falling number of churches in downtown districts was an unsatisfactory situation, godless suburbs would also be a bad thing, and churches had to look to their own congregations first.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, the remains of Memorial's congregation did not wish to abandon the neighbourhood completely. In response to the changing nature of the district, Memorial's governing council decided to change the nature of the institution's ministry. The council began by hiring Nellie McFarland, a graduate of the Toronto Bible Training School and of the nursing course offered by the Nursing-at-Home-Mission, to act as a combination Bible woman and district nurse. McFarland's job was to visit the sick and the indigent in the district, to hold mother's meetings, and to distribute donations of food, fuel and clothing, all under the supervision of Memorial Church's newly installed pastor, R.J. Garrett.<sup>62</sup> By early 1912 her work was judged successful, and Memorial was ready to expand this mandate. Pastor Garrett had for some time been attempting to secure Memorial's rather precarious future by uniting it with one of the wealthy uptown Baptist churches, and finally, just as Garrett's ill health was forcing him to resign, Walmer Road Church, with one of the wealthiest Baptist congregations in the city, agreed.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>Charles A Schutt, "Church Extension," *Canadian Baptist*, June 6, 1912, 2.

<sup>62</sup>Canadian Baptist Archives, (hereafter CBA) Memorial Institute, clippings file, R.J. Garrett, "A New Departure in the Work at Memorial Church," *Canadian Baptist*, April 1, 1909. Initially, McFarland appears to have done the same work that Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian deaconesses were doing. See Alison Kemper, "Deaconess as Urban Missionary and Ideal Woman: Church of England Initiatives in Toronto, 1890-1895," in John S. Moir and C.T. McIntire, eds., *Canadian Protestant and Catholic Missions, 1820s - 1960s: Historical Essays in honour of John Webster Grant* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1988), 171-190; and John D. Thomas, "Servants of the Church: Canadian Methodist Deaconess Work, 1890-1926," *Canadian Historical Review* 65 (1984): 371-395.

<sup>63</sup>"A New Venture in Baptist Work," *Canadian Baptist*, January 25, 1912, 5. See also Donald Goertz, *A Century for the City: Walmer Road Baptist Church, 1889-1989* (Toronto: Walmer Road Baptist Church, 1989), 41-42.

With the financial support of the Walmer Road congregation, Memorial gradually began to reorient its programme toward settlement work. In April 1912 Memorial Church became Memorial Institute, a Baptist settlement. Under the guidance of Awdrey Brown, a young pastor recently graduated from McMaster,<sup>64</sup> Memorial began by offering two boys' clubs and a young men's club, a mother's sewing meeting, and sewing and millinery classes for young ladies, in addition to five religious services per week, and a choir practice.<sup>65</sup> Indeed, religion remained a prominent aspect of Memorial's programme throughout the life of the Institute; right from the beginning the governing board charged Brown to "continue the ordinances as usual," in addition to organizing and supervising the settlement side of the work.<sup>66</sup> Like most social gossellers, however, Brown considered his ministry to include both the physical and the spiritual needs of the Institute's constituency, and he was certainly not above getting help from outside sources; by July of 1912 he had prevailed upon the Health Department to open a Pure Milk Depot at Memorial, in addition to obtaining the assistance of the Toronto Playground Association in the organization and management of the Institute's supervised playground. Within a year Memorial had expanded its services to include a medical clinic, an employment bureau, English classes for 'Business Girls' and for Poles, and a wide variety of social clubs and classes.<sup>67</sup> It had also rented a large farm near Bowmanville, where it ran a summer camp for children and mothers. Attendance expanded as quickly as did the number of programmes; the non-religious programmes combined averaged around 2500 participants per month in 1913, while the Sunday School and other religious

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<sup>64</sup>*Canadian Baptist*, March 14, 1912, 9.

<sup>65</sup>CBA, Memorial Institute files, *Calendar*, April 28, 1912, back page.

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup>CBA, Memorial Institute files, *Calendar*, (July 21, 1912), and Oct 19, 1913.

services drew between 1000 and 1700 per month. Overcrowding and a shortage of volunteers quickly became a pressing concern at Memorial, despite Walmer Road Church's deep involvement.<sup>68</sup>

Like most Toronto settlements, Memorial Institute was governed by a group of wealthy patrons, in this case from Walmer Road Baptist Church, while its programmes were conducted by a small group of disparately trained, relatively poorly paid staffpeople and a larger corps of volunteers.<sup>69</sup> Awdrey Brown lived in the Institute with his wife and child, while Miss McFarland, Miss Foster, and other female staffmembers lived in a two-storey brick building on Tecumseh street. Although Brown's antecedents prior to McMaster are uncertain, he very quickly assumed a prominent role within the local social work community; he was elected chairman of the city's Western District Social Conference in both 1913 and 1914, and he served as chairman of the Joint Executive of the city's District Social Conferences as well. In addition, he was elected president of the Social Workers' Club, also

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<sup>68</sup>CBA, Memorial Institute files, "Memorial Institute Annual Report for 1913," in Walmer Road Baptist Church *Annual Report* (n.p., 1914), 9 and 12.

<sup>69</sup>According to Goertz, *A Century for the City*, 44, at the end of 1912 Memorial had over 145 volunteers. Miss McFarland remained as Memorial's district visitor throughout this period, while some time in 1913 Mattie L. Foster was hired as Memorial's settlement worker. Nothing has come to light with regard to either her training or her antecedents, although a run-down of Memorial's salaries in 1915 indicate that Foster was paid substantially more than was McFarland (\$847.50 and \$505.70, respectively). There may have been a class component involved here; Bible women in most Protestant denominations were often members of the working class, while settlement workers were normally from middle class families. I will discuss the backgrounds of Toronto's settlement workers in more detail in Chapter Seven. In any case, according to the Memorial Institute Calendar for April 28, 1912 there were 35 women volunteering as district visitors, but it does not give the number of volunteers running the settlement's programmes. The Calendar for Oct 19, 1913, in contrast, notes that in addition to McFarland and Foster there were 14 volunteers running the various clubs and classes, including 6 men (2 or whom were medical doctors), but it does not give the number of district visitors, or volunteers who acted in other capacities.

in 1913 and 1914.<sup>70</sup>

Although Baptists were thus involved in settlement work, on an institutional level the church did not support settlements, or other social gospel initiatives, as solidly as did the Presbyterians. Baptist leaders did report that they were cooperating happily with the Presbyterians and the Methodists in the interdenominational Moral and Social Reform Council, but they did not tend to take on leadership roles within the council, and their financial contributions were the lowest of the four largest Protestant denominations involved.<sup>71</sup> Memorial Institute itself was rarely mentioned in the *Canadian Baptist* in the first few years of its existence, and in fact, social gospel viewpoints were not as often expressed in that periodical as they were in the *Presbyterian*. Toronto's Baptists did from time to time declare their belief that the church was better equipped than any other agency to overcome such problems as the liquor traffic, vice and the 'social evil,' and the deteriorating home life of the poor. They also pointed out that some members of clergy, already overburdened with attempting to meet the spiritual needs of their congregations, were unwilling to take on additional initiatives intended to address social problems.<sup>72</sup> Yet the prevailing sense was that although the church still tended to cater more to the rich than the poor, Baptist leaders were addressing this imbalance, and it would soon, therefore, be overcome.<sup>73</sup> What practical measures they were taking to address the problem was never clearly stated, however.

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<sup>70</sup>I will discuss these organizations more fully in chapters 6 and 7.

<sup>71</sup>Henry Moyle, "Social Service: The Nation and the Empire," *Canadian Baptist*, January 25, 1912, 4-5.

<sup>72</sup>"Social Service: The Social Claim of the Gospel," *Canadian Baptist*, January 18, 1912, 4.

<sup>73</sup>"The Churches and Social Evils," *Canadian Baptist*, February 8, 1912, 3.

Of the four largest Protestant denominations, leaders in the Church of England in Canada seemed the least concerned about the 'Problem of the Foreigner,' and the least open to social gospel initiatives as well. In fact, in February 1910 the *Canadian Churchman* published a letter from "A Foreigner," who noted that he had just read Ralph Connor's book *The Foreigner* and wanted to know what initiatives the Church of England in Canada was taking in order to make contact with the 'foreigners' in their midst. He called for the church to concentrate on recruiting or cultivating a multi-lingual clergy which could preach to recent immigrants in their own languages, and to stop being 'so English' and 'so selfish' as to keep the Church of England from the foreigner. Most so-called foreigners were naturalized citizens, he remarked, but they have little knowledge of the English language or of Canadian customs. "It will not do," he argued, "to have too many nationalities, if we want to make the Canadian nation a strong, self-reliant unit among the world powers."<sup>74</sup> The letter, however, received only one direct response.<sup>75</sup> Anglicans did write in the church press about poverty,<sup>76</sup> the 'white slave' trade, socialism, nationalism, the settlement movement in Britain,<sup>77</sup> but while some were concerned about maintaining Anglo-Celtic numerical

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<sup>74</sup>A Foreigner, *Canadian Churchman*, February 17, 1910, 107.

<sup>75</sup>*Canadian Churchman*, March 31, 1910, 205.

<sup>76</sup>One writer maintained that regular church-goers did not end up on the breadline, and therefore it was clear that those who did were sinners. See "Misery and Its Remedy," *Canadian Churchman*, March 10, 1910, 147. See also "City Slums," *Canadian Churchman*, October 26, 1911, 648.

<sup>77</sup>"Death and the Strike," *Canadian Churchman*, March 3, 1910, 131; "Toynbee Hall," *Canadian Churchman*, March 3, 1910, 132; "The Evolution of a Nation," *Canadian Churchman*, March 3, 1910, 133; "The Church and Socialism," *Canadian Churchman*, August 18, 1910, 488; and "Social Reform," *Canadian Churchman*, February 16, 1911, 100; "Lost Immigrant Girls," *Canadian Churchman*, June 6, 1912, 358.

superiority in Canada,<sup>78</sup> the prevailing view seemed to be that the British culture would triumph over all others regardless of the number of non-British newcomers. "Language," asserted one observer, "is thicker than blood," and as long as all Canadian children were taught to "think, speak, and dream in the same tongue," the nation's Anglo-Celtic future was assured.<sup>79</sup> With regard to immigrants, the most common difficulty among Anglicans was in connecting with church members who had immigrated from Britain.<sup>80</sup>

The Anglican press tended to advocate a cautious acceptance of the social gospel, noting that the Church could not ignore the new science of sociology without doing damage to its influence within Canadian society, but maintaining that it would be unwise to pay too much attention to it as well. The primary duty of the clergy and of the church was to work toward the 'spiritual transformation' of the individual, the *Canadian Churchman* argued, and it cited as its authority none other than Thomas Carlyle, one of the chief figures of early Christian Socialism. It would be a fatal mistake, the paper contended, to concentrate on sociological work in an effort to regenerate society.<sup>81</sup> Yet individual church members did involve themselves in the Canadian settlement movement. For example, Sir Edmund Osler, son of the prominent Anglican cleric Featherstone Osler, was deeply involved in the

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<sup>78</sup>"British Immigration," *Canadian Churchman*, July 14, 1910, 441. Rather than worrying about rising non-Anglo-Saxon immigration, one writer was convinced that the "feminist movement," which was allowing women to "force themselves" into practically every profession and calling, would eventually result in the extinction of the 'British' race, as it was causing the 'divinely ordained' and sex-specific profession of motherhood to fall into disrepute. "Our Falling Birth Rate," *Canadian Churchman*, March 30, 1911, 197.

<sup>79</sup>"The Melting Pot," *Canadian Churchman*, April 7, 1910, 216. See also "A Race Congress," *Canadian Churchman*, November 17, 1910, 696.

<sup>80</sup>For example, see "Wanted - More Definite Information," *Canadian Churchman*, June 9, 1910, 369.

<sup>81</sup>"Sociology vs. Christianity," *Canadian Churchman*, May 11, 1911, 292.

administration of Evangelia House, and Edith Elwood, who was a graduate of Trinity College, was almost certainly an Anglican as well; both people drew a number of other Anglicans to Evangelia, and some of these went on to help create Riverdale.

Riverdale was the last settlement to be organized in Toronto during the period covered by this study, but unfortunately, none of its records have survived, so most of the existing information is drawn from the reminiscences of a few of its former staff members.

Evangelia's board of directors assisted in Riverdale's organization, and this is possibly why it was located close to Evangelia's first site, east of the Don River. It opened in 1913 in a new storefront on Gerrard, near where the street dead-ended at Coxwell. There was a rough golf-links nearby, as well as vacant lots on either side of the settlement. The staff used one of the lots as a playground, and turned the other into a kind of park. Unlike the other settlements, the population in Riverdale's neighbourhood was mainly of British origin. The settlement offered a baby clinic, which it organized with the help of the public health department, clubs and classes for children, young adults, and mothers, and like most settlements it was quickly handicapped due to a lack of adequate space for all its members. Its relative isolation from the more overcrowded areas of the city, and its more-or-less homogeneous population was also a handicap, apparently, for although its popularity in the neighbourhood led to a great deal of overcrowding, Riverdale did not appear to excite a great deal of interest, or the corresponding funding or volunteers, from the social reform community. It closed in the midst of World War One, after only three years operation.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>82</sup>B.R., S54, "History of Canadian Settlements" - Notes, Book B, Carol Hogg, notes gathered on Riverdale Settlement from Miss Edith Bunker. Mary Jennison has suggested that the interest in Riverdale's of its' supporters was subverted by World War One. While I would agree that this most likely was a major factor involved in the institution's closure, I would argue that it was not the only, or indeed even the most significant, one.

Although we cannot know fully the circumstances surrounding Riverdale's demise, the speedy closure of the institution seems to suggest that Toronto's settlement house movement had altered from the time that Evangelia first opened its doors in 1902, to the beginning of the First World War. Located on the outskirts of the city, Riverdale's constituency and locale were similar to those of Evangelia House between 1902 and 1907. Within the next seven years, however, the non-Anglo-Celtic immigrant living in the overcrowded downtown core had come to preoccupy settlement organizers in the city; as Toronto's 'ethnic' population grew and as the 'Problem of the City' became more visible to middle class observers, the assimilation of 'foreign' immigrants and the amelioration of living conditions in districts such as the Ward took precedence over the class and gender-based concerns which had initially prompted the creation of Evangelia House. The advent of the 'new immigration' and the discovery of the 'Problem of the City' engendered widespread interest in the settlement movement, for the social settlement represented an innovative strategy for dealing with modern problems, at a time when existing methods had proven to be inadequate to the tasks of creating 'proper' citizens, among both the working and the middle classes. At the same time, while the aspirations to assimilate the non-Anglo-Celtic immigrant and to improve the city's physical, social and moral condition united Toronto's settlements, the flexibility of the movement allowed for some significant differences in the orientations of the various groups who opened them. As we shall see in Chapter Seven, while their varying philosophical orientations influenced the relationships between the settlements, as well as some of the actions taken by individual institutions around a number of different issues, on the whole there was a surprising unity between them all in the content of their programmes and the manner in which they conducted their work.

CHAPTER FIVE  
SHAPING NEW CANADIANS:

SETTLEMENT CLUBS AND CLASSES, 1910 to 1914

Men sometimes talk of "undesirable immigration," but there is no denying the fact that the greatness of Canada's future lies in the hands of the people who are coming in shiploads to our shores. These people must be taught our language. They must know our laws and customs, or how else can they live according to them? They and their children must be made cognizant of our ideals in private and public life, or how else can they be expected to support them? They must know the value of sanitation, order, and British fair play.<sup>1</sup>

One of the principle ideals of democratic states is rule by popular consent. Indeed, only the weakest of parliamentary governments have to rely upon overt coercion and brutal domination to regulate their citizenry. As T.J. Jackson Lears argues, although "the threat of officially sanctioned force always remains implicit," what parliamentary democracies normally rely upon is something which he, following Antonio Gramsci, terms 'cultural hegemony' - that is, the creation of consent within subordinate groups of a state to the rule of a dominant one.<sup>2</sup>

Cultural hegemony is a complex phenomenon; it is not 'social control,' or the crude manipulation of 'the masses,' but rather a process of legitimation, in which "[t]he ideas, values, and experiences of dominant groups are validated in public discourse; those of subordinate groups are not, though they may continue to thrive beyond the boundaries of

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<sup>1</sup>CTA, SC 5 D, Box 1, file 4, CNH newsletter, June 1913.

<sup>2</sup>T.J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," *American Historical Review* 90, 3(June 1985), 568-570.

received opinion."<sup>3</sup> Raymond Williams notes that

the essential dominance of a particular class in society is maintained not only, although if necessary, by power, and not only, although always, by property. It is maintained also and inevitably by a lived culture: that saturation of habit, of experience, of outlook, from a very early age and continually renewed at so many stages of life, under definite pressures and within definite limits, so that what people come to think and feel is in large measure a reproduction of the deeply based social order which they may even in some respects think they oppose and indeed actually oppose.<sup>4</sup>

Edward Said, a colleague of Raymond Williams, succinctly noted that "[t]o be for and in a culture is to be for a state in a compellingly loyal way."<sup>5</sup>

Toronto's settlements were involved in creating a middle class, Anglo-Canadian cultural hegemony, by consciously seeking to instill certain ideals and viewpoints within the city's immigrant and working class community. Most important of these was loyalty to the state, but this loyalty was in itself complex. It involved not only an understanding and fulfilment of the rights and obligations of democratic citizenship, but an internalization of a bourgeois, Anglo-Celtic conception of 'the norm,' particularly with regard to notions of gender and the role of the individual within the family, the community and the state. It involved, as well, structuring the tenable avenues along which debates over these notions could be conducted. Most settlement activists maintained that children and young people of working class and immigrant groups were likely to be the most receptive to a conception of the world which differed from that of their parents' homelands; they also concluded that the younger folk were the best means of reaching the adults of a community. Settlement workers

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<sup>3</sup>Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony," 574.

<sup>4</sup>Raymond Williams, "You're a Marxist, Aren't You?," *Resources of Hope* (London: Verso, 1989), 74.

<sup>5</sup>Edward W. Said, *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), 11.

tended, therefore, to focus most, although by no means all, of the resources of their institutions on youth programmes. As J.J. Kelso noted in his 1912 report on the Department of Neglected and Dependent Children, "[w]hen you save a man or a woman you save a unit; but when you save a boy or a girl, you save a whole multiplication table."<sup>6</sup>

It is important to recognize that the training of non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants in the essence and art of democratic citizenship was part of a larger, on-going effort to develop a homogeneous, principled citizenry. The efforts of such groups as the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) or the YMCA can be seen in this light. Indeed, it seems significant that during the same period Toronto's settlement activists were establishing institutions and programmes for their designated clientele, middle class youth had also become the targets of programmes aimed at 'character building' and citizenship training, through the numerous organizations and clubs which were being created for them. 'Character building,' in this context, can be considered state formation at its most fundamental level, for in a capitalist state the individual is its smallest indivisible unit.<sup>7</sup>

For the adults who created and sponsored such organizations as the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, and the various denominational and interdenominational youth groups like the Epworth League and the

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<sup>6</sup>PAO, J.J. Kelso, *Annual Report, 1912* Department of Neglected and Dependent Children, 16, quoted in Enrico Cumbo, "'Blazing the Trail and Setting the Pace': Central Neighborhood House and its Outreach to Italian Immigrants in Toronto: 1911-1929," *Italian Canadiana* 12, (1996), 71.

<sup>7</sup>See Mitchell Dean, "'A Social Structure of Many Souls:' Moral Regulation, Government and Self-Formation," in Marianna Valverde, ed., *Studies in Moral Regulation* (Toronto: Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto, and the Canadian Journal of Sociology, 1994): 145-168; Michel Foucault, "Questions of Method," *Ideology and Consciousness* 8, (1981):3-14 and "The Subject and Power," *Critical Inquiry* 8 (Summer 1982): 777-795; Kari Dehli, "Creating a Dense and Intelligent Community: Local State Formation in Early 19th Century Upper Canada," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 3, 2(June 1990), 128.

Anglican Young Peoples Association, training bourgeois young people to fulfil their obligations as morally upright citizens, and forming their characters in the process, were the central aims. Like settlement activists, these groups were concerned about the effects of urbanization and rapid social change on city-dwelling youth; they sought to instill within their clientele not only an understanding of civil obligations, but also a willingness to conform to them, and like settlement workers the leaders of middle class youth organizations endeavoured to teach their lessons through both direct and indirect means - that is, through recreation as well as through direct instruction.<sup>8</sup>

Toronto's settlements and middle class youth organizations both faced the problem of how to attract their intended clientele. As one scholar has noted with regard to bourgeois youth groups, "[i]t was central to the success of these societies that they entertained as well as instructed," partly because the recreational programmes were what initially drew the users, and partly because recreational programmes themselves instructed through subtle means. Moreover, those who came only for entertainment would still be exposed to, and therefore likely influenced by, the rest of the programme content.<sup>9</sup> The matter was somewhat more perplexing for the settlements, however. Most reformers considered Southern and Eastern European immigrants, and the working class more generally, to be subject to fewer social and cultural restraints than were bourgeois youth; in an increasingly stimulating urban environment, in which even middle class young people were thought to be at risk of going astray, social agencies which catered to working class children and youth had to compete with 'cheap amusements' like vaudeville and burlesque theatre, moving picture shows, dance halls

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<sup>8</sup>Leila Gay Mitchell McKee, "Voluntary Youth Organizations in Toronto, 1880-1930" (Ph.D. diss., York University, 1982), 317, and *passim*.

<sup>9</sup>McKee, "Youth Organizations," 416.

and ice cream parlours, or even just the attractions of local street corners and public parks.<sup>10</sup>

In these circumstances it was especially important that settlement offerings be practical, cheap, invigorating, and fun, as well as educational. Their clubs, classes, and athletic activities went some way toward fulfilling these requirements.

## I

The principal organizing tool of the settlements was the social club; as Mina Carson has noted, it symbolized both the "settlement idea and many of its tensions."<sup>11</sup> The organization of the clubs, the names the settlements gave to them, the manner in which they were supervised and the kinds of activities in which they engaged - all these things were embodiments of the settlement idea, which aimed at marrying scientific innovation with sympathetic understanding. For example, the organization of settlement social clubs for children and young people was grounded in the findings of scholars and scientists, like John Dewey and G. Stanley Hall, that children at different stages of life had distinct needs for recreation, peer group support, and adult guidance. With this in mind, the grouping of children took on a special significance, and settlement workers did a great deal of experimentation in this area. Thus, while age-grading was, by the turn of the century, common practice in most North American organizations which dealt with children,<sup>12</sup> in

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<sup>10</sup>See Carolyn Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem: the Perils and Pleasures of the City* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995) and Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), especially Chapter Seven. See also Jane Addams, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* (New York: Macmillan, 1909; repr. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972) for a contemporary account of the problem.

<sup>11</sup>Mina Carson, *Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement, 1885-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 32.

<sup>12</sup>Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871* (London: Falmer Press, 1988), 300; McKee, "Youth Organizations," 395.

settlement clubs for the young the groupings were not fixed; at Central Neighborhood House (CNH), for example, there was a club for girls between 10 and 12, and another for boys between 9 and 12, and while the Scout troop at CNH was for 13 to 15 year old boys, the Junior Arlington Boys' Club membership ranged in age from 12 to 16. St. Christopher House's children's clubs usually spanned only two years - for example, the Beavers Club was for 13 and 14 year old boys, but the members of the Little Lads' Club were between 6 and 8. In most settlements clubs were organized for children from age six up, but the largest number were for ten to sixteen year olds; there were only a few for children aged six to ten or for older teens and adults.

The number of members in each club varied from a handful to 50 or more, with Evangelia and St. Christopher having the clubs with the largest memberships.<sup>13</sup> Most clubs were single-sex, but in 1913 CNH also organized three mixed clubs - a dramatic club for 10 to 14 year olds, a dancing club, and a literary club (the ages of the members of the latter two were not given, but presumably they were for teenagers), and when Norman Ware took over as director of University Settlement in 1913, he organized mixed glee, dramatic and social clubs.<sup>14</sup> No other settlement seems to have organized mixed clubs in the period before the war, although in July of 1912 Memorial Institute did initiate something it called "Boys and Girls' Pleasant Afternoon" on Saturdays, which may or may not have been constituted as a mixed club. The fact that these clubs were closely supervised went some way, no doubt, to easing any misgivings about allowing boys and girls to mingle in a social setting.

Settlement clubs were identified as self-governing, which meant that each club elected

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<sup>13</sup>This may have been related to their also having the largest meeting rooms of the six settlements in the city. The others had to limit club memberships because of their lack of space.

<sup>14</sup>Allan Irving, Harriet Parsons and Donald Bellamy, *Neighbours: Three Social Settlements in Downtown Toronto* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1995), 92.

an executive - that is, a president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer - from among its membership. While the club members were, reportedly, allowed to decide much of their own programme, this did not mean that the clubs were autonomous; rather, a settlement worker or volunteer was always on hand to supervise; with larger, more unruly clubs there were often two supervisors present.<sup>15</sup> This insistence on having supervisors at the club meetings was part of a broader endeavour, as Leila McKee puts it, to "rationalize and institutionalize leisure time."<sup>16</sup> Essentially, according to McKee, youth organizations sought to "extend to the leisure hours the discipline of work and school -- to provide, in effect, a new discipline of play." An important element of this discipline was that young people be brought "under the influence of the older generation during even their leisure hours."<sup>17</sup> With settlement clubs the emphasis was not just on adult, but also on bourgeois supervision, for even adult settlement clubs had a middle class supervisor; indeed, with the adult groups the age of the supervisor counted less than his, or more often her, social status. The justification for their presence was that middle class supervisors modelled proper comportment and maintained order; as one observer had earlier noted of Evangelina's members, "[t]he home training does make for a peaceable settling of disputes."<sup>18</sup>

Although settlements preferred to have male volunteers or staff to supervise boys' and men's clubs, they were perfectly willing to use women for these positions if no men were available, as was often the case. Thus it was common to find a young woman, usually the

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<sup>15</sup>UCA (library), Ethel Dodds Parker, "St. Christopher House: Stories of My Times," typescript, 1961.

<sup>16</sup>McKee, "Youth Organizations," 303.

<sup>17</sup>McKee, "Youth Organizations," 304.

<sup>18</sup>A[ilberta] S. Bastedo, "Fortnight at Evangelina [sic] House," *The Varsity* XXVI, 2(October 11, 1906), 21.

headworker, guiding a club for fathers or a young men's debating society. In clubs intended exclusively for males, it seems that a settlement worker's class both lent her authority and made her sex irrelevant. This is particularly interesting when one considers the ongoing debates in these years over the possible 'feminizing' effects of subjecting older boys and young men to the leadership of female authority figures. But perhaps the middle class women's leadership of clubs for working class men and boys reflected the settlement workers' endorsement of Jane Addams' convictions concerning the ameliorative effects of 'feminizing' all aspects of the public realm.<sup>19</sup>

Adolescents, and especially working class adolescent boys, had become, by the turn of the century, a particular interest of scholars and middle class commentators.<sup>20</sup> Many were concerned that recent social changes - most obviously the rising number of children growing up in the city, but also, among 'traditionalists,' such innovations as the entry of comparatively

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<sup>19</sup>See Jane Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1902; repr. Cambridge, Mass., The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964), and "The College Woman and the Family Claim," *The Commons* 3 (1898), 3-7. See also Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), 42-43. For a perspective on how Canadian commentators saw the issue, see Susan Gelman, "Women Secondary School Teachers: Ontario, 1871-1930" (Ph.D diss., University of Toronto, 1994), especially Chapter One.

<sup>20</sup>There were a number of books and articles written in the first decades of the twentieth century about working class youths, and about adolescence in general; some examples are J. Adams Puffer, *The Boy and His Gang* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912); Jane Addams, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*, and numerous works by G. Stanley Hall, especially his *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education* 2 vols. (New York: Appleton, 1904). For contemporary analyses of the ways in which adolescence was viewed at the turn of the century, see, for example, Dominick Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals: Organized Playgrounds and Urban Reform, 1880-1920* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1981) and Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres*.

large numbers of adolescent girls and young women into non-domestic employment,<sup>21</sup> and into the higher levels of schooling<sup>22</sup> - might be seriously weakening young people's already 'flimsy' moral sense, in the first instance by robbing them of opportunities for 'healthful' recreation and in the second by obscuring gender socialization. Boys in 'gangs' were a specific concern; while some authorities on the subject maintained that gangs represented a positive element in the development of a boy's identity, and that boys joined gangs out of instinct, not out of a desire to be anti-social,<sup>23</sup> other observers were anxious about the number of boys who, with their 'gangs,' stood idle on street corners, smoking or perhaps menacing passers-by or engaging in petty crime.<sup>24</sup> It is important to note here that the 'gang' was a social construction which critics employed in their evaluations of the relative merits of permitting groups of city-dwelling, working-class boys to 'wander about' unsupervised. Through the 'gang' construction these unregulated groups came to be identified as a social problem, which in turn became a target of intervention for organizations such as settlement houses and youth leagues. As Leila McKee notes, non-sectarian groups like the Boy Scouts sought to capitalise on the "gang instinct" by reorganizing the gang into the 'patrol.' Each patrol had its own leadership; the members of the units regulated each other, and they often

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<sup>21</sup>Ruby Heap, "Schooling Women for Home or for Work? Vocational Education for Women in Ontario in the Early Twentieth Century: The Case of the Toronto Technical High School: 1892-1920," in Ruby Heap and Alison Prentice, eds., *Gender and Education in Ontario* (Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press, 1991), 200-201.

<sup>22</sup>This was a special theme of such authorities on adolescence as G. Stanley Hall. See his "Coeducation in the High School," *Proceedings of the National Educational Association*, 1903, 446-60.

<sup>23</sup>See Puffer, *The Boys and His Gang*, Chapter Two.

<sup>24</sup>"Report of the Board of Social Service and Evangelism," Thirty-Ninth Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P*, 1913, 289-90; Parker, "St. Christopher House," 5.

planned their activities as a group.<sup>25</sup> This structure had great appeal to many who worked with boys; in fact, four of Toronto's six settlements - Evangelia, CNH, University and Memorial Institute - organized Boy Scout troops between 1910 and 1913. Memorial Institute also had a Girl Guide troop. As George Bryce and Arthur Burnett noted in their original proposal to create CNH, they started their settlement work in the Ward with a Scout troop because "[w]ork with boys was thought to be a good first step, and the Scout movement not only has a firm foothold, but is elastic in methods, high in ideals, and thoroughly useful."<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, the settlements' archival holdings offer no further details as to the organization or activities of their troops.

Settlements also used the gang structure in their regular boys' clubs; indeed, St. Christopher and University Settlement both claimed the distinction of having 'reclaimed' many older boys in their respective neighbourhoods by persuading gangs to join the settlement and reformulate their groups as clubs.<sup>27</sup> But it is important to note that settlement workers were not interested in vanquishing the gang, only in regulating it. Generally speaking, those who sought to organize young people's play tried to strengthen, rather than challenge, immigrant young people's reliance on their peer groups, believing that a properly supervised peer group would exert better control over its members than was possible for the immigrant family, which many reformers considered to be beleaguered and frequently unequal to the task

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<sup>25</sup>McKee, "Youth Organizations," 395.

<sup>26</sup> CTA, SC 5 D, Box 1, file 1, "A Neighborhood House for Central Toronto." According to Leila McKee, the Boy Scout movement only arrived in Canada in late 1909, so it is interesting that it caught on so quickly in the settlements. See McKee, "Youth Organizations," 169.

<sup>27</sup>St. Christopher House, *Annual Report* and Ethel Dodds Parker, "St. Christopher House," and "Y.M.C.A. and the Settlement," *The Varsity* XXXI, 2(September 29, 1911): 2.

of raising children in the urban environment.<sup>28</sup>

The names chosen for settlement clubs are very interesting in themselves, for they often reflected traits or values that settlement workers hoped their members would come to embrace. The names often had a gendered element; flowers, diminutives, or feminine virtues were popular for girls' club names, for example. Thus we find that in CNH in 1912 and 1913 there were two clubs for girls between 9 and 12 and 10 and 12, respectively; the first was the "Little Girls' Club," and the second was the "Good Obedient Club," while a club for 12 to 14 year old girls was called the "Goodwill Club." CNH's club for 14 to 16 year old girls was called the Primrose Club in 1912, and the Pansy Club in 1913. In subsequent years, club names for CNH girls between ten and fourteen included the Loyal Friends Club, the Good Neighbors Club, the Jolly Chums Club, the Smiling Faces Club, the Sunshine Club, and the Happy Children Club, while working girls at CNH had the Good Friendship Club, the Good Workers Club and the Young Girls' English Club.<sup>29</sup>

The records of the other settlements for the years before World War One include comparatively few references to club names, but those which were recorded follow the patterns observed at CNH; there were, in fact, remarkable similarities between club names at the different settlements, a phenomenon which indicates that club members were not allowed to make up their own monikers. For example, Memorial Institute had a club for boys called

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<sup>28</sup>Dominick Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals: Organized Playgrounds and Urban Reform, 1880-1920* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), 7.

<sup>29</sup>CTA, CNH, SC 5 D Box 1 file 7, *The Central Neighborhood House, Year Book, 1915*. No annual report for CNH was produced for 1914, due to a financial crisis which occurred in the late summer of that year, as a result of the outbreak of World War One. Thus some of these clubs may have been organized in 1915 rather than 1914. But as we shall see in Chapter Seven, one of the immediate outcomes of the war was that CNH felt it had to refocus its 'in-house' programme on providing services for young women and girls, since the settlement had found work with boys to involve a greater financial outlay than did work with girls. See CTA, SC 5 B, Box 1, file 10, Annual General Meeting minutes, October 20, 1914.

the Jolly Chums, and another for girls called the Sunbeams' Club. It also had a Brotherhood Club and a Square Club, both for boys.<sup>30</sup> Among the girls' clubs at St. Christopher House there was the Marigold Club, for girls of about the same age as CNH's Goodwill Club [12 to 14], and the Merrie Maidens, a club for girls between 10 and 11.<sup>31</sup> Evangelia's club for girls between 14 and 16 was called the Merrie Makers, while its Primrose Club was for little girls of about six.<sup>32</sup>

What all these names evoke is an image of harmony, or in the case of the clubs named after flowers, femininity. Boys' club names, on the other hand, often evoked images of action or patriotism; thus University Settlement's club for 10 to 14 year old boys was called the Victoria Club,<sup>33</sup> while St. Christopher's club for 13 to 14 year old boys was called the Beavers, and its club for boys aged 15 to 17 was called the Royal Young Canadians, or the RYCs. St. Christopher's had another club for what one worker described as a rough gang of boys of around the same age as the RYCs which, when it was brought into the settlement, became the Pioneers; St. Christopher's also had a small men's club, possibly comprised of some of these boys' fathers, called the Pioneers' Fathers' Club.<sup>34</sup> CNH also had a Pioneers Club, but it was for boys between 9 and 12. Evangelia's club for older adolescent boys and

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<sup>30</sup>CBA, Memorial Institute *Calendar*, October 19, 1913. See also Donald Goertz, *A Century for the City: Walmer Road Baptist Church, 1889-1989* (Toronto: Walmer Road Baptist Church, 1989), 44.

<sup>31</sup>Thirty-Ninth Presbyterian General Assembly *A&P*, 289; Parker, "St. Christopher House," *passim*.

<sup>32</sup>A.S. Bastedo, "Fortnight at Evangelina [sic] House," *The Varsity* XXVI, 2(October 11, 1906): 21; BR, S54, "History of Canadian Settlements," Book B, Notes on Evangelia House.

<sup>33</sup>"Settlement Work" *The Varsity* XXXI, 43(January 31, 1912), 4.

<sup>34</sup>Thirty-Ninth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, *A&P*, 1913, 289; Parker, "St. Christopher House," 5.

young men was called the Fidelity Club, while Memorial Institute, for its part, had the Young Patriot's Boys' Club, and the Boys' Nelson Club.<sup>35</sup>

A number of settlement clubs were organized around a special interest of their members, and their names often reflected that interest. Only one CNH girls' club, the Scrap Book Club, fit in this category, but most of CNH's boys' clubs did, and the focus of most of them was athletics; thus, CNH had the Canadian Boys Athletic Club, the Boxing Club, the Arlington Boys Athletic Club (for boys over 16), and the Junior Arlington Athletic Club (for 12 to 16 year olds), as well as the Elm Street Athletic Club (which was also for boys over 16).<sup>36</sup> Memorial Institute had two special interest clubs, the Young Men's Social Club and the Victoria Girls' Sewing Club,<sup>37</sup> while University Settlement, which began its club work by organizing it around athletics, had the Young Varsity Athletic Club for teen-aged boys, and later the St. Andrew's Club and the Grand Central Baseball Club for young men between 18 and 23.<sup>38</sup> There were other kinds of special interest clubs as well; for example, CNH boys over sixteen had a Glee Club, as did those at University Settlement. Older CNH boys could also join the Debating Club, and in 1913 Elizabeth Neufeld organized the Newsboys' Club for the 30 boys under 14 who were attending Hester Howe school; 23 newsboys over 14 were already CNH members. Indeed, Neufeld exhibited a special concern for newsboys; in her report for December 1913 she told her board that she was making a survey of their general situation, and she also recommended that newsboys be permitted "House privileges"

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<sup>35</sup>CBA, vertical files, Memorial Institute *Calendar*, July 21, 1912.

<sup>36</sup>CTA, CNH SC 5 D Box 1 file 7, Central Neighborhood House, *Year Book, 1912* and *Year Book, 1913*.

<sup>37</sup>CBA, Memorial Institute, *Calendar*, July 21, 1912.

<sup>38</sup>"Settlement Work," *The Varsity* XXXI, 43(January 31, 1912), 4.

at noon and after school on the occasions they were not working, implying that she thought they had nowhere else to go.<sup>39</sup>

Few adult men joined settlement clubs. When he took over University Settlement in 1913, Norman Ware introduced two men's clubs, the Pioneers and the Acmes, as well as a 'social-political' club for young people, but it is not clear how successful the groups actually were. St. Christopher had a couple of men's clubs as well, as did Evangelia, but in the years prior to the First World War their memberships remained small. Mothers' clubs, in contrast, came to be almost as popular as the children's groups, both before the war and especially during it. For example, according to anecdotal reports Evangelia's mothers' club had as many as 100 active members, as did the White Shield Club at St. Christopher House; Helen Hart eventually had to split the latter club in two due to overcrowding. Part of the attraction of the women's clubs at these two settlements may have been that child care was provided for club members during club meetings; for some mothers attempting to cope with inadequate housing and separation from the support networks of their home communities, the opportunity to associate with other adult women with similar backgrounds and problems may have been a powerful attraction. In this context it is important to keep in mind that Evangelia's membership was largely drawn from British immigrants, as was St. Christopher's White Shield Club, and that these women may well have been carrying on a tradition of club membership which they had begun prior to immigrating.

St. Christopher's White Shield club provides a good example of the tensions and ethnic divisions which seemed to dog many settlement clubs during wartime and in the post-war period. Despite the settlement movement's rhetoric of promoting community cohesion, and in particular the equal numbers of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews among St.

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<sup>39</sup>CTA, CNH, Board of Director's Minutes, "Headworker's Report for December 1913."

Christopher's clientele, the settlement's White Shield Club membership was entirely British or Anglo-Canadian; it is not clear, however, if Catholic and Jewish mothers were actively discouraged from joining the club. Possibly, women from non-Anglo Protestant groups were disinclined to enrol in a group which appears to have been a version of the British White Shield, a society formed in 1885 as the feminine counterpart to the Gospel Purity Association's (GPA's) men's association, the White Cross. The original aims of the White Shield, according to Elizabeth Bradley, who claimed to be its founder, were "[t]o protest against the double standard of morality," to cultivate "modesty in dress, speech and manner," to encourage vigilance "against the *beginning of evil* in the child, the home and social life," and to urge caregivers of children to study divinely ordained laws of health and morals, so that they can promote purity among the young; "[i]n short," Bradley asserted, "to train up a race of genuine *womanly women*, who would resist evil and dare to be true and brave, fit helpmeets and companions to genuinely manly men, as White Cross men should be."<sup>40</sup>

According to Bradley, members of the White Shield had to make five promises:

1. To uphold the law of purity as equally binding upon men and women
2. To be modest in language, behaviour and dress
3. To avoid all conversation, reading, art and amusements which may put impure thoughts in my mind
4. To guard the purity of others, especially of the young
5. To strive after the special blessing promised to

THE PURE OF HEART<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>Elizabeth Honey Bradley, *Facts for Truth-Lovers: With Notes on Various English Social Purity Societies and Original Information on the White Shield Movement* (Hamilton, Ont., Royal Templar Book and Publishing House, 1890), 8, italics in the original. This monograph is a fascinating denouncement of Frances Willard and some members of the American Women's Christian Temperance Union, whom Bradley accuses of wittingly or unwittingly perverting the original aims of the White Shield movement. The objections Bradley raised publicly resulted, eventually, in the withdrawal of the WCTU's White Shield manual, but at the same time Willard and her supporters blacklisted Bradley through the WCTU's international journal, an action which Bradley answered by publishing *Facts for Truth-Lovers*.

<sup>41</sup>Bradley, *Facts for Truth-Lovers*, 9. Emphasis in the original.

It is difficult to tell how much St. Christopher's White Shield Club retained of the original pattern; little information has survived concerning what club members actually did in its meetings in the period before the war, but from the surviving accounts of the club's activities during and after it, it appears that there were few open references to purity or temperance at club meetings; instead they seem to have emphasized the development of the group's unity through activities such as singing, playing active games, putting on skits, and the like. St. Christopher's also had a men's club, which until the end of the war had only a small membership, for the husbands of the White Shield club members.<sup>42</sup>

University Settlement's Woman's Club was apparently much more restrained in its meetings than its counterpart at St. Christopher's. According to *The Varsity*, it was organized sometime in the fall of 1911 by a group of faculty wives on behalf of the women whose children were cared for at the West End Creche during the day. With the guidance of Miss Mabel Newton, an English sanitary inspector and health visitor hired by the University Settlement to take over the direction of its women's activities, and Miss Mono McLaughlin, a recent graduate of the university, University Settlement's Women's Club started with about 25 members, but these numbers grew rapidly. Like the majority of mothers' clubs organized by philanthropic agencies, the club members sewed while someone read to them during most of the meetings, but once a month club members were given "an interesting talk," and in addition, a monthly social night.<sup>43</sup>

Other settlements initially instituted their mothers' clubs as sewing circles, or organized them out of the special activities they arranged for women with children. In the summer of 1912, for example, CNH organized a club for women who participated in the day

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<sup>42</sup>Parker, "St. Christopher House," 33-35.

<sup>43</sup>"Settlement Work: The Woman's Club," *The Varsity* XXXI, 40(January 25, 1912), 4.

outings Neufeld and her assistants arranged for mothers and children in the neighbourhood.<sup>44</sup> Memorial Institute's Mother's Meeting, in contrast, was initially a sewing circle, but by the summer of 1913 it had branched out to more club-like activities, such as day trips to the countryside for its members.<sup>45</sup> The 100 or so members of Evangelia's women's club also went on occasional excursions, mainly by street car, as well as holding monthly 'socials,' but unlike the women's clubs in other settlements, Evangelia's normally tended to follow the pattern established for the settlement's children's clubs; that is, after the weekly business meetings, members separated into cooking, sewing, or gymnasium classes.<sup>46</sup> As for Riverdale, unfortunately the only surviving information on its 'Ladies Club' was that it was supervised by a Miss Amereaux who, according to a former co-worker, was French Canadian, and an accomplished pianist and singer; in addition to directing the Riverdale Ladies' Club, she is reported to have also trained choirs and organized concerts.<sup>47</sup> Given Miss Amereaux's interests, it is likely that she guided the Ladies' Club to focus its attention on music as well.

Carol Stanton Hogg, a former settlement worker, recalled that women's groups in the settlements were nearly always divided according to nationality, age and interest.

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<sup>44</sup>CTA, CNH - Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for June 1912.

<sup>45</sup>CBA, vertical files, Memorial Institute *Calendar*, April 28, 1912 and "Memorial Institute Annual Report for 1913," in Walmer Road Baptist Church, *Annual Report, 1913*, 11. See also Goertz, *A Century for the City*, 44.

<sup>46</sup>BR, S54, History of Canadian Settlements, Notes, Book B, letter from Miss Ethel Bunker to Miss Irene Hardy, February 18, 1963.

<sup>47</sup>BR, History of Canadian Settlements, Notes, Book B, "Riverdale Settlement," Ethel Bunker reminiscences, as recorded by Carol Stanton Hogg. Riverdale's membership was mostly Anglo-Canadian, so it is interesting that a French-Canadian woman was chosen as the women's club supervisor. Her social class and her skills, most likely, were considered more important than her ethnicity.

Significantly, she did not mention ethnocentrism as a key factor in these divisions. Rather, she maintained that some of these splits were the result of special behavioural constraints placed on the women from within their own communities; for example, Italian women, she said, had to meet in the afternoons because they absolutely had to be home in the evenings.<sup>48</sup>

Certainly, ethnic divisions among women were evident at St. Christopher House, with its large, exclusively British White Shield Club,<sup>49</sup> but in fact to some extent all the settlements divided their clubs, and especially their adult clubs, according to ethnicity. Even CNH, the most ecumenical of the settlements, did this. In the fall of 1915, for example, CNH reported that it had by then four women's clubs; one for Jewish women, one for British women, and two for Italian women.<sup>50</sup> As at Memorial Institute's Mother's Meeting, all four CNH women's clubs spent the majority of their meeting times making clothes for their families, although at CNH they had the added attraction of a musician who played for them as they sewed. In addition, the Jewish women's club, which had a membership of only seven, devoted some of its time to learning English, while the 30 members in club for English

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<sup>48</sup>B.R., History of Canadian Settlements, Notes, Book B, "Reminiscences of Carol Stanton Hogg." Frank Sturino, in "The Role of Women in Italian Immigration to the New World," Jean Burnett, ed., *Looking Into My Sister's Eyes: An Exploration in Women's History* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1986), 29-30, notes that Italian women's activities were constrained by the high value that the Italian community placed on "family honour" - that is, on the chastity of wives and daughters.

<sup>49</sup>It is important to emphasize that the 'white' in the 'White Shield' symbolized purity, and at least initially did not refer to skin colour or ethnic origin; given the club's original aim, to promote the chastity of British women, reference to skin colour would appear to have been irrelevant. Nevertheless, as Toni Morrison has pointed out with regard to American society, one cannot dismiss the influence of racial constructions just because they are not alluded to explicitly. Certainly, the fact that only women of British descent joined the club at St. Christopher has to be significant. For a discussion of the racial overtones of the Canadian purity movement, see Marianna Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991). See also Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

<sup>50</sup>CTA, CNH - Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for October 1915.

women knitted clothing for soldiers at the front. The two Italian women's clubs, with memberships of ten and 29 respectively, also devoted a portion of their meetings to learning English.<sup>51</sup>

The ultimate goal of all settlement clubs was to demonstrate the principles of democratic citizenship, and to provide the means to allow members to practice the skills necessary for the fulfilment of their obligations. Thus, as noted above, all clubs were self-governing and run according to parliamentary rules of order, with weekly business meetings presided over by an elected president and executive that rotated amongst the memberships a few times per year.<sup>52</sup> Even the youngest club members were expected to adhere to this format. While the club membership apparently "define[d] their own objects," citizenship training, at least at CNH, was prominently featured in club activities. For example, one observer reported that "[t]he Pansy Club was in full swing on Saturday afternoon when a *Globe* reporter visited the Neighborhood House. A young lady was using copies of magazines and illustrated papers in her efforts at cultivating Canadian nationality in these children of the congested quarter, mostly of foreign parentage and poor circumstances."<sup>53</sup> Settlement club meetings also regularly featured games, stories, songs, skits and snacks, and even in these seemingly innocuous recreational activities there was a purpose; through them, it was hoped,

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<sup>51</sup>CTA, CNH - Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for November 1915. See also the report for October 1915. The reports lay less stress on the Italian women's attempts to learn English, but the reason for this emphasis is not clear; it could be that Italian women were usually more ambivalent about the adoption of the English language than were Jewish women - perhaps their efforts received less support - but it is also possible that Mary Joplin Clarke, who was by then CNH's headworker, simply did not see their efforts in the same light.

<sup>52</sup>CTA, SC 5 J Box 1, File 1, "Newsclippings, 1911-1930", "Educating Children for Good Citizenship," unidentified press clipping, October 1911.

<sup>53</sup>CTA, SC 5 J, Box 1 File 1, "Newsclippings, 1911-1930", "Settlement Work Has a Good Start," unidentified [*Globe*] press clipping, October 1911.

club members would learn lessons in self-sacrifice and self-control.<sup>54</sup> The assessment of annual settlement membership fees and small weekly club dues also had a function; on a pragmatic level the money collected helped to defray the cost of such things as snacks and materials, but settlement workers maintained that, more importantly, these fees also contributed toward character building among their clientele, for club members were not recipients of charity as long as they paid something toward the services they received, even if the services were heavily subsidized by outside sources.

But for some reformers this was not enough, and in 1912 C.J. Atkinson, head of the recently established Moss Park Boys' Club, invited a number of agencies doing work with working class boys to participate in an ambitious plan to demonstrate the principles of participatory democracy through the creation of a city-wide umbrella organization, which he christened the Toronto Boys' Dominion. Central Neighborhood House and University Settlement both accepted the invitation. As Milton B. Hunt, the University Settlement's resident secretary explained, the intention of the Boys' Dominion was "to instil a knowledge and understanding of civics and morality in the youngsters who are deprived of a regular schooling."<sup>55</sup> Elizabeth Neufeld, for her part, saw the whole enterprise as an ideal opportunity for teaching practical citizenship.<sup>56</sup> Member agencies were to continue with their regular activities at their respective institutions, but in addition the boys in each local agency

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<sup>54</sup>A.S. Bastedo, "A Visit to Evangelia House," *The Varsity* XXV, 3(October 19, 1905): 43.

<sup>55</sup>"Workers for Settlement Eat," *The Varsity* XXXII, 22(November 20, 1912): 4.

<sup>56</sup>CTA, SC5 D, Box 1 file 2, "Annual Report of Head Worker," *CNH Year Book, 1912*. For a fascinating discussion of the use of the 'self-government' movement as a "strategy to eliminate 'unrest' among the American working class, of which the immigrant population formed such a significant part," see Howard S. Davidson, "Moral Education and Social Relations" *The Case of Prisoner Self-Government Reform in New York State, 1895-1923* (Ed.D.: University of Toronto, 1991), Chapter Six. Quotation p. 234.

were also organized into provinces of the Boys' Dominion. Only boys who were members of their local agencies, and had "taken the pledge" (it is not clear if this was a pledge of loyalty or of temperance) were accorded the rights of Boys' Dominion citizenship; these included free access to the Moss Park facility on two nights a week, and admission to the free classes in clay-modelling, manual training, wood carving, printing, and office work that the Toronto School Board then was offering at the Dominion clubhouse. Boys wearing citizenship buttons could also take advantage of Moss Park's pool-room, reading room, gym, printing office, and twice-weekly moving picture shows.<sup>57</sup>

Each province divided its neighbourhood into constituencies with elected Mps and MPPs, and each established a Court of Justice and a criminal code. There were elections for both the Dominion and the provincial governments, and the boys could vote for members of either the Unionist or the Federalist Party. In the fall 1913 provincial election at CNH the Federalist Party campaigned for the exclusion of girls from evening activities at the settlement, a move which the Unionist Party opposed on the grounds that girls had a "softening" influence. The girls organized as well and campaigned for the Unionist Party, which was elected with an overwhelming majority. In the wake of the election the victors promised to enfranchise the girls and disenfranchise all those who could not read or write English, but it is not clear whether or not they carried through with these plans.<sup>58</sup> The promise to disenfranchise those who could not read or write English was no doubt influenced by Elizabeth Neufeld's strong stance on this issue; in a paper she gave at the 1913 Canadian

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<sup>57</sup>"Dominion Elections at Settlement House," *The Varsity* XXXII, 11(October 23, 1912); "Workers for Settlement Eat," *The Varsity* XXXII, 22(November 20, 1912): 4; CTA, CNH-Board of Director's Minutes, "Headworker's Report for March 1912," "Headworker's Report for April 1912," and "Headworker's Report for June 1912;" SC5 D, Box 1 file 2, "Annual Report of Head Worker," *CNH Year Book, 1912*.

<sup>58</sup>CTA, CNH-Board of Director's Minutes, "Headworker's Report for November 1913."

Conference of Charities and Corrections she argued that the ability to read and write in English should be compulsory for the conferral of citizenship on "foreign" immigrants, as should a knowledge of Canadian history, politics and, most importantly, laws. She declared that "[i]t is certainly unfair to our Canadian citizenship to permit people to use the vote when they do not know what they are voting for and why .... If the privilege of citizenship is such a difficult one that women are not fit to vote, surely it is too good a thing to give to men who do not know how to vote."<sup>59</sup>

Each 'province' in the Boys Dominion also had its own judicial structure; at CNH Elizabeth Neufeld became the Lieutenant-Governor, and she appointed one boy to be Attorney-General and another to be Judge. The Attorney-General, in his turn, appointed a Constable, who appointed deputies as he needed them. The Constable received two cents for each summons or subpoena he delivered; these fees could be assigned as part of the court costs, which the Judge could allocate to any party involved in a court case. The criminal code established a detailed list of crimes, such as misconduct at meetings, stealing, smoking, and the like, along with the fines and other penalties to be exacted on transgressors. Defendants could opt for trial by jury or by judge alone, and could appeal their cases to the Supreme Court, at the Boys' Dominion headquarters in Moss Park.<sup>60</sup> It is not clear how often the court was convened, but on at least one occasion some CNH boys were tried in the settlement's court and convicted of stealing from the local playground.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>Elizabeth Neufeld, "The Training of an Immigrant for Canadian Citizenship," *Canadian Conference of Charities and Corrections* (Toronto: 1913): 25.

<sup>60</sup>CTA, SC5 D, Box 1, file 3, CNH "Criminal Code," and "An Act to Establish a Court of Justice, 1912."

<sup>61</sup>In this case the Parks Commissioner acted as the judge, and according to Neufeld, the entire proceedings made "a great impression" on both the guilty boys and their families. CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's Minutes, Headworker's Report for June 1913.

Through direct participation in their own government, settlement boys were expected to learn the way in which the Canadian government and judicial structure works, as well as the individual citizen's role within it. The importance of self- and peer-regulation, of living according to the 'rule of law' was also, no doubt, an intended message. This could be interpreted as a means of empowerment, that is, of training settlement members to use state institutions effectively, and to see themselves as actors within it, rather than as its passive vassals. But it should also be kept in mind that through this exercise in self-government the Toronto Boys' Dominion and the participating settlements not only presented the forms and practices of the Canadian state-system as normal, natural, and legitimate, but as the paramount government form. In fact, no other possibilities were considered. Moreover, in concentrating their efforts exclusively on developing the political consciousness of boys, the agencies which joined in creating the Boys' Dominion introduced a profoundly gendered version of political subjectivity, CNH's attempts to include girls notwithstanding.

It is important to keep in mind, in addition, that by insisting that all settlement clubs follow the parliamentary rules of procedure in their meetings, that they form a rotating executive council, and that club members utilise set procedures for structuring their activities, settlement workers in general attempted to establish this form of group regulation as the definitive one for all settlement users - to make it hegemonic, in other words. This had an unintended outcome at St. Christopher House; Ethel Dodds Parker, headworker of St. Christopher's after Helen Hart left in 1917, remarked in her reminiscences that when Hart came to for a visit once she asked Parker "if there was anything she could do or say to be of help. And I said, 'Yes, tell them that clubs don't have to be conducted exactly as you had started them in order to train them.' She did, but I don't think they believed it."<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>Parker, "St. Christopher House," 33.

## II

Club members usually attended settlement classes together, but in fact the classes themselves were often offered to a wider constituency than just club members. Indeed, while the majority of children and young people who took classes in the settlements were members of settlement clubs, some pupils would not fit into the club structure, and others, with more pressing needs than fellowship, did not feel comfortable within it. There was a wide variety of classes offered, but for the most part they fitted within three fairly broad categories; vocational instruction, including domestic science for girls, manual training for boys, and continuing education classes for those forced to end their formal schooling prematurely; physical training; and English language instruction and civics classes for older teens and adults.

One kind of class which did not fall within this general outline was the settlement kindergarten. Not all settlements established them, perhaps because many public schools in Toronto already had kindergarten classes,<sup>63</sup> and most settlement workers tried very hard to avoid overlapping with the public schools.<sup>64</sup> Of Toronto's six settlements three - Evangelia, CNH and University - established kindergartens, although the extent to which the settlement kindergartens adhered to what became the standard Froebelian format, which was followed in the public system, is open to question. In 1912 Milton Hunt, then director of University

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<sup>63</sup>Kindergartens had been formally accepted as a part of the public school system in Ontario since 1887. See Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 174. For a critique of the Ontario kindergarten movement, see Kari Dehli, "They Rule By Sympathy: The Feminization of Pedagogy," in *Studies in Moral Regulation*, 195-216.

<sup>64</sup>Mary Bell, "Settlement Work: As I Have Thought of It and Seen It, and Lived It," *The Dominion Tie* II, 12(December 1903), 331-332; and Elizabeth Neufeld, "The Development of Existing Neighborhood Activities," National Conference of Charities and Corrections, *Proceedings, 1914* (Fort Wayne, IN.: Fort Wayne Printing Co., 1914), 408.

Settlement, announced to *The Varsity* that the settlement had organized a kindergarten class for 25 boys who were under 10 years of age,<sup>65</sup> but kindergartens were by then commonly understood to be for children under school age - that is, under six - so Hunt's notion that boys under ten constituted a kindergarten class seems to reflect his unfamiliarity with the genre, as does his statement that "children's games and stories fill their [the boys'] time." In fact, in a properly organized kindergarten games and stories were only part of a multi-faceted and carefully designed programme intended to develop children's physical, mental, and spiritual attributes and encourage their independence and creativity.<sup>66</sup> Elizabeth Neufeld echoed Hunt's comments when she described CNH's kindergarten to the settlement's first annual general meeting; she reported that children in this class were aged 2 to 8, and came to the settlement for an hour or two during the day in order to play "under the supervision of kindly women and trained kindergarten teachers."<sup>67</sup> The volunteers she referred to were in fact members of the Toronto Froebel Society, a private women's organization devoted to the promotion of kindergarten work in the city, to whom Neufeld had given a speech about CNH in December 1911.<sup>68</sup>

Since CNH's kindergarten was established and run by members of the Toronto Froebelian Society, it is safe to assume that the settlement's kindergarten programme was run as much as possible along Froebelian lines. This would include sense training, Froebelian games and finger plays, nature study, mathematics, language and music, and work with the

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<sup>65</sup>"Settlement Work," *The Varsity* XXXI, 43(January 31, 1912): 4.

<sup>66</sup>Barbara E. Corbett, "The Public School Kindergarten in Ontario, 1883-1967: A Study of the Froebelian Origins, History, and Educational Theory and Practice of the Kindergarten in Ontario" (Ed.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1968), 121.

<sup>67</sup>CTA, SC5 D, Box 1, File 2, "Annual Report of the Headworker," *CNH Year Book, 1912*.

<sup>68</sup>"Toronto Froebel Society," Toronto Local Council of Women, *Annual Report, 1912*, 35.

Froebelian Gifts (specially manufactured wooden blocks, as well as beads and laces, sand tables, slats, tile boards and pegs, and plasticine) and Occupations (drawing and painting activities based on close observations of objects). Froebelian kindergartners tended to do a lot of story-telling and reading aloud to their pupils in an effort to stimulate the children's intellectual and spiritual dimensions; fairy tales, legends, and nature, Bible, and animal stories were common kindergarten fare. Another frequent kindergarten activity was marching in time to music, which was also a feature of gymnasium classes with their older brothers and sisters, as we shall see; other common kindergarten features were singing and singing games, art and play-acting, and exploring geometric shapes through all five of their senses, and through a variety of media. The overall aim was to help the children gain a sense of themselves and of the world around them, and to encourage self-expression.<sup>69</sup> Given the state of CNH's finances, however, if the kindergartners wanted to follow the proper Froebelian format they would likely have had to supply much of their own equipment and materials.<sup>70</sup>

Evangelia House did not offer nursery or kindergarten classes prior to its move to the Queen and River location in 1907; by 1913, however, Miss Skinner, University Women's Club representative at Evangelia, reported that Evangelia had both a kindergarten and a 'first book' class (Grade One).<sup>71</sup> In this area Elizabeth Neufeld and Edith Elwood may have come into conflict, for Neufeld did not agree with carrying on classes if they had been taken up by public agencies such as the schools. In her paper for the 1914 NCCC conference Neufeld noted that one settlement that she knew (possibly Evangelia) had originally introduced kindergartens to its community, and even though the district's public schools had since taken

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<sup>69</sup>Corbett, "The Public School Kindergarten", 131-144.

<sup>70</sup>We shall explore the issue of finances in more detail in Chapter Seven.

<sup>71</sup>UWCA, Volume II Minutes, May 20, 1913.

them up, and were apparently filling that need reasonably well, the settlement was still offering its own kindergarten class because the volunteer who started it liked doing it, and the settlement thought it best just to let her continue. Neufeld maintained that if settlements continued to do things like this, municipal agencies would never become efficient service providers.<sup>72</sup> CNH's kindergarten classes, in contrast, had been restricted after 1912 to thrice-weekly after school meetings, only for children under six.<sup>73</sup>

St. Christopher House avoided the issue of overlap with the public schools by opening a small creche to care for the babies and young children of working mothers, rather than a kindergarten. In her annual report for St. Christopher for 1913 Sara Carson noted that "[t]here is great demand for such a ministry, and when we build larger quarters, the Creche will be one of the large departments of the work."<sup>74</sup> The larger quarters never materialized during Carson's tenure, and within a year or two the creche had been transformed into a morning play-school.<sup>75</sup> The reason for this change was never made clear in the annual reports, but most likely Helen Hart and Sara Carson found that they simply lacked the space and the necessary volunteer assistance to run a creche, although it is also conceivable that they and their supporters felt ambivalent about providing a service which made it easier for mothers to work outside the home. Given the statements of many church leaders and social reformers regarding the dire consequences of allowing mothers to work, any misgivings

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<sup>72</sup>Elizabeth B. Neufeld, "The Development of Existing Neighborhood Activities," *National Conference of Charities and Correction, Forty-First Annual Session, Memphis Tenn., May 8-15, 1914* (Fort Wayne Indiana Printing Co., 1914), 408.

<sup>73</sup>CTA, SC5 D Box 1, File 5, "Headworker's Annual Report," *CNH Year Book, 1913*.

<sup>74</sup>"Report of the Board of Social Service and Evangelism," *Thirty-Ninth Presbyterian General Assembly A&P, 1913*, 290.

<sup>75</sup>"The Church and Congested City Districts," *Forty-First Presbyterian General Assembly A&P* (Toronto: Murray Printing Co. 1915), 351.

would be understandable. Better, indeed, to restrict their programme for children this age to mornings only, than to risk the censure and withdrawal of the support of their sponsors.<sup>76</sup> In any case, some working mothers continued to leave their children at St. Christopher House all day long, apparently with Hart's approval.<sup>77</sup> Actually, creches and play-schools for toddlers and preschoolers were fairly common in settlement houses in the United States, and particularly in Britain after the Boer War raised the alarm over the condition of working class armed forces recruits;<sup>78</sup> while some doubt remained, creches could be justified as a means to improve working class children's overall health. Indeed, some British creche workers came to see themselves as better nurturers, despite their youth and childlessness, than the children's own mothers.<sup>79</sup>

Many of the activities which took place in settlement creches were similar to those which were supposed to take place in Froebelian kindergartens, although there appears to have been more of an explicit emphasis on order, cleanliness, and good habit training in the former than the latter; in some creches, for example, the children were bathed and put into

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<sup>76</sup>See Katherine Arnup, *Education for Motherhood: Advice for Mothers in Twentieth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), Chapter One; for examples of prevalent attitudes toward working mothers see Rev. A.G. Sinclair, "The Family at Home," in the Pre-Assembly Congress, *Proceedings* (Toronto: Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1913), 163-169, and "The Evolution of the Higher Education of Women," *Canadian Churchman*, July 28, 1910, 479. As its title implies, the latter article mainly focuses on the detrimental effects of educating women, especially in co-educational settings, but part of the author's objections stem from the encouragement he thinks co-education gives to women to search for careers outside the home.

<sup>77</sup>"Report of the Board of Social Service and Evangelism," Thirty-Ninth Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P*, 1913, 289.

<sup>78</sup>Anna Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood," *History Workshop* 5 (Spring 1978): 15.

<sup>79</sup>Ellen Ross, "Good and Bad Mothers: Lady Philanthropists and London Housewives before the First World War," in Kathleen D. McCarthy, ed., *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy and Power* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1990).

fresh pinafores immediately upon arrival in the mornings, and then were changed back into their regular clothes when their mothers came to pick them up. Snacks, rest time, and other activities were strictly scheduled, partly in an effort to counteract any adverse home influences, yet the women who worked directly with the children often came to feel a great deal of affection for their young charges, as well as a special bond with their mothers.<sup>80</sup> This is certainly evident in Helen Hart's annual reports. For example, in her report for 1914 Hart remarked:

As I write, small boys are squabbling over a game of marbles, in the corner of the front yard; a group of little girls is playing jackstones on the stone floor of the porch; forty tiny children are lining up in the front hall after a forenoon of work and play in the sandpile, on the swings and at the tables in the sun-room.

Of the mothers she wrote:

we know what a wonderful thing it has been to those tired, brave women, just to sit in a rocking chair ... after the years of bitter struggle, not only to care for their own brood at home, but to earn enough in the homes of more fortunate women or by cleaning offices early in the morning and late at night, to make the man's meagre wage go round somehow.<sup>81</sup>

In this report Hart particularly noted that the play school was for "little children too small to go to public school, and too large to stay in bed – the only place in the house where their mothers have time and space to keep them."

Another kind of instruction which did not fit into the broad categories of vocational schooling, physical education, and English language instruction, was the music class. Music was popular in many informal venues of settlement work, from the kindergartens to the

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<sup>80</sup>See Ellen Ross, "Good and Bad Mothers." For middle class Canadian beliefs concerning the need for firmly scheduling the lives of preschoolers, and attitudes about the parenting abilities of working class mothers, see Katherine Arnup, *Education for Motherhood*, especially Chapter One.

<sup>81</sup>"The Church and Congested City Districts," Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P, 1915*, 349-350.

mothers' meetings, but most settlements offered some kind of formal instruction as well. For example, Evangelia and Riverdale both offered singing lessons, conducted by members of the Toronto College of Music or by other professional volunteers. In fact, Riverdale particularly focused on music; as noted above, Miss Amereaux organized concerts and trained choir groups at Riverdale, and singing was one of the activities offered to teenagers who attended the settlement on Saturday nights.<sup>82</sup> At CNH and University Settlement, by comparison, boys, and later girls, did not receive formal singing lessons, but those who were interested in singing could join the Glee Club, and CNH also offered after school piano and violin lessons. Memorial Institute, for its part, organized a choir in 1912 and a band in 1913. St. Christopher's seems to be the only settlement that did not offer music or singing lessons to its members.<sup>83</sup>

### III

As we have seen, proponents of the settlement movement usually perceived settlement creches, play schools and kindergartens in a positive light, although where they appeared to overlap the role of the public school, or challenge dominant notions concerning mothers' roles, some settlement workers may have felt uncertain about them. Very few doubts existed regarding the classes offered to older children, young people, and adults, however. Indeed, it was through their instructional programmes for these groups that settlements appealed to a large number of their neighbours and volunteers.

The settlements usually scheduled classes for boys or girls so that those most likely to

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<sup>82</sup>BR, S54, "History of Canadian Settlements" Book B, Notes on Riverdale, compiled by H.J. and C. Hogg.

<sup>83</sup>CTA, SC 5 D, Box 1, file 2, "Weekly Schedule," *CNH Year Book, 1912* and file 5, "Weekly Schedule," *CNH Year Book, 1913*. BR S54, "History of Canadian Settlements," Book B, Notes on Evangelia, and on Riverdale, compiled by H.J. and C. Hogg. CBA, Memorial Institute, *Calendar*, July 21, 1912 and October 19, 1913.

appeal to children in particular clubs or age groups were offered on the same days as the clubs met, as well as a few days later in the week.<sup>84</sup> School children in clubs could also get help with their homework, if they chose, rather than attending one of the more formal courses. As we saw in Chapter Two, at Evangelia tutoring was perceived as another means of contributing to the settlement's larger purpose of social uplift; girls especially were offered assistance in order to keep them in school as long as possible, for their entry into the workforce usually ended any further possibility of their educational advancement, and according to one observer, once that avenue was closed "unconsciously, they sink into the slough of sordid toil and foolish pleasure."<sup>85</sup>

In the years immediately prior to the First World War, Toronto's reformers continued to be as concerned as they had been at the turn of the century about the growing presence of poorly paid, scantily educated young women among the city's labouring population, because for many it raised the spectre of a degraded cohort of future mothers, whose so-called child-like attraction to what middle class observers regarded as 'foolish pleasures' left them vulnerable to being drawn into prostitution.<sup>86</sup> Keeping girls in school as long as possible was one way of solving that problem, and thus the settlements offered them informal homework tutoring. Settlement workers were anxious to enrich boys' learning as well, but rather than offering them help with their homework on a casual basis, settlers tended to group boys into tutorial classes. For example, University Settlement began its educational work with ten boys, who were divided into two groups and instructed by volunteers in subjects like bookkeeping,

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<sup>84</sup>See, for example, CTA, SC5 D, Box 1, file 2, "Weekly Schedule," *CNH Yearbook, 1912*.

<sup>85</sup>Bastedo, "A Visit."

<sup>86</sup>See Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem*, Chapter 2.

arithmetic and English.<sup>87</sup> Not surprisingly, the number and variety of courses for boys often depended on the number and interests of the volunteers at the individual settlements, as well as on the available facilities, as Awdrey Brown at Memorial Institute discovered; he could not offer any special courses to the Institute's young men and boys in the first few years of Memorial's existence, due to a lack of space and volunteers.<sup>88</sup>

Educational work for boys in the settlements was divided into two branches; vocational courses and educational upgrading. The latter was aimed at boys who, as the *University Monthly* explained in February 1911, "have been obliged to leave school and start work when their education was as yet very limited."<sup>89</sup> It is interesting to note that the majority of boys who attended the matriculation classes at University Settlement and at CNH, and likely at St. Christopher as well, were Jewish.<sup>90</sup> It is also significant that while Evangelia's early educational work with school-aged girls was directed at keeping them in school, settlements like University, which worked exclusively with boys in its first year, and CNH, which initially found it easier to attract boys than girls, focused much of their energy on assisting boys who had already left formal schooling for the work place. One of the reasons for the difference between Evangelia's policy and that of CNH and University Settlement may well have been an unstated acknowledgement, on the part of the latter two

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<sup>87</sup>"Work Being Done at the Settlement," *The Varsity* XXX (January 6, 1911): 1.

<sup>88</sup>CBA, Memorial Institute, *Annual Report, 1913*, 12. It appears that the vast majority of the 145 volunteers at Memorial were women. See Goertz, *A Century for the City*, 55.

<sup>89</sup>"The University Settlement," *University Monthly* XI, 4(February 1911): 115.

<sup>90</sup>Very few details have survived concerning the kinds of classes St. Christopher House offered, but one third of its membership was Jewish, and most of these were children. It is likely, therefore, that if it offered educational classes to boys, their enrolment followed the pattern set by the other two settlements, University and CNH, who had large numbers of Jewish residents in their neighbourhoods.

settlements, that the children's wages were often critical to the survival of their families.<sup>91</sup>

Evangelia's workers may have been less willing to accept this, particularly in the early years when they had an exclusively female membership. Evangelia did offer working girls the "ordinary subjects of an English education," but unlike University's and CNH's classes for boys, it does not appear to have aimed these courses at formal matriculation.<sup>92</sup>

Young men at University Settlement and CNH could take classes in collegiate subjects like geometry, English literature, and history, or vocational courses like bookkeeping, electricity, wood carving and carpentry. The classes were not heavily enrolled, perhaps because much of the special tutoring and matriculation work that the settlements offered to their boys was aimed directly at assisting those boys who were either looking toward attending university, or hoping to enter white collar work.<sup>93</sup> The settlements' focus on career-oriented courses for settlement boys mirrored the focus of the educational departments of other youth organizations, such as the YMCA, which maintained that their task was to

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<sup>91</sup>See John Bullen, "Hidden Workers: Child Labour and the Family Economy in Late Nineteenth Century Ontario," *Labour/Le Travail* 18, (Fall 1986): 163-187; see also Craig Heron, "The High School and the Household Economy in Working-Class Hamilton, 1890-1940," *Historical Studies in Education* 7, 2(Fall 1995): 217-259.

<sup>92</sup>P.A. Magee, "The College Girl," *Varsity* XXIV, 8(December 1904): 131.

<sup>93</sup>At the end of the 1910/1911 academic year, for example, Shaver reported that University Settlement had "[t]hree educational classes, one of six boys taking entrance work, one class of four boys taking matriculation work and one algebra class of six boys. In addition, three boys secured special tutoring." "Work at the Settlement," *The Varsity* XXXI, 7(October 11, 1911): 1; see also "The University Settlement," *The University Monthly* XI, 8(June 1911): 379-80. In the following year, under Milton B. Hunt, *The Varsity* reported only one matriculation class with six pupils who lacked facility in English among the five "educational classes it was offering. *The Varsity* also noted that "[a]mong the [younger] boys the serious educational work has not yet developed but a class in electricity is soon to be started which will give the boys an elementary knowledge of the subject and will act as an incentive to further work in the technical school." See "Educational Work at Settlement," *The Varsity* XXXI (October 16, 1911): 1.

prepare their members to "get ahead in life."<sup>94</sup>

But were the boys, through the encouragement they received from the university student instructors for these matriculation courses, being influenced to make unrealistic career plans? In 1913, at the Canadian Conference of Charities and Correction meeting, Elizabeth Neufeld argued that "[y]ou cannot take boys and girls who are going into industries and boys and girls who are going to lead a comparatively easy life, and in the case of girls a comparatively idle life, and give them the same preparatory education and expect it to serve both ends. What we need in this country above all else for our immigrant children are industrial training and vocational guidance."<sup>95</sup> In the following spring she matched action to word by establishing an experimental vocational clinic at CNH. The clinic, she told her Board, was under the supervision of a doctor, and its purpose was twofold, to diagnose feeble-mindedness and to indicate the abilities of school-leavers and unemployed children. The hope was to "encourage the children to choose work with reference to their ability rather than with reference to the present wage."<sup>96</sup>

What was the source of Neufeld's concern? Evidence from the United States showed that the majority of immigrant parents were determined to ensure that their children were as well educated as possible; in 1913, for example, the United States Bureau of Education reported that "the least illiterate element of our population is the native-born children of foreign-born parents. The illiteracy among the children of native-born parents is three times as

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<sup>94</sup>McKee, "Youth Organizations," 182.

<sup>95</sup>Elizabeth Neufeld, "The Training of an Immigrant," *CCCC Proceedings 1913*, 25.

<sup>96</sup>CTA, CNH-Board of Director's Minutes, "Headworker's Report" March 10, 1914.

great as that among the native-born children of foreign-born parents."<sup>97</sup> Clearly, many immigrant children were highly motivated to take advantage of the educational opportunities available to them. But at this time vocational education was not widely available, either to public school children or to wage-earning adolescents attending night schools. Matriculation courses made up the bulk of the night school offerings for working teens.<sup>98</sup> As Nancy Jackson and Jane Gaskell have pointed out, before the Adolescent School Act of 1919, secondary-level vocational schooling for adolescents was primarily restricted to middle class children whose parents could afford the tuition and forego their children's potential earnings.<sup>99</sup> Neufeld's advocacy of vocational education and guidance for immigrant children did not, then, necessarily represent an effort to subvert their ambitions and speed their proletarianization. What she may have been hoping for was not the redirection of immigrant children away from collegiate and university-level studies, but a widening of their prospects. It is also possible that her motives in this issue were mixed, and were not entirely clear even to herself.

On their own, the settlements all did their best to provide manual and vocational training for their members. Evangelia House, for example, boasted a well-equipped "Industrial Arts" department in its Queen and River location. For its part University Settlement reported to *The Varsity* that in its first year "[s]ixteen of the boys have organized a class in carpentering, and as a proof of their skill have constructed lockers for the shower-

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<sup>97</sup>United States Bureau of Education, (hereafter USBE) *Education of the Immigrant* Bulletin 51, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 5-6.

<sup>98</sup>Heron, "The High School and the Household Economy," 237-240.

<sup>99</sup>Nancy S. Jackson and Jane S. Gaskell, "White Collar Vocationalism: The Rise of Commercial Education in Ontario and British Columbia, 1870-1920," in Ruby Heap and Alison Prentice, eds., *Gender and Education in Ontario* (Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press, 1991), 170.

bath room."<sup>100</sup> According to the *University Monthly* this class "was started with a view of teaching the boys to be neat and handy around their own homes and also of giving them a more vital interest in the Club Rooms," and not for its vocational applications, but the practical use for the course was there all the same.<sup>101</sup> At CNH, boys could take classes in hammered brass work and electricity,<sup>102</sup> and of course, as we saw above, after 1912 CNH and University Settlement boys could also take the classes in manual training, wood carving, printing, and office work offered by the Toronto School Board at the Boys' Dominion headquarters at the Moss Park Boys' Club.

Gender role socialization was a key element in the settlements' instructional programming. Thus, while the classes for boys tended to focus on improving their wage-earning potential, the settlements' educational programming for girls was largely oriented toward preparing them for their future roles as wives and mothers. As Evangelia's Mary Bell put it, "[t]he class work provided for school-girls is very practical and tends to help them prepare for their larger place in the world when older."<sup>103</sup> Judging from the bulk of the courses offered to Evangelia's girls, that place was definitely at home. While there was considerable experimentation in the kinds of classes the settlements offered, this experimentation usually took place within the boundaries of prescribed gender roles, rather than beyond them. For example, Central Neighborhood House experimented with first aid

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<sup>100</sup>"Work Being Done at the Settlement," *The Varsity* 30, (January 6, 1911): 1.

<sup>101</sup>"The University Settlement," *University Monthly* XI, 4(February 1911): 114-15. This article noted that not only did the boys build lockers, they also "repaired some of the damage they themselves did in the Gymnasium," which implies that perhaps the initial motivation for creating the course may have been to teach the boys another kind of lesson.

<sup>102</sup>CTA, SC 5 D, Box 1, file 2, "Annual Report of Head Worker," *CNH Year Book, 1912*.

<sup>103</sup>Mary Bell, "Settlement Work: As I Have Thought of It and Seen It, and Lived It," *The Dominion Tie* II, 12(December 1903): 332.

classes; girls were offered a first aid class which concentrated on home emergencies, while the boys could take ambulance class, which focused on public ones.<sup>104</sup> Girls were occasionally offered 'boy-oriented' classes like hammered brass work and woodworking, but boys were rarely given the opportunity to take cooking or sewing. The one exception was at Evangelia, where a group of about six or seven pre-teen and early teen-aged boys successfully petitioned Miss Breed, the cooking instructor, to be allowed to join a girls' cooking class.<sup>105</sup> Most likely, the motivation for these boys was not to challenge accepted gender roles, however, but to take a class which held out the prospect of eating the products of their scholarship.

As noted above, domestic science classes dominated the instructional offerings for girls at the settlements. Girls were offered classes in cooking, sewing, embroidery, millinery, housekeeping, which was sometimes referred to as 'kitchen gardening,' and infant care.<sup>106</sup> At University Settlement the girls were often instructed by the students and staff of the University of Toronto's Household Science Department; others from this department

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<sup>104</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Directors' Minutes, Headworker's Report for November 1911; October 1913.

<sup>105</sup>Baldwin Room, S54, letter, Bunker to Hardy, February 18, 1963.

<sup>106</sup>BR, S54, "History of Canadian Settlements," Book B, Notes on Riverdale and Evangelia Settlement, compiled by H.J. and C. Hogg. See also CTA, SC 5 D Box 1, File 22, "Central Neighborhood House, Headworker's Reports (monthly)," January 1912; CBA, Memorial Institute, *Calendar*, October 19, 1913; "The Church and Congested City Districts," Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P*, 1915, and "Settlement Work," *The Varsity* (January 29, 1912) 4. Many observers argued that such classes were necessary, because young girls' entry in the workforce did not permit them to get the training they needed at home for their future roles as wives and mothers. Moreover, most domestic science proponents considered the training poor mothers could give their daughters to be inadequate. See, for example, J.S. Woodsworth, *My Neighbour* (n.p., 1911; repr., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 71; UCA, DR 15, No. 467, Fred Victor Mission, *Annual Report*, 1909, 37. See also Terry Crowley, "Madonnas before Magdalenes: Adelaide Hoodless and the Making of the Canadian Gibson Girl," *Canadian Historical Review* LXVII, 4(1986): 520-547.

volunteered at CNH. Sewing classes were graded according to age; little girls were first taught to make clothes for their dolls, and later on for themselves, while the older girls and women received more advanced instruction in dressmaking and alterations.<sup>107</sup> The assumption was that girls would *have* dolls to dress and would not be working in the sweated manufacture of ready-to-wear clothing in their homes, while their working sisters and their mothers would be using their skills to provide clothing for themselves and their families.<sup>108</sup>

This was the period during which domestic science classes were just beginning to be introduced into the public schools in Toronto. Indeed, in a small way Central Neighborhood House assisted in this introduction; in September 1913 Elizabeth Neufeld and the Toronto Board of Education began planning the joint establishment of a model flat, for the purpose of teaching housekeeping to local schoolgirls. The Board rented and partly equipped three of Central's rooms for this purpose, and supplied the teachers and the running expenses of the flat as well. In return Central granted the Board of Education the exclusive use of the flat from 9:00 to 3:30 daily.<sup>109</sup> Neufeld also had some input in the preliminary lesson planning

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<sup>107</sup>"Settlement Work: III. Sewing Classes," *The Varsity* XXXI, 42(January 29, 1912): 4.

<sup>108</sup>Given the large number of immigrant women involved in the sweated needle trades, this belief seems somewhat ill-founded. See, for example, Frank Sturino, "The Role of Women in Italian Immigration to the New World," in *Looking Into My Sister's Eyes*, 27. It is quite possible, however, that sweated workers would be too poor to afford even the small fees charged by the settlements. See Marjorie Cohen, *Women's Work, Markets, and Economic Development in Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 132. See also Enrico Cumbo, "'Blazing the Trail and Setting the Pace': Central Neighborhood House and its Outreach to Italian Immigrants in Toronto: 1911-1929," *Italian Canadiana* 12 (1996): 90, note 52; and Michael J. Piva, *The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto - 1900-1921* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1979), 18.

<sup>109</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's Minutes, Model Flat meeting, October 23, 1913.

for the flat,<sup>110</sup> and this may well have contributed to the initial success of the venture; the settlement had previously found that the only way to avoid both neighbourhood's censure for being 'Christianizers' and larger community's censure for being 'Judaizers' was to teach their domestic science students to cook meatless meals.<sup>111</sup> In any case, by the spring of 1914 280 girls were receiving weekly lessons in homemaking, sewing, and baby-nursing in the Model Flat, under the auspices of the Toronto Board of Education.<sup>112</sup>

While Central was the only Toronto settlement to establish a model flat in conjunction with the Board of Education, all the settlements offered domestic science classes, with the intention of influencing not only the girls themselves, but also their mothers. As Neufeld noted in 1913,

the foreign woman who reaches these shores may know a good deal about home making as practiced [sic] abroad, but here the different climate and the new kinds of foods with the changed money currency [sic] makes it necessary for them to learn home making from the Canadian point of view.<sup>113</sup>

Neufeld proposed that in all large industrial centres a corps of multilingual domestic science teachers be employed to teach housekeeping skills to immigrant women in their homes. Lacking this, most settlement workers viewed the daughters of immigrant women as the logical second choice. Toronto's public health department was, however, in the process of establishing its public health nursing division during this period, and as we shall see in the

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<sup>110</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Directors' Minutes, Headworker's Report for March 1914.

<sup>111</sup>"Eighteen Bodies Are Doing Neighborhood Work in the Ward," *Toronto Star* (November 5, 1912): 2.

<sup>112</sup>CTA, SC5, B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Directors' Minutes, Headworker's Report, May 20, 1914.

<sup>113</sup>Elizabeth Neufeld, "The Training of an Immigrant," *Canadian Conference of Charities and Corrections, Proceedings, 1913, 25-26.*

next chapter, once its milk depots and district nursing services were established, the nurses took over much of the direct instruction of mothers.

Calls for the domestic education of all mothers, not just those who were Southern and Eastern European immigrants, were repeated many times during this era, throughout the Atlantic triangle.<sup>114</sup> But those who worked with immigrant mothers thought it particularly important for this group; as one member of the North American League for Immigrants argued

Domestic education ... is an effort to meet the educational needs of the adult immigrant woman and to preserve the influence of her home as a vital force in the training of her children. It is further designed to supplement the work of the public schools with consecutive constructive work in the homes.<sup>115</sup>

One of the ways that domestic education was perceived, then, was as a means to empower immigrant women - to help them to maintain what educators saw as their legitimate sphere of authority. But clearly, in order for it to be legitimate the immigrant mother's authority had to be reconfigured; it was only seen as valid insofar as she conformed to the prevailing expectations on appropriate motherly behaviour and child rearing practices, and supported the authority of the public school.<sup>116</sup> If these women were to be empowered, it was only within

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<sup>114</sup>See, for example, Arnup, *Education for Motherhood*; and Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood."

<sup>115</sup>Mrs. Annie L. Hansen, "Domestic Education of the Immigrant," USBE, Bulletin 51, 7. Like many of his colleagues in Britain, J.S. Woodsworth argued that mothers' ignorance of homemaking skills was the cause of much of their children's suffering. Woodsworth, *My Neighbour*, 70. Dr. Helen MacMurchy attributed that suffering to their mothers' working outside the home. See Helen MacMurchy, *Infant Mortality: Special Report* (1910), 5, 16-17, quoted in Piva, *The Condition of the Working Class*, 125; see also Davin "Imperialism and Motherhood," *passim*.

<sup>116</sup>See Katherine Arnup's *Education for Motherhood* for more on the negotiation of mothers' and professionals' authority. See also Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991), 144-45; and Veronica Strong-Boag, "Intruders in the Nursery: Childcare Professionals Reshape the Years One to Five, 1920-1940," in Joy Parr, ed., *Childhood and Family in Canadian History* (Toronto:

very sharply defined boundaries.

The basic problem, as domestic educators saw it, started with the fact that many Eastern and Southern European women came from rural areas which lacked most or all of the modern urban sanitary conveniences. Thus they were thought to lack the foundation upon which a mother's authority in a modern city rested - competence in urban homemaking. Nearly all immigrant women were thought to be in need of advice on how to use and clean sinks, drains, toilets, and slop pails, and how to dispose of garbage, ventilate their homes, and care for their furnishings and floors, as well as their children. Immigrant women were perceived to be especially resistant to advice on personal hygiene, diet and budgeting, partly due to superstition and partly to their reluctance to admit ignorance in these areas.<sup>117</sup> The squalor, poverty, and high infant mortality and crime rates of the 'slums' could thus be attributed to the presumed 'ignorance' and 'superstition' of immigrant mothers, rather than inadequate wages and the usurious practices of landlords. In line with this thinking, the remedy seemed relatively easy to effect: teach the mothers to care for their homes properly and their babies would stop dying, their children and husbands would stay home at night rather than haunting street corners and saloons, and poverty and disease would all but disappear. It was an old argument, but for many still a powerful one - perpetuated, perhaps, by the desire of middle-class welfare workers to rationalise their interventions.

Given the emphasis most settlement workers placed on the mother's role in the home,<sup>118</sup> as well as their subtle guidance of female settlement users toward gender-

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McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 160-178.

<sup>117</sup>Hansen, "Domestic Education," 7-9.

<sup>118</sup>An emphasis which was shared by most working class families, for whom, according to Ellen Ross, mothers' 'caring work' was not only their sole source of comfort, but often essential to their survival as well. Ellen Ross, "Labour and Love: Rediscovering London's Working-Class

appropriate pursuits, it is not surprising that most of the vocational instruction they offered girls was also gender-specific, and in some way domestically oriented. As Ruby Heap found in her investigation of the Toronto Technical School, vocational education for women in Toronto usually linked women's paid labour with prevalent notions of what was considered women's primary responsibility, the care of home and family.<sup>119</sup> Thus settlements commonly offered girls courses in dressmaking and millinery,<sup>120</sup> skills which could be useful at home, or were at least in keeping with dominant perceptions of appropriate work for women. But some settlements also offered commercial courses, like stenography and 'business English,'<sup>121</sup> which points to the growing acceptance of women's employment in clerical work. Indeed, Ruby Heap, Marjorie Cohen, and others have demonstrated the rapid increase in the number of women in this field, and have pointed out that clerical work provided

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Mothers, 1870-1940," in Jane Lewis, ed., *Labour and Love: Women's Experience of Home and Family 1850-1940* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986): 73-96; Marjorie Cohen makes a similar point in *Women's Work, Markets, and Economic Development*, 119. In 1913 Elizabeth Neufeld wrote a poignant condemnation of both Toronto's inadequate system of relief, and the authorities' reluctance to force fathers to support their children, both of which she held directly responsible for the death of a baby she had been tending; the mother had been forced to go out to work, despite being weak and half-starved, because the former had cut her off after determining that she was likely to be a burden on their resources for many years to come; the authorities, for their part, had failed to ensure that her deserting husband supported her. Desertion and non-support was especially prevalent among Eastern European husbands, Neufeld maintained. CTA, SC 5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for June 1913. We will discuss this issue in greater detail in Chapter Six.

<sup>119</sup>Ruby Heap, "Schooling Women for Home or for Work?," 214-15.

<sup>120</sup>CBA, Memorial Institute *Calendars*, April 28, 1912, back page; CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's Minutes, Headworker's Report for October 1913.

<sup>121</sup>CBA, Memorial Institute *Calendar*, October 19, 1913; "Memorial Institute Annual Report for 1913," 9; CTA, SC 5 D, Box 1, file 2, Central Neighborhood House *Year Book, 1912*, file 5, *Year Book, 1913* and file 7, *Year Book, 1915*; "His Excellency Had A Busy Day," *Mail and Empire*, October 17, 1907, 2.

working-class women with one of their few opportunities for upward mobility.<sup>122</sup>

#### IV

In addition to its educational classes, settlements also offered physical training to their members; indeed, classes in gymnastics and physical culture were especially popular among both boys and girls. Athletics was particularly emphasized in settlement work among boys, however; by the turn of the century many had begun to consider physical exercise to be the best way to channel the excess energy which was thought to build up in residents of the urban environment during their working or school days, and particularly in boys, although many experts had begun to recognize that even females could suffer if they had no physical means to release built up tension.<sup>123</sup> Thus, while gymnastics and physical culture classes were sex-segregated, with male teachers for boys and female teachers for girls, each group was offered the same curriculum, essentially. As we saw above, marching was a part of the kindergarten curriculum, and it was included in most physical education programmes for both boys and girls in middle class youth organizations, as well as in the settlements. But military drill was a bit different. Interest in including it in the public school curriculum had been growing since 1901, and between 1909 and 1914 it was made compulsory throughout the Canadian educational system. Its proponents argued that drill was an ideal means to combat the physical and moral degeneration of urban-dwelling youth, and to induce patriotic fervour into the hearts of immigrants; according to people like Edmund Walker, who was a supporter of Toronto settlements as well as of military training in schools, it introduced the concept of law

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<sup>122</sup>See Heap, "Schooling Women," 204; Cohen, *Women's Work*, 147; Jackson and Gaskell, "White Collar Vocationalism"; and Piva, *The Condition of the Working Class*, 17.

<sup>123</sup>Bruce Curtis, "The Playground in Nineteenth-Century Ontario: Theory and Practice," *Material History Review* (Fall 1985): 21-29; Helen Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds: Women, Sport and Sexuality* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1986), 33. See also Lynn Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

as a guiding, rather than a repressive force, and it instilled discipline and a sense of duty, as well as other virtues like obedience, punctuality, and self-restraint. Advocates of military drill also argued that it corrected many physical problems.<sup>124</sup>

Physical culture classes mainly focused on elocution and hygiene, while gymnastics instruction usually concentrated on teaching the Swedish system of exercises, which was then gaining world-wide popularity, as well as folk dancing, various team sports, and the use of gymnastics apparatus. For example, members of Evangelia's and Riverdale's gym classes learned how to handle 'Indian' clubs, dumb-bells, and wands, how to use the parallel bars, the box horse and the horizontal ladder, how to fence and folk dance, and how to play active and singing games.<sup>125</sup> Beyond gymnastics settlements organized both boys' and girls' basketball teams, and boys had sports like baseball, football, hockey, and boxing. In keeping with dominant contemporary attitudes toward females and competitive sport, however, there were few competitive sports teams organized for girls; most were limited to folk dancing and nature study.<sup>126</sup> It is interesting to note, in this context, that the mothers' clubs at Evangelia were offered gymnastics instruction as a regular part of their activities, and that in November 1913 CNH organized adult gym classes at nearby Hester Howe School.<sup>127</sup> The latter were

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<sup>124</sup>McKee, "Youth Organizations," 148-164.

<sup>125</sup>BR, S54, History of Canadian Settlements, Notes, Book B, "Evangelia," Bunker to Hardy, February 18, 1963. The same kinds of skills were taught in the physical culture course offered in 1905 by the Athletic Club to women students at the university. J.M. Adie reported in *The Varsity's* "College Girl" column that the women students at the University of Toronto had been agitating for such a course since 1902. See *The Varsity* XXV, 2(October 12, 1905): 23. For a discussion of the development of women's athletics in Canada see Helen Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds*. See also Pedersen, "The Young Women's Christian Association," 255-57 for a discussion of the content of gymnastics classes at the turn of the century.

<sup>126</sup>Bell, "Settlement Work," 333; UWCA, Minutes, Vol. I, November 5, 1906.

<sup>127</sup>Ibid. CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for November 1913.

offered five evenings per week, with the Parks Department providing paid instructors and the Board of Education providing the rooms and equipment. Clearly, not only children needed physical release. It is not apparent who took advantage of the classes, but older working teens would be the most likely candidates.

Nature study was another area which many early twentieth century youth organizations, including the public schools, sought to include in their programmes as a means to compensate for urban children's lost opportunities for healthful outdoor activity. Its proponents argued that both boys and girls could benefit from the study of the out-of-doors, but settlement workers tended to organize formal classes in nature study for girls, while they led boys on less prescriptive 'cross-country tramps.' Part of the reason for this may have been that the boys who were interested in nature study had opportunities for more formal study in the settlements' Boy Scout woodcraft classes.<sup>128</sup>

## V

While much of the settlements' time and resources went into creating and running the instructional and recreational programmes for children, English language classes drew comparatively large numbers of students and volunteer teachers. Not all the settlements offered English classes - Riverdale did not, apparently, and if Evangelia offered them, the settlement staff and volunteers did not specifically identify them as such in their summaries of Evangelia's activities. This is not surprising, considering that these two settlements were located in mainly Anglo-Protestant neighbourhoods. The other settlements, situated as they were in areas with predominantly Southern and Eastern European populations, did offer English language instruction, however. At University Settlement, Shaver represented these classes to potential volunteers as a means to allow them to study "the Foreigner, who is to-

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<sup>128</sup>McKee, "Youth Organizations," 274-76.

day Canada's greatest social problem."<sup>129</sup> He encouraged his teachers to hold their classes in their own homes, where possible, on account of a lack of space at the settlement.<sup>130</sup> Perhaps it was lack of space which prompted Milton B. Hunt to move these classes over to the Central YMCA in the fall of 1911; he justified this move at the time by saying that "the work of the settlement should be first in the immediate locality and gradually work out as work grows and confidence in the settlement increases, consequently classes making a demand at the settlement will be cared for first,"<sup>131</sup> which suggests that either he saw the English language instruction as outside the settlement's primary mandate, or he thought that the pupils in these classes came from outside the immediate locality. This seems unlikely, however, since Shaver had reported, just a year before, that 70% of the residents in University Settlement's neighbourhood were 'foreign.' Alternatively, Hunt may have reasoned that the demand for English classes for adults would be smaller than the demand for other kinds of programmes, which he considered more appropriate to the settlement venue. English classes, but with an academic focus, were reintroduced at University Settlement within three months, however.<sup>132</sup>

If the demand for English classes at University Settlement was low in the fall of 1911, this was certainly not the case at CNH. Elizabeth Neufeld told her Board in November that she had felt it necessary to initiate night school English classes at the settlement, having been asked to do so by some of the men who attended the Toronto School Board's night school classes at Elizabeth St. school; the school board classes were, according to Neufeld, too

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<sup>129</sup>"The University Settlement," *University Monthly* XI, 4(February 1911): 115-16.

<sup>130</sup>Irving, Parsons, and Bellamy, *Neighbours*, 90.

<sup>131</sup>"Educational Work at Settlement," *The Varsity* XXXI (October 16, 1911): 1.

<sup>132</sup>"Educational Classes," *The Varsity* XXXI 41(January 26, 1912): 4.

crowded to allow the teachers to give their students individual attention.<sup>133</sup> CNH started with one class for men and another for women, but by September 1912 the settlement had negotiated a deal with the Toronto Board, in which Central took over complete responsibility for the Elizabeth St. night school.<sup>134</sup> The plan was, apparently, to demonstrate the efficacy of teaching English classes "from the standpoint of the social worker rather than the Public School Teacher." The size of the classes would therefore be small - around ten students each - and the pupils would be graded according to their knowledge of English.<sup>135</sup> Intriguingly, the connection between the social worker's 'standpoint' and small class sizes in teaching English was echoed by a settlement worker in New York, who remarked that one of the differences between public school teachers and settlement workers was that the former avoided spending too much time with individual students for fear of being accused of favouritism, while the latter engaged in small group work precisely because of the opportunities it afforded for making close personal connections with the pupils.<sup>136</sup>

CNH's 'experiment' in night school work was a decided success. In the annual report for 1913 George Bryce described the procedure he used; the classes were held in the new Hester Howe School on Elizabeth St. from October 1912 to March 1913 inclusive. The teachers were volunteers, but the Board of Education provided the equipment, janitor, and Bryce's salary. The pupils were taught in small groups and were graded from those with no

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<sup>133</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for November, 1911.

<sup>134</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for September 1912.

<sup>135</sup>Apparently, classes of 40 or more pupils were fairly common in the school board's night school English classes. See "The University and the Ward," *The Varsity* XXXII, 4(October 7, 1912): 2.

<sup>136</sup>Robbins Gilman, "University Settlement," USBE, *Education of the Immigrant*, 27-28.

English to those who were at high school entrance level; 40% were in the primary grade. Lessons were taught using the 'Roberts' method, "which," Bryce reported, "is simple and effective, and does not require the teacher to know any foreign language." Altogether, 550 were enrolled, with enrolment peaking in mid-December, but only about 300 attended regularly; there were 30 two-hour classes and each class met three nights per week. The teachers only taught one evening per week, however, so each class had 3 teachers. In all, Bryce said, there were 100 volunteer teachers, mainly students from Knox, Victoria, Wycliffe and University College, and from the faculty of Applied Science, the College of Pharmacy, and the Methodist Deaconess Training School. Bryce co-ordinated their work, and the teachers also interacted with one another through teacher conferences.<sup>137</sup>

The Roberts system for teaching English was the one preferred by both CNH and St. Christopher House, and it was likely the one used at University Settlement as well.<sup>138</sup> It was created by Peter Roberts, an American sociologist and noted authority on English language instruction, for use in American YMCA English classes. It combined lessons in American civics with its English language lessons, however, so those who used it in Canada had to amend it somewhat. The Presbyterian Board of Social Service and Evangelism, (BSSE) which oversaw not only St. Christopher's operations but most of the work with immigrants which was undertaken by the Presbyterian Church in Canada, reported in 1913 that a committee consisting of J.G. Shearer, the Board's secretary, T.A. Moore, a Methodist leader and a close

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<sup>137</sup>CTA, SC5 D Box 1, File 5, "Report of the Night School Principal," *CNH Year Book, 1913*.

<sup>138</sup>The University Settlement's Board reported in February 1911 that it was preparing a reader for use in its English classes, and given the links at that time between the YMCA and the settlement, it is probable that the reader they were preparing was based on a Roberts reader, since Peter Roberts created his system for the YMCA. It is not known what system Memorial Institute used.

collaborator of Shearer's, and Rev. C.E. Bishop, the Canadian YMCA's national secretary, was in the process of adapting all of the teaching materials in the Roberts system to the Canadian context. The committee had already revised the teacher's manual, "[f]orty lessons on domestic, commercial, and industrial life," and two of four readers. The first reader, entitled *Winning Qualities*, was "illustrated from British and Canadian literature," while the lessons in the second, entitled *Makers of Canada*, used the biographies of a number of Canadian explorers and statesmen as exemplars. They also planned to publish a third reader, *Winning the Dominion*, and a fourth, tentatively entitled *Civics for Coming Canadians*. The BSSE noted

[t]his course of English for coming Canadians, it will be observed, is really a course of training also in Canadian citizenship.... It is of prime importance that the Church itself should use the opportunity this affords of establishing a point of sympathetic contact with these newcomers. If we go to them with the Gospel of service, which they appreciate, they will quickly accept from our hands the Gospel of Salvation, otherwise we shall find that their prejudices will make it well nigh impossible for us to reach them with the Evangel.<sup>139</sup>

Where CNH maintained that training for citizenship was the end goal of their English classes, the BSSE characterized the classes, and the citizenship training they afforded, as a means to attract immigrants to the 'Gospel of Salvation.'

As CNH had shown, an important aspect of the Roberts system involved organizing the students into small, homogeneous groupings of no more than 15. Roberts subscribed heavily to the notion of national characteristics - "the Italian is mercurial; the Lithuanian phlegmatic" and so on - and he advised those organizing night school English classes to divide their pupils according to what he termed "race psychology," maintaining that "[m]en who have accumulated an intellectual possession under social systems and political institutions

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<sup>139</sup>"English for Coming Canadians," Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P*, 293.

wholly different from those in the United States cannot be put in the same class."<sup>140</sup> He also argued that men and women had to be taught separately, because of the fundamental differences in their work and their interests, and here emerged another key element in the Roberts system: focused lessons on subjects within the pupils' experience. Women, for example, would presumably be interested in lessons which concentrated on the home, whereas language exercises for men would be more effective if they dealt with the kinds of paid labour in which men engaged. Individual attention was the third key element of the Roberts system; it was, Roberts asserted, the best way to overcome the diverse intellectual capacities and the variations in the previous training of the pupils.<sup>141</sup>

Roberts advocated using what he called the 'direct method' of teaching; teachers were to use only English in the classroom, and were not to translate for their pupils or encourage the pupils to translate for themselves. The idea was to create an English atmosphere, to inculcate, in a way, English thought patterns, as well as to teach the mechanics of the language.<sup>142</sup> As for the lessons themselves, not only had they to be related to the pupils' interests, but they had to be immediately applicable; other than teaching the students to write their names and addresses, reading and writing could be set aside in the initial period, Roberts said, until the pupils had mastered basic sounds which would allow them to make simple conversation related to securing their basic needs. Roberts also urged English teachers to learn about the working lives of the pupils in their classes, in order to make the lessons as practical as possible. Sympathetic understanding, as well as leadership ability, were essential

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<sup>140</sup>Peter Roberts, *The Problem of Americanization* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1920), 94.

<sup>141</sup>Roberts, *The Problem of Americanization*, 96.

<sup>142</sup>Roberts, *The Problem of Americanization*, 105.

components of the teachers' equipment, he asserted; through them immigrants could be influenced to adopt the 'highest forms' of citizenship. Indeed, for Roberts citizenship training was fundamental to the whole process of teaching English; his system introduced civics and history lessons as soon as the pupils had gained a basic understanding of the language. Inculcating high ideals for citizenship, he argued, should be the underlying goal.<sup>143</sup>

Even with the strong emphasis on civics in the Roberts system of teaching English, CNH felt that more coaching was required, so beginning in the spring of 1913 the settlement also offered, in connection with its night school English classes, a series of seven Tuesday evening lectures, given by guest speakers, on citizenship. Interestingly, that series, which focused particularly on Jewish immigrants, was extremely popular; at the first lecture, given by Provincial Health Officer Dr. J.W. McCullough, 500-600 people are reported to have attended, and 200 more were turned away at the door for lack of room.<sup>144</sup> Encouraged by the popularity of the spring lectures, CNH attempted to do the same thing in the fall for Italian immigrants, but this was a complete failure, and Neufeld reported to her Board that the series had been cancelled after the first two lectures, due to poor attendance.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>143</sup>Roberts, *The Problem of Americanization*, 97-108.

<sup>144</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report, January 1913. See also SC 5 J Box 1, file 1, Newsclippings, 1911-1930, "Good Use Made of Public School," *Star*, (February 1914 [misdated]). Many may have come, initially at least, for entertainment, since some of the lectures were illustrated with moving pictures or magic lantern slides; other talks in the series were given in both English and Yiddish. See CTA, SC5 D Box 1, File 5, "Report of the Night School Principal," *CNH Year Book, 1913*. Frank Yeigh, F.S. Spence, A.P. Lewis, Jas. Simpson, John Lewis and Mrs. L.A. Hamilton each gave a lecture on subsequent Tuesdays.

<sup>145</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for November 1913. Neufeld wanted to try it again, however. In her report for May 1914 she noted that the Hester Howe school lectures and concerts could be put under the supervision of Italian worker which, she argued, CNH desperately needed in order to do work among their Italian neighbours. CNH Board of Director's Minutes, Headworker's Report, May 20, 1914. See also Headworker's Report, April 14, 1914.

Why did the Italian series of civics lectures fail where the Jewish series succeeded? Part of the reason may have been that Central's Jewish and Italian members may have had different relationships with the settlement. Enrico Cumbo argues that the Italian community used CNH selectively, and mainly for the musical and popular entertainments it offered. Cumbo points out that the Italian community itself had strong ethnic institutions and kin networks which eclipsed the settlement as a major force in the lives of its Italian members.<sup>146</sup> This was no doubt a significant factor, as Cumbo suggests, but it does not explain why the Eastern European and Jewish communities, which were just as strong in their institutional lives and their kin networks, were so enthusiastic in their support for the citizenship training offered by the settlement, while the Italian community was not. A better explanation may lie in the fact that CNH lacked an Italian speaking worker. Elizabeth Neufeld spoke Yiddish, Russian and Polish, as well as English, so contact with Eastern Europeans, particularly those who were Jewish, was relatively easy. Contact with Italians was another matter entirely; although the notices for the series were printed in Italian, and the head of the Methodist Italian Mission was invited to give the first lecture, it was simply not enough.<sup>147</sup> Essentially, CNH's Italian neighbours saw no practical purpose for attending, and without an Italian speaking worker who could make a direct appeal to them, as Neufeld could to CNH's Eastern European members, their interest was never sufficiently piqued.

Judging by CNH's experience with the citizenship lectures, and Roberts' suggestions regarding the grouping of English pupils according to their ethnicity, one might expect that the settlements would measure their success, at least in part, according to the number of

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<sup>146</sup>Cumbo, "Blazing the Trail," 77-79.

<sup>147</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for October 1913 and for November 1913.

representatives they could count in their memberships hailing from the different ethnic and religious groups in their communities. In fact, however, none except St. Christopher House broke down their membership according to ethnicity and religious affiliation. Indeed, each settlement had its own unique, and in some cases somewhat eccentric, method for calculating its enrolment and participation. CNH, for example, reported annually to its supporters its total enrolled membership, breaking it down only according to the age and the sex of the members, while Evangelia simply calculated the total number of times each of its services was used during a given year. Thus, in November 1913, Evangelia reported an average daily attendance of 340 and a total attendance of 103,822 for the period running from January through October 1913; it broke these figures down only according to the aggregate attendance in its kindergarten, first book class, gymnasium, evening social clubs, evening entertainments, and so on. CNH, on the other hand, saved its aggregate monthly attendance figures for its monthly board reports, and included in its annual reports only its membership figures - close to 500 in 1913 - and a rough breakdown according to the sex and age of the membership; that is, Neufeld noted that CNH's membership included about 200 little girls, but that they were having trouble reaching the older girls, although work with the boys at all levels was thriving.<sup>148</sup> Memorial Institute, in contrast, calculated its attendance monthly, breaking the numbers down only according to the numbers appearing at religious and at non-religious services; in 1913 these fluctuated between 1000 and 2500 per month at Sunday School and gospel meetings, and 1811 and 3890 at non-religious meetings - that is, clubs, classes and the like.<sup>149</sup> Membership figures for Riverdale have not survived, but given Evangelia's

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<sup>148</sup>UTA, A67-007/028, Falconer Papers, Evangelia Settlement, "Summary of Ten Months Work from 1st January to 1st November, 1913; CTA, SC 5 Box 1, file 5, "Head Worker's Report," *CNH Year Book, 1913*.

<sup>149</sup>CBA, "Memorial Institute Annual Report for 1913," 9.

involvement, it is likely that they were calculated in the same way Evangelia's were calculated. University Settlement reported its total numbers in its dispensary, and in each of its clubs and classes; sometimes, in doing so, its reports referred to the ethnicity of the club and class members, but after its first annual report it did not list the religious connections of any except its Jewish members. Interestingly, what University Settlement's first annual report revealed was that the majority of those in its boys' clubs and activities were Anglo-Protestant, with a sizable minority of Roman Catholics and only a tiny number of Jewish members, despite the fact that many in the settlement's educational classes were Jewish.<sup>150</sup> St. Christopher House, for its part, reported that its membership was divided almost equally between Jews, Catholics and Protestants. This settlement also reported on its average aggregate monthly attendance (about 6000 in 1913) and its total membership (about 800 for the same year).<sup>151</sup>

Clearly, these variations in the way that enrolment and attendance figures were calculated were related to the nature of the audience to which they were being reported. For example, the fundamental orientation toward evangelism of St. Christopher House's main sponsor, the Board of Social Service and Evangelism, meant that it was most interested in hearing about the number of Jews and Catholics who were using the settlement's services, whereas Evangelia's supporters were mainly businessmen who would, most likely, be more concerned with overall service utilization and cost effectiveness. Many of CNH's benefactors, in contrast, were either suffragists, civic reformers, or child welfare activists, and thus CNH focused on its boy/girl ratio, and the ages of its users. Memorial Institute, dependent as it was

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<sup>150</sup>The numbers in University Settlement's boys clubs were broken down as follows: Jews, 6; Roman Catholics, 22; Presbyterians, 22; Baptists, 2; Methodists, 3; Anglicans, 20; 'unclassified,' 15. "Work at the Settlement," *The Varsity* XXXI 7(October 11, 1911): 1.

<sup>151</sup>"St Christopher House," Fortieth Presbyterian General Assembly *A&P*, 1914, 318.

on the largesse of the uptown Walmer Road Baptist congregation, calculated its attendance to demonstrate the effectiveness of its non-religious programmes in attracting local residents to its religious services, while University Settlement was, apparently, most interested in establishing its position as a non-sectarian social agency which could be important to both its members and its student volunteers.<sup>152</sup>

The variations in the manner of reporting enrolment and attendance at the settlements make direct comparisons between them difficult, but one thing which does seem clear is that Evangelia, St. Christopher House, and Memorial Institute attracted larger numbers of their neighbours than did Central Neighbourhood House and University Settlement.<sup>153</sup> The size of the physical plant, and the variety and quality of the equipment may have played an important role here; University Settlement saw its enrolment rise after its move to 95 Peter Street in 1913.<sup>154</sup> CNH, for its part, found that within five months of opening its membership had grown too large for the available space; after Toronto City Council turned down the settlement's request for the relocation and use of the former Elizabeth Street school house,<sup>155</sup> Neufeld and the Board considered a number of strategies, including limiting their monthly attendance to 1935, and establishing a number of smaller clubhouses around the neighbourhood, before deciding finally to expand their premises to include the house next

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<sup>152</sup>We shall examine the groups who supported the settlements more closely in Chapter Seven.

<sup>153</sup>In the absence of concrete figures, it is almost impossible to tell how popular Riverdale Settlement was in its community. Anecdotal evidence indicates that its clubs, classes, and activities were overcrowded, but the rooms in the settlement were also quite small, reportedly, so overcrowding may not be a good measure of its popularity.

<sup>154</sup>UTA, B79/0059-035, "The Futurist Number," 1913. While the move may have helped, it is quite likely that the arrival, also in the fall of 1913, of Norman J. Ware, who had strong leadership qualities, also had an effect.

<sup>155</sup>We will look at this issue more closely in Chapter Six.

door.<sup>156</sup> Overcrowding remained a problem, however, and CNH became, likely as a result, a strong supporter of the movement to expand the community use of schools.<sup>157</sup> Memorial Institute and St. Christopher House were also plagued by a lack of space, however.<sup>158</sup> Indeed, their larger numbers remain something of a puzzle; it is possible that there were few other institutions in Memorial's and St. Christopher's neighbourhoods which offered settlement services separately from religious services, and this may account for some of their appeal. It is also possible that their Anglo-Protestant users 'bumped up' the attendance figures if they attended more frequently than did non-Anglo-Protestant members; the latter may have used different services than did the Anglo-Protestant users, or perhaps formed homogeneous units within the settlements' class and club structures.<sup>159</sup> In the absence of statistical data on these points, it is impossible to say. Certainly we know from University Settlement's first year that Anglo-Protestants made up the largest number of the settlement's club members, while the majority of its class members were non-Anglo-Protestant. Central's neighbourhood contained relatively few Anglo-Protestants, and it could be that the ethnic associational life of

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<sup>156</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Reports for October and for November 1912.

<sup>157</sup>Indeed, in 1913 and 1914 CNH held most of its large group activities, including dancing and gymnasium classes and athletics, in either the McCaul Street or Hester Howe school.

<sup>158</sup>Awdrey Brown felt that Memorial Institute was particularly hampered by its lack of a proper gymnasium, but he did the best he could in the Institute's largest rooms. He solved Memorial's space problem gradually, by buying up buildings along Tecumseh Street as funds permitted. St. Christopher House, however, was limited to an inadequate physical plant until near the end of the World War One.

<sup>159</sup>CTA, SC5 D, Box 1 file 2, "Annual Report of the Headworker," *CNH Year Book, 1912*; SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's Reports, Headworker's Report for November 1913. Riverdale's Ethel Bunker held her settlement's gym classes in Rhodes Ave. School. See BR, S54, "History of Canadian Settlements" Book B, Notes on Riverdale, compiled by H.J. and C. Hogg. According to Donald Goertz, Memorial offered a separate Sunday evening service for Macedonians, Bulgarians and Russians. See *A Century for the City*, 44.

the community's residents did limit their involvement with Central, as Cumbo has suggested, whereas Anglo-Protestants in other parts of the city may have had fewer of these ties to their ethnic communities. It is important to note, however, that Neufeld reported to her Board in February 1912 that the local Italian priest had expressed his interest in the settlement, and had promised to tell the nuns teaching in the neighbourhood's Catholic school about it.<sup>160</sup> Also, Father Lancelot Minehan, who was pastor of St. Peter's Catholic Church on Bloor St., was also a member of CNH's Board. If the participation of Italian Catholics was limited at CNH, it was not likely because local Catholic leaders were discouraging them from attending.

In any case, while the settlements' clubs and classes clearly did not directly touch the lives of all, or perhaps even a majority, of the residents in their communities, they did affect the lives of many, both directly and indirectly. The clubs and classes provided their members with an opportunity to learn some of the skills and information which might help to ease the transition to their new environment, or, for some, to widen their career prospects. Perhaps most importantly, the classes and clubs helped to disseminate and enhance middle class, Anglo-Canadian conceptions of the rights and duties of citizenship, and of what was 'normal,' or ideal, especially for individuals. Indeed, influencing and cultivating the individual, within the context of the small group, was a key goal of club and class work in the settlements.<sup>161</sup> As Raymond Williams points out, the dominance of a particular group in a society is maintained at least as much through 'lived culture' as through overt demonstrations of power. The extension of cultural hegemony has to start with the training of the individual; as Williams says, "that saturation of habit, of experience, of outlook, from a very early age"

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<sup>160</sup>CTA, SC5 D, Box 1, file 22, CNH Headworker's Reports, monthly, "Report for February 1912."

<sup>161</sup>This influence was to extend not just to the class or club member, but also to the middle class volunteer as well, as we shall see in Chapter Seven.

leads people to reproduce the "deeply based social order" within their thought patterns and value systems, even if they oppose the social order itself.<sup>162</sup>

But the settlements also sought to influence their community as a whole, both at the level of their immediate neighbourhoods and well beyond them. They sought to do this in a distinctive way, by creating and disseminating a particular attitude toward and understanding of the 'community.' The activities and services they offered to larger groups - the playgrounds, summer camps, baby clinics, and so on, as well as the leadership they sought to extend to the civic reform movement and to the general social work community - were the principal ways in which they hoped to accomplish that aim, as we shall see in the next chapter.

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<sup>162</sup>Williams, "You're A Marxist, Aren't You?," 74.

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE ART OF BEING NEIGHBOURLY:

#### SETTLEMENTS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY

Community is unusual among the terms of political vocabulary in being, I think, the one term which has never been used in a negative sense. People never, from any political position, want to say that they are against community or against the community. You can have very sophisticated individualist arguments about the proper sphere of society, but the community, by contrast, is always right.<sup>1</sup>

For the proponents of the settlement movement, the creation, or re-creation, of a sense of community among Canada's increasingly heterogeneous population was vitally important to the development of a strong and healthy state. But what exactly did settlement advocates mean by 'community?' What kinds of relationships were implied by the term? And how did all this influence the kinds of community services which the settlements helped to establish? It is to these questions that we now turn.

According to Standish Meacham, the settlement movement's principal founders defined community as a collection of people from high and low estate living in the same area and "dedicated to a common purpose."<sup>2</sup> Geographical proximity was a central factor. It is a point on which Raymond Williams concurs; in his examination of the history of the word 'community,' Williams has noted that from the nineteenth century onward the term became

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<sup>1</sup>Raymond Williams, "The Importance of Community" in *Resources of Hope: Culture, Democracy, Socialism* (London: Verso, 1989), 112-113.

<sup>2</sup>Standish Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and Social Reform 1880-1914: The Search for Community* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 4-6.

strongly associated with a "sense of immediacy or locality ... in the context of larger and more complex industrial societies." He argues that within this context, community relationships have come to be understood as "more direct, more total, and therefore more significant" than those of *state* or *society*.<sup>3</sup> Thus we can begin to see why it was so important to settlement workers that they actually live in the neighbourhood in which they worked.

Direct, face-to-face relationships are central to the creation of what Williams calls a 'knowable' community. Yet proximity, clearly, was not the only factor in establishing a sense of community; a commonality of purpose and/or of identity was also key. For Raymond Williams, Jane Austen provides some excellent examples of this point. In her novels, he argues,

Neighbours ... are not the people actually living nearby; they are the people living a little less nearby who, in social recognition, can be visited. What she sees across the land is a network of propertied houses and families, and through the holes of this tightly drawn mesh most actual people are simply not seen.<sup>4</sup>

According to Williams, for Austen a common identity, in this case a common class, was key to the creation of a sense of community.

Of course, unlike Jane Austen Toronto's settlement workers *did* see the people living nearby the settlements, and they did see those people as neighbours. But what is most striking is that they did not perceive settlement neighbours to be fully-fledged members of the community, which they frequently equated with 'the city'; the relationship between settlement workers and settlement users was not, as Williams would put it, face-to-face. Rather, settlers

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<sup>3</sup>Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Fontana Press, 1983), 75-76. This understanding, Williams says, was formalized in 1887 by the German scholar Tonnies as the contrast between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*.

<sup>4</sup>Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1973, repr. The Hogarth Press, 1993), 166.

tended to perceive their clients almost as a chorus, in which individual voices were rarely heard except as examples of a type. Indeed, in spite of the heterogeneity of the population in most of their districts, settlement workers frequently declared that one of their most important roles was to act as liaisons between downtown residents, in aggregate, and the city, interpreting the needs of the former for the latter. This grouping implies that the settlers perceived such a gap between the poor and the rich that they believed there was practically no commonality of identity at all between the two. Yet in order for the developing Canadian state to be stable and robust, as settlement workers maintained, some sense common identity - of community - had to be fostered. For settlers, this sense of community could best be engendered when everyone accepted his or her position within the social order, acknowledged the interdependence of each within that order, and worked toward a set of commonly shared goals, the most important of which was the development of each individual's 'best,' 'higher,' or 'communal self.'<sup>5</sup> Mutual obligation was an integral part of that order, and the development of one's 'best self' was predicated on the recognition of that fact.<sup>6</sup> As we saw in the last chapter, this involved the extension, to individuals, of opportunities for certain kinds of self-development through settlement classes and clubs - people needed to be given the tools to fulfil their roles to the best of their abilities. As we will see below, this also involved the extension of such opportunities through other avenues as well.

## I

After launching its club and class programmes, one of the first services a settlement

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<sup>5</sup>Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 10-13.

<sup>6</sup>Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, x; settlement proponents were not, of course, by any means the only ones to have believed this. In fact, the conception of our agrarian past as a golden age in which people acknowledged their mutual obligations was and remains a prevalent myth. See Williams, *The Country and the City*, 9-12.

usually established was a lending library for its members. The practical import of settlement libraries to their neighbourhoods should not be underestimated. The Toronto public library system was at that time about thirty years old, but there were few branch libraries available to downtown residents, and a children's librarian was only just hired for the main library in 1912.<sup>7</sup> Settlement libraries, therefore, afforded settlement members, and especially children, with a novel degree of access to books and literature.<sup>8</sup> They offered a unique opportunity for self-directed study and for a source of diversion which the majority of Canadians, regardless of their ethnic or class origins, valued highly. Many, particularly among the children, responded with enthusiasm.

Settlement libraries were entirely supplied through donation. University Settlement, for example, started with a little over 300 books, about one-third of which was donated by the head of the Toronto Public Library, while the remaining two-thirds was specially collected for the settlement by the boys attending the University of Toronto Schools (UTS).<sup>9</sup> According to a settlement representative writing in the *University Monthly*, the UTS donations were particularly heartening because the boys, in a demonstration of good citizenship, "elected their

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<sup>7</sup>Lillian Smith, who was for forty years the supervisor of the Children's Department of the Toronto Public Library, was actually hired in 1912 to organize that department. According to her biographer, Miss Smith found initially that "[t]he small collection of books in a corner of the Central Library at College and St. George Streets was comprised of gifts, publishers' remainders, and a few titles chosen at random with little regard for a child's needs or a child's delight." She quickly set about building the collection, and by 1917 had created a recommended children's reading list of over 1000 books. See Margaret Johnson, "Lillian Smith" in Adele M. Fasick, Margaret Johnston, and Ruth Osler, eds., *Lands of Pleasure: Essays on Lillian H. Smith and the Development of Children's Libraries* (Metuchen, N.J. & London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1990): 5; Lillian H. Smith, *A List of Approved Books for Boys and Girls* (Ontario Department of Education, 1918), reprinted from *The Ontario Library Review* (August 1917).

<sup>8</sup>This is also true of the American settlement movement. See Dee Garrison, *Apostles of Culture: The Public Librarian and American Society, 1876-1920* (New York: The Free Press, 1979), 198-207.

<sup>9</sup>"Work Being Done at the Settlement," *The Varsity* 30, (January 6, 1911): 1.

own committee to do the work under the direction of the head master, and as a result secured for us a most appropriate collection of boys' books."<sup>10</sup> Within six months the University Settlement's library had grown to 480 volumes, over half of which came from the UTS students, the other half coming from the Toronto Public Library or from Dr. Charles Hastings, Toronto's newly appointed Medical Health Officer.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, the Toronto Public Library was very generous in its book donations to University Settlement; for example, in 1914 the chief librarian offered Norman Ware a case of books which contained, he said, 1000s of volumes, all fiction, and all in readable condition.<sup>12</sup>

Central Neighborhood House also received a large windfall of books shortly after opening its doors. In her November 1911 report Elizabeth Neufeld told her board that the 'Culture Club' had recently donated its entire library, some 700 books, to the settlement; by the time Neufeld gave her first annual report this collection had grown to 800 volumes.<sup>13</sup> There were no specific references to the books that CNH received, but given that the donating group was the *Culture Club*, it seems likely that there would have been a substantial selection of 'good' literature: Shakespeare, Austin, Eliot and the like. It is not clear how many books were on hand at the other settlements, or where their donations came from, although in the case of St. Christopher House and of Memorial Institute there is some indication that the sponsoring church bodies donated the largest number of books, and that most of these were children's books. Evangelia, for its part, likely received many of its earliest donations from

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<sup>10</sup>"The University Settlement," *University Monthly* XI, 4(February 1911): 115-16.

<sup>11</sup>"The University Settlement," *University Monthly* XI, 8(June 1911): 379-380.

<sup>12</sup>CTA, SC24 Q Box 1, File 2, "University Settlement Correspondence, 1914," April 28, 1914.

<sup>13</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for November 1911; SC5 D, Box 1, File 2, Central Neighborhood House *Year Book, 1912*.

the YWCA, and subsequently from the businessmen and the college women who supported it. The same was likely true of Riverdale Settlement.<sup>14</sup>

While it is difficult to know exactly what books were in the settlement libraries, children's literature does seem to have made up the bulk of their holdings.<sup>15</sup> Most children's collections at this time included a number of adventure and Bible stories, legends and fables, animal allegories and pioneer tales. Non-fiction, in the form of books on natural history, geography, English and Canadian history, and the like, as well as newspapers and magazines were also available, although gazeteers and 'sensational' dime novels were not.<sup>16</sup> Settlement libraries were one of the means through which settlement workers sought to inspire their members with the ideals of middle-class, Anglo-Canadian culture; they offered good books

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<sup>14</sup>Memorial Institute had some trouble collecting books for its library, according to some of its weekly *Calendars*. See, for example, CBA, files, Memorial Institute *Calendar*, May 12, 1912, and "Memorial Institute, Annual Report for 1913," in Walmer Road Church *Annual Report*, 1913, 11. Volunteers at Evangelia, and the 1915 annual report for St. Christopher House, mention only casually the libraries at those two settlements, so we know of their existence, but little beyond that, although Ethel Dodds Parker noted in her reminiscences that St. Christopher's library "was composed entirely of donated books, but special requests to the churches had built up a surprisingly good selection of children's books." UCA, (library), Ethel Dodds Parker, "St. Christopher House: Stories of My Times," typescript. See also, A[ilberta] S. Bastedo, "Fortnight at Evangelina [sic] House," *The Varsity* XXVI 2(October 11, 1906): 21, and "The Church and Congested City Districts," Forty-First General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, *Acts and Proceedings, 1915* (Toronto: Murray Printing Co., 1915), 351 (hereafter, Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P*).

<sup>15</sup>This seems to have been true even in Central Neighborhood House (CNH), where, according to the first annual report, it was mostly children who used the library, despite the workers' efforts to draw in adult users as well. See CTA, SC5, D, Box 1, file 2, *The Central Neighborhood House Year Book, 1912*.

<sup>16</sup>See, for example, Annie Carroll Moore, "Coordination of Welfare Agencies: III," *Education of the Immigrant* United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin 51, 562(1913), 32-33. See also Smith, *A List of Approved Books*; and Ontario Department of Education, *Catalogue of Books In the Departments of Art, Music, Commerce, Manual Training, Household Science, and Farming: Recommended by the Ontario Department of Education for Public and High School Teachers' Use and for Public and High School Reference Libraries* (Toronto: King's Printer, 1912); Garrison, *Apostles of Culture*, 208.

and a positive atmosphere in which reading, study, and informed discussion were valued. Story hours were an important part of this; Ethel Dodds Parker recalled being "snuggled ... around the fireplace, often sitting on the floor ... [for] fascinating story hours."<sup>17</sup> Elizabeth Neufeld, too, remarked on the warmth and companionship of Sunday evening story hours at Central Neighbourhood House.<sup>18</sup> Story-telling, according to Annie Carroll Moore, who was supervisor of the Children's Department of the New York Public Library, was "a most effective means of guiding their [children's] reading by suggestion rather than by direct recommendation."<sup>19</sup>

But the creation of settlement libraries also influenced the development of the public library system itself. In both the United States and Canada settlements not only helped to pioneer the creation of children's library rooms, but they also helped to introduce the notion of collecting foreign-language books, magazines, and newspapers for non-English-reading adults. In this way they improved the way that librarianship was practised, demonstrating the appeal of special services like these, and thus encouraging librarians to consider more carefully the needs of the individual groups in the community.<sup>20</sup> Dee Garrison, in *Apostles of Culture*, tells us that like the settlement house, the public library was "one of the institutions for urban reform designed to cope with the problems of an industrializing society."<sup>21</sup> The

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<sup>17</sup>Parker, "St. Christopher House," 11.

<sup>18</sup>"Eighteen Bodies Are Doing Neighborhood Work in Ward," *Toronto Star*, November 5, 1912, 2.

<sup>19</sup>Moore, "Coordination of Welfare Agencies: III," 32. Annie Carroll Moore trained many of the first children's librarians in the United States and Canada, including Toronto's Lillian Smith. See Johnson, "Lillian Smith," 3-4.

<sup>20</sup>Garrison, *Apostles of Culture*, 205-207.

<sup>21</sup>Dee Garrison, *Apostles of Culture*, xi.

library was a marginal institution, as the settlement was, simply by virtue of the fact that it was voluntary. As a marginal institution it was able, Garrison says, "to establish a more flexible, less coercive attitude toward its users" than was a core institution such as the public school.<sup>22</sup> Nonetheless, the library was a much more conservative institution than the settlement house, according to Garrison; while library founders were often inspired by a measure of altruism, many of them also feared democratic egalitarianism and saw the creation of libraries as a means of "arresting lower-class alienation from traditional culture."<sup>23</sup> She argues that the provision of libraries was a form of cultural imperialism; library founders saw their institutions as a means to disseminate their cultural values and thus subvert the revolutionary potential of an 'unenlightened' working class. Settlement workers helped to modify, through example, these essentially conservative aims.<sup>24</sup> But the library was only one of the public institutions influenced by the pioneering work of the settlement movement. Another institution, which in Toronto was closely tied to the settlements until the post-war period, was the publicly funded, supervised playground.

## II

Evangelia established Toronto's first supervised playground on the vacant lots surrounding its early site on Queen St., east of the Don River.<sup>25</sup> After 1907, when the settlement moved to its Queen and River location, its facilities included a spacious, well-treed

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<sup>22</sup>Garrison, *Apostles of Culture*, xiii.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 205.

<sup>25</sup>Public schools had, of course, been establishing playgrounds on their premises since the mid-nineteenth century. These facilities were usually locked outside school hours, and were limited to school attenders in any case. See Bruce Curtis, "The Playground in Nineteenth-Century Ontario: Theory and Practice," *Material History Review* (Fall 1985): 21-29.

and enclosed property, which Edith Elwood had outfitted with a sand pile, swings, unspecified gym apparatus, hammocks, a tennis court and a hockey rink, and shower and deep baths.<sup>26</sup>

According to the reminiscences of some of Evangelia's former workers and members, the formal, supervised playground portion of the settlement's programme was held on weekday summer mornings between 10 am and noon, but the grounds were also lighted and open for use in the evenings, when members could play croquet, use the gym equipment, or just sit in garden chairs or lounge in a hammock; according to one account, from time to time the settlement offered its members ice cream and cakes.<sup>27</sup>

Members of the Toronto Local Council of Women, inspired by Evangelia's example, began organizing playgrounds in the city in 1905. As one playground proponent argued, supervised playgrounds were particularly required in crowded and culturally heterogeneous districts like St. John's Ward;<sup>28</sup> one of the strongest desires of Toronto's playground organizers was "to inculcate cleanliness and other desirable things" in the children living in 'neglected' districts. In this they were frequently frustrated, not so much by the children themselves, apparently, as by the parents. For example, the Local Council of Women related in their *Annual Report* for 1907 that their vacation school in the Elizabeth Street playground had been well attended in 1905, "but not by the class of children it was intended for." The mothers of *those* children would not let their youngsters attend unless they were properly washed and dressed, but at the same time they would not "take the time to see that this was done," so in the end their children did not come. In 1906 the Elizabeth Street school

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<sup>26</sup>"Playgrounds Association," Toronto Local Council of Women, *Annual Report, 1909*, 53-54. Members were charged a penny to use the shower and deep baths. See BR, S54, "History of Canadian Settlements," Book B, notes on Evangelia, collected by M.J. and C. Hogg.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>UWCA, Minutes, Vol I, Nov 5, 1906.

playground was kept open until dark three evenings a week, with two teachers volunteering to lead 14 to 21 year olds, because, as the committee's secretary explained, 'children' this age needed to play too, despite working all day, just as wealthy children their age did.<sup>29</sup>

The result of these "experiments" was the formation of the Toronto Playgrounds Association (TPA) in the spring of 1908. It quickly became a very popular organization, particularly among the bourgeois women of Toronto. Indeed, in just over a year the Local Council of Women found that so many of its members had joined the TPA that it no longer needed a special committee to report on developments in this sphere.<sup>30</sup> The TPA kept five school playgrounds open in its first summer, but found that the number of children who wanted to attend was overwhelming - a problem, its report to the Local Council of Women noted, with which Evangelia had been struggling for the past six years.<sup>31</sup>

Early in its history the TPA received an important boost by way of Mrs. Humphrey Ward, a well-known contemporary English author and representative of the Passmore Edwards Settlement in London, who gave a talk at Evangelia Settlement on "providing suitable playgrounds for the children in the congested districts of the great city." Inspired by her talk, a number of male-dominated groups threw their support behind the idea. *The Presbyterian*, for example, told its readers of the "pathetic scenes to be witnessed in Toronto, in which the only breathing and play spots for the children outside of their squalid and crowded homes are the narrow and equally squalid streets." The paper assured its audience that

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<sup>29</sup>"Vacation Schools and Supervised Playgrounds," Local Council of Women of Toronto, *Annual Report 1907*, 29.

<sup>30</sup>"Committee on Playgrounds," Toronto Local Council of Women *Annual Report, 1910*, 25.

<sup>31</sup>Local Council of Women, "Playgrounds Association," *Annual Report 1909*, 53-54.

proper playgrounds under trained supervision may be made a real means of grace to the children and elementary schools of citizenship. Apart from its moral dangers, the crowded street is not the place in which children can give expression to the instinct of play. Any judicious expenditure in the providing of suitable playgrounds in the larger cities will be abundantly justified, and will be in harmony with the advancing ideals of the importance of child life as the raw material of citizenship.<sup>32</sup>

Support from groups like these, and from public figures like J.J. Kelso and J.L. Hughes, was important to the nascent Playground Association, which was then seeking more formal ties to the city's Parks Department.<sup>33</sup>

As the settlements were established their organizers and staff often worked closely with the supporters and staff of the TPA. Indeed, Central Neighborhood House (CNH) was among the most enthusiastic supporters of the Playground Association's efforts, but then Dr. Helen MacMurchy, a member of Central's organizing committee, was also the secretary of the Toronto Playground Association at the time that Central was being created. In fact, George Bryce and Arthur Burnett's letter to MacMurchy asking her to attend the organizational meeting for CNH included a personal note requesting that she bring the proposal for the settlement before the Association, as "its purpose and spirit are closely related to those of the Playground movement." In view of the fact, Bryce said, that "[t]his project aims at improving the environment and enlarging the opportunities of those in a crowded factory district, for the standpoint of constructive social reform," he asked that the Association publicly express its sympathy with the proposed settlement, and its intention to

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<sup>32</sup>"Caring for the Bairns," *The Presbyterian*, June 4, 1908, 708.

<sup>33</sup>The relationship between the TPA and the city is not quite clear. Apparently, the city paid TPA staff salaries, but the TPA retained some form of supervisory control over its workers, so it may well have supplied at least some of the funding for supervised playgrounds, as well as providing volunteers.

cooperate in the settlement's work.<sup>34</sup> In point of fact, the TPA did actively champion CNH's efforts, and in return CNH helped to strengthen the TPA. For example, in 1912 CNH offered to run a training course for playground supervisors,<sup>35</sup> and in 1913 Neufeld took charge of the daily work at the Elizabeth Street Playground until a Chief Supervisor was appointed by the Recreation Department. She told her Board that while fulfilling this role she had encouraged the Parks Commissioner to make improvements, and as a result the Elizabeth Street playground became the second best equipped playground in the city. Moreover, she said, the already cordial relations between the settlement and the TPA been enhanced during this period by having the supervisors and the CNH workers eat together regularly.<sup>36</sup> But the TPA did not restrict its support to CNH; rather, it promoted the efforts of other settlements as well, mainly by providing them with the services of city-subsidised playground staff. Memorial Institute, for example, used the services of a TPA supervisor for its summer playground.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>CTA, SC 5 B, Box 1, CNH Board of Director's Minutes, letter from Bryce to MacMurphy, April 25, 1911.

<sup>35</sup>In her report for February 1912 Neufeld noted that a training class was being planned for Playground workers. CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for February 1912. See also *ibid.*, Headworker's Report for July and August, 1913, for more discussion of the cooperation between CNH and the TPA.

<sup>36</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's Minutes, Headworker's Report for June 1913. Without a list of playground supervisors it is difficult to tell if there was much overlap of staff and volunteers between the settlements and the TPA.

<sup>37</sup>The settlement did provide the city supervisor with the assistance of church volunteers, most of whom were recruited from Walmer Road Church. CBA - files, "Memorial Institute, Annual Report for 1913," 11. See also Donald Goertz, *A Century for the City: Walmer Road Church, 1889-1989* (Toronto: Walmer Road Church, 1989), 44. Goertz notes here that electric lights were installed on Memorial's playground, and that the young people could play croquet on Monday evenings. The lights may well have been installed in order to extend the hours the playground could be open, but they may also have been added in order to stop the neighbourhood children from using the playground outside the hours it was open.

All of Toronto's settlements either operated their own supervised playgrounds, or helped to supervise the playground in their district.<sup>38</sup> They agreed with TPA members, who thought supervised playgrounds were important for the children in all impoverished neighbourhoods, but particularly for those children living in districts which had a large cosmopolitan population. As J.H. Fenton told the readers of *Acta Victoriana* in January 1914,

[p]lay is instinctive, natural, wholesome and essential to the normal child....But the play of no two peoples is alike, and when the children of twenty races gather in an area one mile square, as is the case in almost any city in Canada to-day, we find that the majority of the foreign children do not know how to play. If they do they cannot play with the Anglo-Saxon, for there seems to be a caste line between the foreign child and the native-born, even as the native parents scorn the 'dago' and 'sheeney.' It is the business of the common play-area to break down this division and to weld the whole into one type-figure - the Canadian boy or girl.<sup>39</sup>

Fenton apparently attributed as much of the 'division' between Anglo-Celtic and non-Anglo-Celtic children to distinctive and, by implication, peculiar, play behaviours of the non-Anglo-Celts as she did to the prejudices the Anglo-Celtic children learned from their parents. She argued that through supervised playgrounds the children of non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants could learn how to behave like their Anglo-Canadian peers, and that this would break down Anglo-Canadian ethnocentrism and class prejudice, and ultimately result in an overall cultural and social homogeneity. The prejudices of the adults would be difficult to overcome, she thought, but the children were still receptive. It was not a matter of having the children of different ethnic groups learn each other's games, and thus come to a mutual understanding of

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<sup>38</sup>Of Toronto's six settlements, Riverdale, Evangelia, St. Christopher House and Memorial Institute operated their own playgrounds. Central assisted in the operation of the nearby Elizabeth Street playground, in addition to offering, in their backyard, facilities like a sandpile for younger children. University Settlement appears not to have conducted a supervised playground, but there is occasional mention of activities at the neighbouring St. Andrew's playground, and it is possible that the TPA established a supervised playground there.

<sup>39</sup>J.H. Fenton, "The Civic Playground," *Acta Victoriana* 38, 4(January 1914): 184-86.

each other's worth, however; betraying her own ethnocentrism, Fenton made it clear that it was the non-Anglo-Celtic children who had to be taught how to play 'properly' - that is, like Canadian children. But she was optimistic about the outcome, if this was accomplished:

[t]hrough the medium of their play hours, by means of organized, carefully directed play, simple rules of manly and womanly conduct in a true child-kingdom of democracy, the newcomers of our population, the little children of the slum district and the more carefully cared for middle class boys and girls will reach a common understanding of the real ideals of the Canadian child.... True it is that in playground work there is, at first, a clan and clique of the races each unto itself, but in the excitement and fervour of strenuous play this is all forgotten.... the boys and girls who were accustomed to fear taunts, jeers and slurs hurled at them because of their race and tongue, are delighted to be received on terms of absolute equality. So the Slav, the Jew, the Italian or the Armenian is given a new sense of his own worth, and soon he loses the furtive manner with other boys, and life in Canada becomes to him really happy and worth while.<sup>40</sup>

Clearly, then, children were not permitted to do as they wished in a supervised playground; it was not merely a matter of having an adult or two on hand to referee while children organized their own games. Rather, much as they were in the settlements themselves, school-aged children who attended playgrounds were organized into small groups with adult supervisors who lead them in activities such as basket-making, sewing, weaving, and paper folding and cutting, as well as in active team games and sports.<sup>41</sup> The organizers did have to be somewhat sensitive to the desires of the children, however; as Helen Hart is reported to have remarked of St. Christopher's Saturday morning playground, which showed a steadily dwindling attendance after only three weeks of operation, "[t]here is something wrong. If we were giving them what they needed, they would be here."<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>Fenton, "The Civic Playground," 186.

<sup>41</sup>"Report of the Committee of Vacation Schools and Playgrounds," Local Council of Women of Toronto, *Annual Report, 1906*, 22.

<sup>42</sup>Ethel Dodds Parker, "St. Christopher House," 4.

According to Dominick Cavallo, play organizers sought to safeguard the moral and physical well-being of poor children mainly through exercise, believing that a strengthened body would result in a strengthened moral and cognitive sense. Children were believed to think and moralize with their muscles and senses, and thus muscular conditioning would lead to mental and moral refinement. Cavallo has demonstrated that the games chosen for use by playground supervisors were intended to develop a form of peer group dependence among team members, and thus to help children to adapt to corporate/bureaucratic/democratic society, as well as to subvert their allegiance to their parents. Peer groups, properly controlled by play organizers, were considered to be an extremely effective socializing agency.<sup>43</sup>

Playground workers maintained order in playgrounds in much the same way that settlement workers did in the settlements; youngsters who misconducted themselves were most often punished by expulsion for a period of time set according to the offence, which might include "bullying, swearing, cheating, lying, disobedience or damage to apparatus." Monitors were chosen from among the children themselves, partly in order to encourage peer regulation of their deportment, and partly to enhance the leadership potential of those who were chosen.<sup>44</sup> As in the settlements, training the children in the principles of good citizenship was the ultimate goal of supervised playgrounds. Enrico Cumbo has pointed out that a problem arose, however, during the hours that the playgrounds were not staffed; according to Cumbo, a 1912 report in the *Toronto Star* noted that members of the Local Council of Women visited the Elizabeth Street playground one evening "and found the conditions

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<sup>43</sup>Dominick Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals: Organized Playgrounds and Urban Reform, 1880-1920* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981).

<sup>44</sup>Fenton, "The Civic Playground," 184-86; see also Robbins Gilman, "University Settlement," *USBE Bulletin* 51, 28.

deplorable' with children of every age 'trespassing' freely onto playground property seemingly oblivious to time and the the constraints of propriety in the dimming light."<sup>45</sup> If one of the citizenship lessons that the playground supervisors were trying to get across was the notion that public property should only be used during authorized hours, they were, apparently, singularly unsuccessful.

Of the six settlements, CNH clearly had the closest relationship with the Toronto Playground Association. This was in part due to MacMurchy's presence on the settlement's board, but also in part to Neufeld's firmly held belief that one of the most important jobs of a settlement was to work itself out of a job by ensuring that, after demonstrating the need and the efficacy of a service, a civic agency was established to take it over. Lack of space at the settlement was also an issue; the more services CNH could turn over to civic authorities the better. Beginning in March 1912, these pressures led to a campaign to have the city establish a heated playground shelter, equipped with a gymnasium and shower facilities, on the newly created Elizabeth Street playground. Initially, CNH requested that the city move the old Elizabeth Street schoolhouse, which had been abandoned after the construction of the Hester Howe School, into the centre of the playground; the settlement offered to staff the shelter and provide the operating costs. All it wanted was to have the city provide the \$15,000 needed in order to have building itself moved and the foundation dug.

This proved to be a contentious request. Alderman Wanless, chair of the special sub-committee of the Parks and Exhibition Committee which considered the playground shelter issue, was concerned that granting CNH's request would set a dangerous precedent; the city

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<sup>45</sup>Enrico Cumbo, "'Blazing the Trail and Setting the Pace': Central Neighborhood House and its Outreach to Italian Immigrants in Toronto: 1911-1929," *Italian Canadiana* 12 (1996): 82. Cumbo does not provide the citation for the 1912 *Toronto Star* article from which the quotations were apparently taken.

would afterwards be "swamped" with grant requests from social welfare groups. In addition, and probably far more to the point, Wanless thought that CNH was "Judaizing" and thus retarding the Canadianization of the residents of the area. Moreover, he claimed that 12 other institutions were doing work similar to CNH's, and that to grant this request for civic funding would merely waste even more money than was currently being squandered in the Ward, since the philanthropic work being carried on there was, in general, "inefficient, extravagant and unorganized." The *Toronto Star* noted that Wanless provided no "facts or figures" to support his claims, yet the Parks Commission adopted the report anyway. The *Star* reported that Controller McCarthy was much concerned about the stigma thus attached to CNH, and he promised to take the matter to the Board of Control, and possibly also refer it to the Charities Commission, before allowing the controllers to pronounce upon the Wanless report. The paper pointed out that of the 18 institutions in the Ward, CNH was the only one which was not religious. Moreover, it argued, support for CNH would be less costly to the city than would building and maintaining its own recreation facility in the area.<sup>46</sup>

Elizabeth Neufeld, for her part, countered Alderman Wanless's contentions regarding CNH both in her report to CNH's Board and in the *Toronto Star* and other of the city's newspapers. She argued that in fact CNH in no way overlapped with other institutions in the neighbourhood. She told her Board that Mr Wanless's statements were "unfortunate and misleading because although there may be eighteen institutions in this neighborhood there is not one which bases its work on citizenship." She said that in fact, CNH had helped to bring

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<sup>46</sup>"Eighteen Bodies Are Doing Neighborhood Work in the Ward," *Toronto Star*, November 5, 1912, 2, and "Report Discredits Settlement Work," in *ibid.*, 5.

the municipality to an understanding of its responsibility toward immigrants.<sup>47</sup> As for Wanless's allegations that CNH was 'Judaizing,' Neufeld told the *Star* that nothing could be further from the truth, and pointed out that the majority of her Board members were Christian, and some at least were members of clergy. In fact, because of the divisive nature of religious prejudices, she argued that CNH could not teach religion in any way at all. While they observed both the Jewish and the Christian sabbaths, their focus at the settlement was on citizenship.<sup>48</sup> It was to no avail, however. Despite the support of the *Star* and other newspapers, as well as the backing of Controller McCarthy and the Toronto Board of Education, CNH's request was denied.<sup>49</sup>

Neufeld was not down for long, however. In her report for May 1913 she told her board that she was encouraging the Parks Department to build a new model shelter on the Elizabeth Street playground, noting that a properly fitted-up structure would allow CNH to turn over much of its 'institutional work' to the playground people.<sup>50</sup> C.E. Chambers, the Parks Commissioner, was supportive of this plan, but he told Neufeld that the estimated cost to build the shelter was \$20,000, and a request to the Board of Control for the funds would likely receive a more sympathetic hearing if community pressure could be brought to bear on city council. In response, Neufeld organized 'deputation' of 200 neighbourhood children to march on City Hall. The 'children's seige' received a great deal of newspaper coverage, and particularly the speech delivered by ten-year-old Jon Senson, the spokesperson of the group:

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<sup>47</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for October 1912.

<sup>48</sup>"Eighteen Bodies," *Toronto Star* November 5, 1912, 2.

<sup>49</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for October 1912.

<sup>50</sup>CTA, SC5 D Box 1 File 22, CNH - Headworker's Reports (monthly), "May 1913."

Mr. Mayor and Members of the Board of Control ... We, the Children of The Ward, are asking for a playhouse on the Elizabeth street playground. We need a place where we can have baths, gymnasium and entertainments. Mr. Chambers said we might have it, so we thought we had better come and ask you to give it to us.<sup>51</sup>

It was, Neufeld later told her board, a very effective lesson in citizenship for the children. Neufeld also organized a mass meeting of the district's voters, which sent a resolution regarding the playground shelter to the Mayor and Aldermen. She remarked that, regardless of the outcome, the campaign had stirred up a great deal of enthusiasm in the district for neighbourhood improvement, which was vital to the amelioration of conditions there. She asserted "the Ward will not be half so bad a place to live in if everybody living in it will be interested in its advancement." One immediate result of the children's deputation, Neufeld reported, was an increase in attendance at the settlement.<sup>52</sup>

The bid was ultimately successful. In May 1914 Neufeld reported that the City Council had approved the expenditure for the Elizabeth Street Playground shelter, and that the City Recreation Department was to be put in charge of it.<sup>53</sup> In a paper delivered a few weeks later at the 1914 American NCCC conference, Neufeld described the campaign, and its outcome, this way:

we needed a recreation building in our district. Instead of going out into the community and collecting moneys, we went to the Park Commissioner, who is the head of our playgrounds, and persuaded him to insert \$20,000 into his estimates to be spent on building a shelterhouse on the playground which is just about one and a half blocks from the settlement. He promised to do so if we promoted public opinion to back his request. We organized a deputation of

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<sup>51</sup>CTA, SC5 J, Box 1, file 1, "Newsclippings, 1911-1930," *Star* (February 27, 1914); *Telegram* (February 27, 1914); *Mail and Empire* (February 27, 1914).

<sup>52</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report, March 10, 1914.

<sup>53</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for May 1914.

200 children from the neighborhood, collected and marched down to see the mayor and board of control. One of the boys was the spokesman for the group and asked in eloquent terms for the Children's Playhouse. And we got it. Just three weeks before I left home the city council passed the appropriation.<sup>54</sup>

In the wake of this success, Neufeld planned to turn much of CNH's "inside work" over to the TPA once the shelter was built, but in the meantime she and the TPA organized an evening social centre at the McCaul Street school, with Neufeld acting as supervisor. The Playground Association supplied a man and a woman worker, each for three nights a week, while Mr. Morgan, CNH's boys' worker, and Miss Graydon, the settlement's girls' worker, staffed the centre on the other two nights. All of CNH's 'large-room' activities, such as folkdancing, drama, debates, and social evenings, were transferred to the schoolhouse, while the smaller group activities - the classes, other than English, and the clubs - remained at the settlement.<sup>55</sup>

### III

Part of the reason that CNH wanted a playground shelter so desperately was because it needed the facilities to conduct the kind of large-group activities which might lure the young people of the district away from the less respectable, commercially-run amusements offered in the neighbourhood. For Neufeld, dancehalls and the more vulgar kinds of vaudeville theatre were a particular concern because of the moral threat she presumed that they posed. In the absence of either a proper playground shelter/social centre or sufficient space at the settlement, CNH did the best it could with the facilities available. For example, in October 1913 Neufeld told her board that she and some of the other board members were

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<sup>54</sup>Elizabeth B. Neufeld, "The Development of Existing Neighborhood Activities," *National Conference of Charities and Correction, Forty-First Annual Session, Memphis Tenn., May 8-15, 1914* (Fort Wayne Indiana Printing Co., 1914), 408.

<sup>55</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report, May 20, 1914.

organizing, on behalf of CNH, a commercial dance hall; that is, they were planning to manage an already existing hall, and take care of the operating costs even if they had to run the enterprise at a loss. They were taking this action, Neufeld explained, because the Elm Street dance hall had been conducted "undesirably" in the previous year, and the dance hall on University Ave also had a bad reputation. The idea was, she said, to hold a weekly dance there in order to "supplant the undesirable management."<sup>56</sup> Thus, beginning in December 1913 CNH held a weekly dance, on Saturday evenings, at the dance hall on the corner of Elm and Terrauley Streets. Perhaps in recognition of the fact that young working women were paid less than young working men, they charged CNH girls 5 cents and CNH boys 10 cents to attend, and non-settlement members 10 and 15 cents, respectively. A professional musician was hired and Neufeld acted as manager, with volunteers to help supervise; interestingly, the settlement made a point of not advertising this venture.<sup>57</sup> In her report for December Neufeld pronounced the dance hall successful; half of the weekly expenses were being paid out of the gate, and they had good crowds and few control problems.<sup>58</sup> In February 1914 Neufeld told the board that a fancy dress ball had been held at the Dance Hall as part of the settlement's annual mid-winter festival.<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, by the time CNH and the TPA established the social centre at the McCaul Street school in the following May, it appears that the settlement had either abandoned its venture into the commercial amusement industry, or had found that

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<sup>56</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for October 1913.

<sup>57</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's Reports, Headworker's Report for November 1913.

<sup>58</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for December, 1913.

<sup>59</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report, February 11, 1914.

their initial success was short-lived, for Neufeld remarked that they all were hoping that the social evenings being organizing at the McCaul Street School would replace the unsupervised dance hall.<sup>60</sup>

#### IV

With access to the McCaul Street school, CNH was able to be more ambitious in the kinds of entertainments it sponsored, but even before this development amateur theatricals, concerts, and festivals had been a regular feature of the settlement's programme, as indeed they were at most settlements.<sup>61</sup> The presentation of plays, with settlement members performing various roles both on- and off-stage, was an important feature of club work in particular; while the settlements' involvement in Toronto's little theatre movement did not actually begin until about mid-way through World War One, its seeds were present in these pre-war productions. Mostly, the plays were produced by individual clubs and performed for free before settlement audiences attending special celebrations, like those held at Christmas, or in the case of CNH, at the annual mid-winter or spring festival.<sup>62</sup> Some settlement clubs

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<sup>60</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report, May 20, 1914.

<sup>61</sup>See, for example, "Work Being Done at the Settlement," *The Varsity* 30, (January 6, 1911): 1; and BR, S54 "History of Canadian Settlements," Book B, Notes on Evangelia.

<sup>62</sup>For example, one year a group of older children at Evangelia put on *As You Like It* as a part of the settlement's Christmas celebrations. See BR S54, "History of Canadian Settlements" Book B, Evangelia, notes compiled by H.J. and C. Hogg. On another occasion, in 1912, some of CNH's older girls put on an (unnamed) play in the front room of the settlement for CNH's first Spring Festival; the play drew an audience of 110 children. CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for April, [May 1912]. In her report for December 1913 Neufeld wrote that there were again no Christmas celebrations held at the settlement, but all the children were taking part in preparing entertainments, plays and pageants for mid-winter celebrations, which would take place in the first week in February. Subscribers and friends of the settlement were invited to attend. CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for December 1913. See also Headworker's Report, February 11, 1914. At University Settlement, Milton B Hunt instituted "dramatic and musical programmes" soon after he arrived in the fall of 1911. UTA, B78-1395, University Settlement

charged admission in order to raise funds for special projects; for example, at the 1913 Mid-Winter Festival at CNH the children in the settlement's dramatic club produced 'Red Riding Hood.' They gave four performances to audiences of about 50 each, and managed to raise \$10 toward the purchase of baseball uniforms for the settlement's teams.<sup>63</sup>

As with the libraries and the supervised playgrounds, one should not overlook the importance of settlement theatricals; as Norman J. Ware explained, "drama is a vital part of the Settlement. Self-expression isn't a thing to which we can or wish to say 'no': but we can guide it and make it to move in worthy channels where undirected it would perhaps wander in the paths of burlesque."<sup>64</sup> Even in those settlements which had drama clubs, the staging of skits and plays was a popular activity for nearly all the children's clubs, and many of the adult and young adult groups as well.<sup>65</sup> Most of the formal plays they presented were adapted versions of well-known productions, but others were original works written by club members or, more often, their supervisors. Whether they were original productions or not, the plays were intended not merely to entertain, but to introduce cultural icons, such as the works of Shakespeare, and to demonstrate Anglo-Canadian ideals in the most striking manner available. On a practical note, they also gave those who spoke English as second language an

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(Ephemera), *Some Facts About the University Settlement* (Toronto: University Press, [1911]).

<sup>63</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for March 1913; Headworker's Report for April 1913; SC 5 D Box 1, file 5, E.B. Neufeld, "Head Worker's Report," *CNH Year Book, 1913*.

<sup>64</sup>UTA, Student Christian Movement, B79-0059, [Norman J. Ware], "The 'Futurist' Number: University Settlement Review," [September 1913].

<sup>65</sup>See, for example, CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, February 11, 1914, in which Neufeld noted that five of the seven entertainments scheduled for the mid-winter festival had been held in the settlement, and that the older girls gave a play at the Hester Howe school, which 130 attended.

opportunity to practice their recently acquired skills.<sup>66</sup>

But even more importantly, according to Jane Addams, the theatre provided urban children and young people with role models, and the opportunities for the adventure and romance and excitement that the young so desperately craved.<sup>67</sup> As Addams remarked, "[t]he drama provides a transition between the romantic conceptions which they [the children] vainly struggle to keep intact and life's cruelties and trivialities which they refuse to admit."<sup>68</sup> This made it all the more important, Addams maintained, that the overworked and downtrodden children of the slums have access to the best plays, which were unavailable to them in the cheap commercial theatres. As she noted,

The Hull-House Theater is constantly besieged by children clamoring to 'take part' in the plays of Schiller, Shakespeare, and Moliere.... The audiences sit enthralled by the final rendition and other children whose tastes have supposedly been debased by constant vaudeville, are pathetically eager to come again and again. Even when still more is required from the young actors, research into the special historic period, copying costumes from old plates, hours of labor that the 'th' may be restored to its proper place in English speech, their enthusiasm is unquenched. But aside from its educational possibilities one never ceases to marvel at the power of even a mimic stage to afford to the young a magic space in which life may be lived in efflorescence...<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>In his well-researched and evocative novel *In the Skin of a Lion*, Michael Ondaatje tells of many non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants in Toronto who attended the theatre in order to learn English; they would mimic the actors on stage, often repeating the lines after they were spoken in an effort to get the pronunciation right. Many would choose one actor as a model and attend his plays as frequently as possible, thus often picking up his peculiarities of speech. In a recent interview, Lillian Petroff of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario noted that this was, in fact, a common practice at the time. See Michael Ondaatje, *In the Skin of a Lion* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987; repr. Toronto: Penguin Books, 1988), 47. See also this author's notes from an interview with Lillian Petroff, April 18, 1996.

<sup>67</sup>Jane Addams, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* (New York: The Macmillan Company in 1909; repr., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 75-77.

<sup>68</sup>Addams, *The Spirit of Youth*, 77.

<sup>69</sup>Addams, *The Spirit of Youth*, 89.

As important as they were, plays were not the only form of entertainment offered at the settlements; folkdance and gymnastics exhibitions, as well as concerts, were also regular settlement fare.<sup>70</sup> For example, the 600 who attended CNH's 1913 Spring Festival, which was held on the Elizabeth St. playground, watched as one group of children "danced the Maypole Dance, another Sir Roger de Coverly and various other old fashioned dances, after which the boys took part in a programme of field sports."<sup>71</sup> At the 1914 Spring Festival, Neufeld reported, the young girls dressed in their best and sang and danced folk dances, and the young boys played games and "did 'stunts'" while the "old folks" looked on and applauded.<sup>72</sup> The author of the July 1914 newsletter went on:

The Spring Festival is 'an event' in the lives of these people. It is the culmination of a winter's efforts to learn Canadian ways of fun and amusement. It impresses the older people hailing from the oppression and ignorance of unenlightened countries [sic] with the fact that Canadians are not against them, but are anxious to teach them better, pleasanter ways of life.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for March 1912; see also SC 5 D Box 1, File 22, Headworker's Reports, (monthly), "April 1912."

<sup>71</sup>550 of the people in the audience were from the local area, mostly the parents and relatives of the 75 children who had taken part. CTA, SC5 D Box 1 File 22, CNH - Headworker's Reports (monthly), "May 1913." See also SC5 D, Box 1, file 4, CNH newsletter, August 1913. It is interesting that the newsletter writer mentioned only the names of English folk dances; while Neufeld often asserted that one of the settlement's jobs was to afford non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants with opportunities to share their cultural heritages, in CNH's promotional literature only Anglo-Celtic traditions are mentioned. Clearly, this was due, in part, to the stress which was laid on the teaching of these traditions to immigrants, but non-English folk dances were also taught, so it might also be that the writer was editing his or her remarks about the festival to appeal to the intended audience.

<sup>72</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for May 1914.

<sup>73</sup>CTA, SC 5 D, Box 1, file 4, "The Third Spring Festival," [Newsletter] July 1914. We must consider the context of these remarks; their author, who is not identified (it may have been Elizabeth Neufeld, but it could as easily have been another member of the Board's newsletter committee) was writing a newsletter intended to raise funds for the settlement from a wealthy, middle-class, Anglo-Canadian audience. Appealing to potential benefactors' presumed sense of superiority and generosity to those less fortunate than themselves may have been more of a

At CNH the festivals were more than big parties, they were a kind of commencement ceremony. They helped to emphasize that assimilation was not always a serious undertaking; supposedly, the "better, pleasanter ways of life" that the newsletter writer referred to were middle-class 'Canadian' ways of having fun. The other settlements had similar kinds of events, but since they did not feel obliged, as CNH did, to avoid celebrating Christian holy days, they usually offered them as part of a programme of festivities surrounding holidays like Christmas and Easter.

Indeed, Christmas in particular was a very special time for the settlements. Even CNH, which eschewed holiday celebrations, on the whole, threw a Christmas party for 12 Gentile children in December 1912; an anonymous friend donated many toys for the party, while the 'resident family' provided a tree.<sup>74</sup> CNH workers were also instrumental in creating a Christmas exchange in the following year; according to Neufeld and Memorial's Awdrey Brown, the Christmas exchange was intended to ensure that no family went hungry at Christmas time. Before Neufeld and her colleagues in other agencies were finished, the exchange listed 9000 names.<sup>75</sup> But for the most part the settlement kept these efforts low-profile. At the other settlements the celebrations were considerably more lavish; all the children in the clubs received gifts: girls were usually given dolls which had been dressed by

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marketing ploy than a reflection of the actual opinions of its author. On the other hand, it is important to acknowledge that these opinions existed, that these remarks indicate that some at least of CNH's board members and staff seem to have shared them, and that basic aim of the settlement, right from the beginning, was to teach Southern and Eastern European immigrants 'better, pleasanter ways of life.' The extent of the newsletter writer's ethnocentrism is revealed in the fact that he or she seems to have thought that southern and eastern Europeans did not enjoy festivals in their homelands.

<sup>74</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for December 1912.

<sup>75</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for December, 1913. See also CBA, "Memorial Institute, Annual Report for 1913."

volunteer groups, and boys got items such as pocket knives. There were Christmas trees, and special parties for the clubs, with food and games and entertainments and usually a Santa Claus, as well as Christmas hampers of food and warm clothing for especially needy families. At St. Christopher's Sir James Woods, the settlement's primary benefactor, secured the gifts at a discount from his own store, but the rest of the settlements solicited donations from volunteer groups like the Round Table Club and local church groups.<sup>76</sup>

Aside from these Christmas celebrations, the settlement entertainments which brought out the largest audiences were the concerts. CNH reported crowds of 300 or more at some concerts, while Evangelia reported that between January and November 1913 a total of 11,843 people had attended its evening entertainments, which would average out to close to 300 attending a weekly concert, assuming that the concerts were held weekly and were carried on through the summer months.<sup>77</sup> Often, the performances were given by students at one of Toronto's music conservatories.<sup>78</sup> Indeed, the city's music conservatories were extremely

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<sup>76</sup>See, for example, the annual reports to the Local Council of Women of the Toronto Conservatory of Music's Round Table Club, from 1908 to 1912, which note that the Club each year provided warm clothes, toys and candies, as well as a Christmas tree for Evangelia's children. Toronto Local Council of Women, *Annual Report, 1908*, 39; *1909*, 42; *1910*, 33; *1912*, 34. See also Margaret Foster, *The First Fifty Years: A History of the University Women's Club of Toronto 1903-1953* (Toronto: Hunter Rose Co., [1953]), 18, and Parker, "St. Christopher House," 12-13.

<sup>77</sup>Concerts at the settlements, whether they were held weekly or monthly, were invariably well-attended. For example, in her report for October 1913 Neufeld noted that CNH planned to hold regular Friday evening concerts at Hester Howe, and according to her November report to the Board these were highly successful. CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for October and for November 1913. See also Headworker's Report, April 14, 1914. For Evangelia, see UTA, A67-0007/028, Falconer Papers, Edmund Osler, "Evangelia Settlement: Summary of Ten Months Work from 1st January to 1st November, 1913," (November 19, 1913). Interestingly, it appears that in the pre-war period St. Christopher's and Memorial Institute did not offer concerts though the reason for this is not clear.

<sup>78</sup>"Work Being Done at the Settlement," *The Varsity* 30, (January 6, 1911): 1; "The University Settlement," *University Monthly* XI, 4(February 1911): 114-15; and UTA, B78-1395, Student Christian Movement, *Some Facts About the University Settlement*; see also CTA, SC5

generous in their support of Toronto's settlements, and in particular of CNH. For example, in December 1911 a Mrs. Fisher, of the Toronto Conservatory of Music, suggested that in addition to the concerts they put on for the benefit of CNH members, the Conservatory and the School of Expression students hold a public fund-raising concert for CNH; the proceeds of the concert would be donated to the settlement, and a CNH representative could speak at the concert about the work of the House. This offer was regretfully refused, however, because according to Neufeld, fund-raising efforts like these involved a greater expenditure of time and effort, on the part of the settlement staff and volunteers, than they were worth.<sup>79</sup>

While weekly or monthly concerts appear not to have been a regular or prominent part of the programme at St. Christopher's and at Memorial Institute in the pre-war period, Sunday gospel services were, and they were at Evangelia as well.<sup>80</sup> The services attracted surprisingly large audiences; Evangelia's 1913 report notes that the total attendance in its religious department was 7187 between January first and November first, which averages out to a little under 180 per Sunday.<sup>81</sup> According to its 1913 annual report, Memorial Institute's

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I, Box 1, file 1, CNH Record Book #2, Organization Committee minutes, November 21, 1911. In her annual report for 1912 Neufeld noted that different music conservatories in the city were providing artists for CNH's monthly concerts for adults. CTA, SC5, D, Box 1 File 2, "Annual Report of the Headworker," CNH *Yearbook*, 1912. On the presence of children at evening programmes see *Toronto World*, February 12, 1914, cited in Cumbo, "Blazing the Trail," 78.

<sup>79</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's Minutes, December 20, 1911 and January 16, 1912. In addition to gaining the support of the music conservatories, CNH also asked the Academy of Art to lend some pictures for an Art exhibit be held at the settlement in the first week of January 1912. The Board minutes do not mention the exhibit again, so it seems likely that either the settlement's request was denied, or it did not work out for some other reason. See SC5 I, Box 1, file 1 CNH Record Book #2, Headworker's Report for November 1911.

<sup>80</sup>Of the four religious settlements, Riverdale was the only one not to conduct gospel services, but apparently this was due, for the most part, to the close relationship it maintained with the Protestant churches in its area. See BR, S54, "History of Canadian Settlements," Book B, Notes on Riverdale Settlement.

<sup>81</sup>UTA, A67-0007/028, Falconer Papers, Osler, "Evangelia Settlement, 1913."

religious services drew an attendance of around 2500 per month, while its Sunday school, which reported its figures separately, attracted between 1000 and 1700 through the year. Only 75 people professed conversion, however. Of the three settlements which offered religious services, Memorial Institute offered the largest number; its programme included four services on Sunday, with one evening service set aside for Macedonians, Bulgarians and Russians, an illustrated lecture on religion for young people on Monday evenings, and an evening prayer meeting on Wednesdays.<sup>82</sup>

As for St. Christopher House, Sara Carson was far more vague about the number of members who attended the gospel service. She reported in 1913, for example, that the Sunday services were "regularly attended to the limit of our space," and she noted that they were often "compelled to refuse admittance to many," but she did not elaborate on the numbers involved.<sup>83</sup> If the church leaders were inclined to think that St. Christopher's was literally preaching to the converted, Carson tried to disabuse them of that notion, pointing out that "numbers of those attending are of Jewish and Roman Catholic stock," and that many could be counted "among the rough gangsters that infested the lanes and alleys of the district before St. Christopher was opened in June last." The behaviour of these denizens, most of whom attended with their clubs, was exemplary, however; "[t]he discipline, order and attention would do credit to an average church and the best of Sunday schools. The Gospel of service is manifestly doing its leavening work."<sup>84</sup> Clearly, Carson's reference to having to turn people away from the settlement's gospel services was a not-so-subtle hint to the General

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<sup>82</sup>CBA, Memorial Institute *Calendars*, April 28, 1912, back page. See also Goertz, *A Century for the City*, 44.

<sup>83</sup>"Report of the Board of Social Service and Evangelism," Thirty-Ninth Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P*, 1913, 290.

<sup>84</sup>*Ibid*; Parker, "St. Christopher House," 13.

Assembly that St. Christopher's space constraints were limiting its effectiveness as an evangelical institution, but her failure to provide concrete figures on the number and religious faith of the attendees, as well as the number who were refused admittance, may have diminished the impact of her message. She had to take care, though, for there were those among the Presbyterian leadership who suspected that the settlement was coming to replace regular church attendance for its members, and if it seemed that the majority of those who frequented St. Christopher's gospel services were Protestant, this suspicion might have been confirmed.<sup>85</sup>

The services themselves were usually led by the head worker of the settlement; at Evangelia, Catherine Wright, an accomplished pianist and Edith Elwood's assistant, played the musical accompaniment for the hymns while Elwood led the prayers. At St. Christopher, according to a former worker, the focus was less on music than it was on a Bible stories; "At Christmas time, it was the Christmas story. Once a year it was the St. Christopher story; mostly they were Old Testament stories." The emphasis on Old Testament stories was probably an attempt to interest the Jewish as well as the Christian members of the audience. Helen Hart had a "gift amounting to sheer genius for telling a story to a large group of children of various ages. No repetition, no moral attached, just real inspiration."<sup>86</sup>

## V

For settlement workers, the most inspiring and profound messages could best be delivered to a temporarily captive audience, and the best way to create those superior

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<sup>85</sup>Ethel Dodds Parker, "The Origins and Early History of the Presbyterian Settlement Houses," in Richard Allen, ed., *The Social Gospel in Canada: Papers of the Interdisciplinary Conference on the Social Gospel in Canada, March 21-24, 1973* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975) 109-110.

<sup>86</sup>Parker, "St. Christopher House," 13-14.

conditions was to establish a permanent summer camp. Prior to 1912, most of the summer work undertaken by the settlements was restricted to supervised playgrounds and day outings to the countryside for children and, except at University Settlement, their mothers. But camp was considered the ideal form of settlement work in the summer; settlement workers maintained that summer camp offered the very best opportunity available to instill in their members such principles as cleanliness, orderliness, courtesy, and regularity of habits, all of which were considered necessary to good citizenship. In her report for the 1915 Presbyterian General Assembly Helen Hart emphasized the importance of summer camp:

It consists not simply in handing our 'fresh air' to a given number of ragged children and worn-out mothers, and under more intimate conditions than are possible in the city.... To create the atmosphere of a happy, well-ordered Christian home for five or six-hundred cramped and hungry human lives, for even ten days apiece, is a wonderful privilege and a great opportunity.<sup>87</sup>

For Hart, camp illustrated both the ideal of middle-class Christian home life – the 'haven in a heartless world' – and the methods by which the ideal could be made real. Awdrey Brown felt the same way; "the opportunities for close association... and the object lesson of a normal religious family life were quite as valuable as the physical gains [in terms of the health of the campers], and all are showing lasting results."<sup>88</sup> By contrast, for Milton Hunt and others who focused on working with boys, camp provided an opportunity to teach urban youths the standard of manliness, as it was perceived in the dominant culture. Elizabeth Neufeld, for her part, was less specific but just as enthusiastic; "[t]he really ideal way of doing Summer Work in a settlement is to have a country home where whole families can be taken for a few weeks of rest. A good deal of constructive educational work can be done when one is in close daily

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<sup>87</sup>"The Church and Congested City Districts," Forty-First Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P*, 349-350. In his annual report for 1913 Awdrey Brown also emphasized the value of the camp. CBA, "Memorial Institute, Annual Report for 1913," 11.

<sup>88</sup>CBA, Memorial Institute, "Annual Report for 1913," 11.

contact with the people."<sup>89</sup> On another occasion she observed that "helpful suggestions" regarding hygiene could be better conveyed to settlement members when they were "under the constant surveillance in a summer home."<sup>90</sup>

Evangelia was the first of Toronto's settlements to establish a summer camp. Although it is difficult to determine for certain, it appears that Evangelia opened its first camp, which was for women and children only, on a rented property on Lake Simcoe in the summer of 1912; 476 women and children attended the settlement's camp that year. By May of 1913 Evangelia had two 'summer homes,' one for men and the other for women and children; the Men's Camp was located in Muskoka, while the women and children were moved to a new campground on a 40 acre property, bought for Evangelia by Edmund Osler, on Lake Simcoe's Kempenfelt Bay; 670 women and children attended the new camp in 1913. The settlement members themselves had raised most of the \$1500 needed to furnish it.<sup>91</sup>

St. Christopher House and Memorial Institute soon followed suit. St. Christopher opened its summer camp in 1913, on a 300-acre property bought for the settlement by the Presbyterian Church. It had been a farm, with a mile of frontage on Lake Scugog. The C.P.R. provided St. Christopher's with its own station at the gates of the farm, and the camp also got its own post office. The camp operated in July and August, and each group of fifty children and mothers (later expanded to groups of 60 to 75) stayed at the camp for one to two

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<sup>89</sup>CTA, SC5 D, Box 1, file 4, CNH newsletter, September 1913.

<sup>90</sup>CTA, SC5, D, Box 1 File 2, "Annual Report of the Headworker," *CNH Yearbook, 1912*.

<sup>91</sup>UTA, A67-0007/028, Falconer Papers, Edmund Osler, "Evangelia Settlement: Summary of Ten Months Work," November 19, 1913. See also UWCA, Volume II Minutes, May 20, 1913.

weeks.<sup>92</sup> Memorial Institute also established its summer camp in 1913. It rented a large farm on the lake near Bowmanville, at which it gave 235 mothers and children each a two week holiday.<sup>93</sup>

University Settlement did not establish its own summer camp in the period before the war, but in 1912 Milton Hunt did organize a two-week outing for 16 of his members, in connection with the Toronto Boys' Dominion, at the latter's campground near Orchard Beach; Hunt was in charge of the boys from the Settlement, but they shared the camp with other Boys' Dominion members. Baseball was an outstanding feature of the camp; the boys played almost every day, and two University Settlement teams won second place in the League championships in their respective sections.<sup>94</sup> The boys were also given an opportunity to go swimming, boating, and fishing and so on.<sup>95</sup> Owing to Hunt's departure in the spring of 1913, it appears that no summer camps were organized for University Settlement's members in the following summer, although if the University Settlement boys remained members of the Boys' Dominion, they may have been accommodated with other Dominion members.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>92</sup>"Report of the Board of Social Service and Evangelism," Thirty-Ninth Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P* 1913, 290.

<sup>93</sup>CBA, "Memorial Institute, Annual Report for 1913," 11. Wholesale grocers provided the camp with food, and church members across Canada donated bedding, furniture, and financial support. As well, the Star Fresh Air Fund contributed \$550.

<sup>94</sup>"Infant Welfare Work Begun at Settlement," *The Varsity* XXXII, 8(October 16, 1912): 1.

<sup>95</sup>CTA, RG 12 H, Box 1, Parks and Recreation, "Toronto Boys' Dominion Scrapbook."

<sup>96</sup>It appears that the University Settlement pulled out of the Boys' Dominion some time in 1913, but it is not clear when. There are few reports of University Settlement sports teams, and so on, in newspaper reports of Boys' Dominion activities in the spring of 1913, and by January 1914 University Settlement was dropped from the Dominion league's hockey schedule. The boys themselves may have remained members of the Boys' Dominion, however. See CTA, RG 12, H Box 1, Parks and Recreation, Toronto Boys' Dominion Scrapbook.

CNH, for its part, began planning its summer work in February 1912.<sup>97</sup> Initially they intended to organize a camp in cooperation with the Boys' Dominion, as University Settlement had done, but for some undisclosed reason, this plan was abandoned a few months later.<sup>98</sup> Instead Neufeld organized an ambitious programme of day outings to the country for children and mothers. In her annual report for 1912, however, Neufeld expressed her regret that CNH's lack of a permanent summer campground had limited their summer work.<sup>99</sup> In the following year little mention was made of a summer camp at CNH, likely because by that point the settlement's financial situation was far too precarious to even contemplate establishing one,<sup>100</sup> but by the summer of 1914 the situation had improved enough to allow Neufeld to rent Evangelia's first campsite on Lake Simcoe. Altogether, 80 mothers and their children under 14 were provided with two week holidays that summer; unfortunately, the outbreak of the war curtailed this camp midway through the season.<sup>101</sup>

The camps usually lasted about 12 days each, although at Evangelia's camp the periods ranged from one week to four.<sup>102</sup> The living arrangements at St. Christopher's camp

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<sup>97</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, February 20, 1912.

<sup>98</sup>According to a later report, CNH arranged to send six needy girls for a two week vacation in the country, but this was nothing like the summer camp the settlement staff had hoped for. See CTA, SC 5 D Box 1, File 22, CNH Headworker's Reports, (monthly), June, 1912.

<sup>99</sup>CTA, SC5, D, Box 1 File 2, "Annual Report of the Headworker," *CNH Year Book, 1912*.

<sup>100</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for June 1913, and Treasurer's Report, August 1913. We will discuss the issue of funding in the next chapter.

<sup>101</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report, July 14, 1914 and Headworker's Report for July 1914. The plan had been to accommodate 100 CNH members there, 25 at a time, so they were able to come pretty close to this original goal. See Headworker's Report, April 14, 1914.

<sup>102</sup>UWCA, minutes, Vol II, May 20, 1913.

were typical of most settlement camps; the campers lived in wooden-floored tents which accommodated five or six each, including the 'tent mother,' and each camper slept in his or her own cot, under clean sheets, and was responsible for keeping his or her area tidy.<sup>103</sup> They ate regular meals, sitting down at "shining white tables, equipped with the same rigid economy that rules in their own homes, but as carefully set as if with the crystal, silver and linen of the wealthy."<sup>104</sup> Supervision was constant; while there were many opportunities to participate in picnicking, fishing, rowing, and so on, campers were not permitted to go anywhere unaccompanied by settlement worker. As one worker noted, camp discipline "was good for the children and lessons in obedience were learned. One little girl had it impressed in a forcible way when, almost as soon as she had gone through a forbidden gate, she was met by the sting of a wasp."<sup>105</sup> Even the campers' speech was regulated, in hopes of modifying it;

'There's one thing you can't say at camp,' explained 6-year-old Tom to a visitor, - 'You can't say 'I'll kill you;' the teacher says it don't fit in here, and nobody ever says it to you here.' 'The teachers are different,' decided a girl of 16 after a week at camp; 'They talks so refined, and they never hollers.'<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>103</sup>CTA, SC484 1B1, Box 2, Folder 1, St. Christopher House, member essay, June 9, 1914, "Camp Living."

<sup>104</sup>"The Church and Congested City Districts," Forty-First Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P* 1915, 350.

<sup>105</sup>Mrs. R.J. Koffend, "St Christopher Camp," *The Presbyterian*, September 18, 1913, 280. Mrs. Koffend was the wife of the director of Evangel Hall, a Presbyterian mission which catered solely to British immigrants. The Board of Social Service and Evangelism sometimes required St. Christopher's to share St. Christopher Camp with Evangel Hall. Incidentally, Alderman Wanless, who opposed CNH's original request for a playground shelter on the Elizabeth St. playground, was an active and generous supporter of Evangel Hall. See "The Church and Congested City Districts," Fortieth Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P*, 1914, 318-19.

<sup>106</sup>"The Church and Congested City Districts," Forty-First Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P* 1915, 350.

Since CNH lacked a campground during its first two summers, Neufeld put all of her energies into planning day outings; in her summer 1912 report she noted that 24 picnics had been held for children's groups of 30 to 35. In all, 350 children and 50 mothers got two picnics each, either at High Park or on the Island. Neufeld's day outing approach to 'Fresh Air' work was considered quite innovative at the time, mainly because of the degree of individual attention the participants received from the settlement workers. As the *Star* explained, "[t]he children are taken in small groups, and are thus given the benefit of personal supervision by the adult in charge of the party." CNH took full advantage of this opportunity to combine recreation with education, as the *Star* noted; "[g]ames, story-telling, and folk dances have been introduced into these outings, and the children have derived a considerable amount of useful information, as well as the far-reaching benefits of Fresh Air."<sup>107</sup> Neufeld noted that, partly as a result of the outings, many neighbourhood mothers had been reached, and many homes in the neighbourhood had been visited that had not been visited before. In addition, a few friends had groups of settlement members to their homes; two groups of children, one of mothers and babies, and one of working girls had been entertained in this way, and Neufeld said that it was "remarkable how much good this has done." She went on:

Yesterday ten young women, all girls working in factories went with me to the home of a friend in Weston where we spent the day. As a result of this, the girls are planning to start a fund for the purpose of purchasing land and starting a vacation [home] for working girls. I do not know if we will succeed. The girls will most certainly receive all the help that I can give them, but even if we fail I shall always feel that [it] is very much worth while to give people a chance to see things that are better and finer.<sup>108</sup>

It is interesting that, as with Helen Hart, Neufeld's main interest was in demonstrating "things

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<sup>107</sup>CTA SC5 J Box 1, file 1, "Newsclippings," "Gives Fresh Air Outings at Only 12 Cents Per Head," *Star* ([August 16 or 18, 1912]).

<sup>108</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for Summer 1912.

that are better and finer;" while for her this did not constitute 'things that are Christian,' clearly, it did include 'things that are middle class.'

Along with the day outings, CNH ran three boys' baseball teams, the nature study class for girls, an English class for women, and the boys' club activities two evenings a week in the summer of 1912. The settlement also turned its back yard into a toddlers' playground, for which the Parks Department provided sand for sand pits, which were immensely popular among the little children of the neighbourhood.<sup>109</sup> CNH followed much the same format in its second summer;<sup>110</sup> despite the settlement staff's hopes of giving each child one week in the country and, with the cooperation of Memorial Institute, providing some mothers with a two week vacation,<sup>111</sup> they were only able to send 20 children and a family of six to the country for two weeks.<sup>112</sup> For the rest, beginning on the first of June the settlement's programme consisted of daily picnics, weekly outings, and gardening on vacant lots for some of the boys. As Neufeld asserted, "[a]ll of the energy of the workers is concentrated in giving as much fresh air and sunshine to the children of the Ward as is possible," and they did that with the means that were available.<sup>113</sup> According to Neufeld, even a short time in the country could benefit children living in congested districts; rural beauty had its own uplifting qualities, and at the very least a picnic on the Island offered the opportunity to get away from

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<sup>109</sup>Ibid.

<sup>110</sup>In addition to establishing its summer camp, in 1913 Memorial also instituted day outings along similar lines to those of CNH. CBA, files, Memorial Institute, "Annual Report, 1913," 11.

<sup>111</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's Minutes, Headworker's Report for May 1913.

<sup>112</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's Minutes, Headworker's Report for July and August 1913.

<sup>113</sup>CTA, SC5 D, Box 1, file 4, CNH newsletter, August 1913.

the heat of the city, if only for a day, and to "in their primitive way discover the joys of close acquaintance with Mother Nature." As CNH's newsletter writer pointed out, many of the children had never seen the country before, and many of their mothers had not been outside the boundaries of the Ward since they arrived in the city.<sup>114</sup>

The outings were very popular among the neighbourhood families; Neufeld reported that by May 1913 there were already 300 children and 50 mothers on the list.<sup>115</sup> One incident marred these excursions early on, however; in June the Ontario Motor League arranged to take 200 of CNH's children under fourteen to Scarborough Beach for an all day picnic, but the League packed ham sandwiches in the lunches it provided. This prompted a number of Jewish parents whose dietary laws forbade the eating of pork to refuse to allow their children to go with CNH groups again, despite Neufeld's emphatic protests that the settlement had nothing to do with the food at this picnic. She remarked of the episode that "all though [sic] we have been in the neighborhood two years our neighbors are still watching for signs of proselatising [sic]."<sup>116</sup> It seems evident that, despite the staff's assurances, CNH's workers were not as close to some of their neighbours as they had hoped. Nevertheless, the settlement still took a total of 1150 mothers and children on day outings in the summer of 1913. Many of the members went on more than one outing, however, so the actual number of children accommodated was about 300. They went in groups of 20 to 40, four days a week, in June, July and August.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>114</sup>CTA, SC5 D, Box 1, file 4, CNH Newsletter, September, 1913.

<sup>115</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for May 1913. See also SC5 D Box 1 File 5, "Headworker's Annual Report," *CNH Yearbook, 1913*.

<sup>116</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for June 1913.

<sup>117</sup>CTA, SC5 D Box 1, file 4, CNH Newsletter, September 1913.

Opening the summer camp in 1914 was an important event for CNH. Regardless of its larger goals of citizenship training, the long-term health benefits were made a primary focus of the camp, according to the fund-raising literature. For example, in its newsletter for July of that year told prospective subscribers that at camp CNH workers would take their members and "feed them on pure food, send them out to play on the sand and paddle in the water, roll on the grass, give them a decent, clean bed to sleep in, and bring them back better able physically to stand the heat, and with the sustaining knowledge that there is hope of better days sometime."<sup>118</sup> Neufeld herself supervised the camp, leaving the city work in the charge of Mr Morgan, the boys' worker, and returning to the city once a week in order to discharge her executive duties.<sup>119</sup>

One reason that summer camps and outings to the country were so popular, of course, was because during the summer living conditions in Toronto's 'neglected districts' became grim indeed. The infant mortality rate skyrocketed with the rising temperatures, and the dust of unpaved streets and the stench of uncollected refuse and filthy, unserviced outdoor privies combined with a general lack of adequate facilities, in most homes, for bathing and cleaning, to lay a pall of grime and hardship over the neighbourhood, a pall which supervised playgrounds and settlement libraries could do little to alleviate.<sup>120</sup> In July 1911 Charles J. Hastings, Toronto's Medical Health Officer, published the findings of the investigation he

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<sup>118</sup>CTA, SC 5 D, Box 1, file 4, CNH Newsletter, July 1914.

<sup>119</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report, July 14, 1914.

<sup>120</sup>The misery apparently affected outsiders more than the residents themselves, for Elizabeth Neufeld claimed that her neighbours in the Ward remained cheerful, kind and friendly to everyone despite their circumstances. CTA, SC5 C Box 1, file 13, Elizabeth Neufeld, "Life in the Ward," typescript, October 28, 1915. See also SC5 J, Box 1, file 1, "Newsclippings, 1911-1930," "Central Neighborhood House," undated, unattributed clipping [November 1911] for another perspective on life in the Ward.

ordered into housing conditions in city's poorest areas. He provided evidence that a huge number of working class families and individuals were living in shockingly miserable conditions, and paying usurious rents for the privilege.<sup>121</sup> Hastings made it clear that the tenants did not live in overcrowded, dilapidated housing by choice, and his report spurred a number of civic reformers to begin to consider innovative strategies for housing the working class; curiously, though the Hastings report asserted that the problems most often originated with unscrupulous landlords, few reformers apparently felt themselves impelled to devise plans to compel these individuals to change their practices.<sup>122</sup>

The failure to devise regulations to force rental property owners to improve their housing stock and limit the rents they charge is interesting, particularly in light of an apparently common perception that the absentee slum landlords were themselves non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants.<sup>123</sup> Even Hastings asserted that "[t]he foreign element is ... responsible for these exorbitant rents, that is those of them who have been a few years in the country and have acquired property in these districts."<sup>124</sup> Yet Stephen A. Speisman has found that this was not true in the Ward, where Eastern European Jews made up by far the largest proportion

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<sup>121</sup>CTA, RG 11, Public Health Department Reports, Box 2, file 5, "Report of the Medical Health Officer Dealing with the Recent Investigation of Slum Conditions in Toronto, Embodying Recommendations for the Amelioration of the Same."

<sup>122</sup>Even in J.J. Kelso's "Can Slums be Abolished or Must We Continue to Pay the Penalty," (Toronto: n.p., n.d.), 3-14, in which Kelso pointed out that slum housing was usually owned by well-to-do landlords, there were few suggestions on how to force these individuals to ameliorate the conditions in which their tenants lived, other than to enforce the Public Health Act more zealously. For an overview of the approach of many prominent turn-of-the-century Canadians to civic reform see this and the other essays collected in Paul Rutherford, ed., *Saving the Canadian City: The First Phase 1880-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974). See also "The Settlement Movement," *University of Toronto Monthly* XI 2(December 1910): 34-36.

<sup>123</sup>See, for example, Augustus Bridle, "The Drama of the 'Ward,'" *Canadian Magazine* XXXIV, 1(November 1909): 3.

<sup>124</sup>Hastings, "Report on Slum Conditions," 20.

of the 'foreign element' living in rented accommodation, and where Hastings found the worst housing conditions.<sup>125</sup> Many non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants did operate boarding houses, however, which may have been the source of Hastings' contention; the 'lodger evil' was a phenomenon over which he went to great lengths to stamp out in subsequent years.<sup>126</sup>

In the period before the war a number of plans intended to improve housing for workers were proposed; indeed, Hastings himself suggested one in his 1911 report, and a number of architects and philanthropists also expressed their interest in investigating housing experiments which were being conducted in other parts of the world. Some of Toronto's settlement workers were interested as well; for example, in the winter of 1912 Mr. Symons, a Toronto architect who was also a member of CNH's Board, sent Elizabeth Neufeld to investigate housing strategies being tried in Baltimore, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington D.C., and in the spring of 1913 Neufeld also attended a conference on city planning as a delegate of the Local Council of Women.<sup>127</sup> Most settlement workers confined

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<sup>125</sup>Stephen A. Speisman, "St. John's Shtetl: the Ward in 1911," in Robert F. Harney, ed., *Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Toronto, 1985), 111-112.

<sup>126</sup>See Lillian Petroff, "Sojourner and Settler: the Macedonian Presence in the City, 1903-1940," in Harney, ed., *Gathering Place*, 183-84. See also CTA, RG 11 Box 167, Public Health Department, "Monthly Reports of the Medical Officer of Health, 1913." In his report to the CCCC in 1913, W.W. Lee, immigration secretary of the national Y.M.C.A. and noted authority on the subject of immigration, also discussed the detrimental social and physical effects of the 'lodger evil,' even as he explained the compelling reasons the men had for living in such wretched conditions. Like Hastings, he believed that the boarding house had to be eliminated. Michael Piva has noted that while there was a widespread perception that Toronto's housing problem was caused by scarcity, in fact there were many vacant houses. The real problem was high housing prices; Toronto had a high rate of owner-occupiers, but since houses were expensive, this led many home owners to take in entire families as boarders. See Michael J. Piva, *The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto - 1900-1921* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1979), 125-130.

<sup>127</sup>CTA, CNH Board of Director's minutes, "Headworker's Report, December 17, 1911 to January 18, 1912," and "Headworker's Report for April 1913."

their efforts to the improvements which might be possible from within the limits of the neighbourhood itself, however. Thus they launched neighbourhood beautification programmes, or simply demonstrated, through their improvements to the settlement house itself, what window boxes or a coat of paint could do to the exterior of a house. In April 1913, for example, Neufeld reported that she was hoping to put in a flower garden and window boxes so that "the House will serve as a real example to the neighborhood."<sup>128</sup> Of course, what Neufeld appears to have overlooked was that there would be very little incentive to make cosmetic improvements to houses which had serious structural problems, or were owned by landlords who might be inclined to raise the rent as a result of any repairs made by the tenants. But it was the intention to create spots of beauty in an otherwise sordid environment which guided her efforts, and it was probably also what lay behind Neufeld's annual request to C.E. Chambers, the Parks Commissioner, for 200 to 250 geraniums to distribute among the children participating in the settlement's annual spring festival. Each year, about one third of the plants survived long enough to be judged in the fall.<sup>129</sup>

Alone among the settlements, CNH became an outspoken champion of better lighting and garbage collection in the Ward, at least in part because its resident staff experienced at first hand the discomforts of abiding in this most poorly serviced area in the city.<sup>130</sup> As one

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<sup>128</sup>See Parker, "St. Christopher House," *passim*; CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for April 1913.

<sup>129</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for March 1912; see also SC 5 D Box 1, File 22, Headworker's Reports, (monthly), "April 1912"; SC5 D Box 1 File 5, "Headworker's Annual Report," *CNH Year Book, 1913*. See also *ibid.*, file 4, CNH newsletter, August 1913.

<sup>130</sup>Some scholars have remarked on St. Christopher's lack of interest in promoting civic improvements, but it should be recognized that the settlement was administered by the Board of Social Service and Evangelism, a national church body which had a mandate to promote improvements in housing, sanitation, and recreation; St. Christopher's staff may, with some justification, have felt that their Board would not welcome any independent efforts along these

worker explained,

[w]e know by daily endurance how hard it is, with plenty of hot water and service, and comparatively few people living in the house, how difficult it is to keep our house clean with an unpaved street, where the mud lies soft and deep for a long time after each rain. We know the discomfort of having our garbage pails stand in front of our house all day, and we share with the whole city the discomfort of uncovered garbage wagons. We walk in darkness, although preferring light, because the Hydro-Electric has not deigned to light its lamps on our street. We wait a week longer for our magazines, and we restlessly linger till half-past ten or eleven waiting for our mail each morning.<sup>131</sup>

Apparently, none of the other settlements worked as aggressively as did CNH to improve their neighbourhood conditions through collaborative action with other organizations, or through putting pressure on Toronto's city council independently. However, all the settlements did attempt to improve the general health of their area's residents through the most popular means then available to them: free medical dispensaries, baby clinics, and milk depots.

## VI

Turn-of-the-century Toronto was a very unhealthy place, as a number of scholars have pointed out, and this was not all due to poor, overcrowded housing. Rather, much of Toronto's poor public health record was due to inadequate or unenforced public health regulations. For example, until 1911 Toronto's water supply was rendered unsafe by the city's insistence on dumping its raw sewerage only a short distance from its water intake. Just as seriously, much of the city's milk supply was contaminated and improperly pasteurized, which was an important factor in Toronto's high infant mortality rate. As American cities

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lines. See, for example, "The Church and Congested City Districts," Forty-First Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P*, 1915, 348.

<sup>131</sup>CTA, SC5 J, Box 1, file 1, Newsclippings, 1911-1930, "Central Neighborhood House," [November 1911].

began to take measures to improve the health of their citizens, however, Toronto's civic officials resolved to take action as well, and in 1911 they doubled the public health department's annual budget.<sup>132</sup> Part of that extra disbursement went into measures to improve the city's milk supply. In 1911 the local public health department began testing milk, and inspecting and licensing the dairies which supplied Toronto, and in 1912 its health officials began confiscating and dumping contaminated deliveries, but these measures, though helpful, were still not enough; the department decided to open a number of milk depots, where poor families could obtain safe milk at low prices, as well.<sup>133</sup>

Milk depots were not entirely new to the city; in 1908 the Pure Milk League, a private organization, had established two depots, one on Edward St., in the Ward, and another in the Fred Victor Mission, and in the following year it established two more.<sup>134</sup> The settlements were also involved in early efforts to supply safe milk in their districts; in 1912 Evangelia and Memorial Institute started distributing milk which they obtained from the Hospital for Sick Children's pasteurizing plant, and beginning in the summer of 1912 the Home Economics Association provided clean milk to University Settlement as well as to a depot at Trinity Church.<sup>135</sup> These early efforts were consolidated at the end of August when, in consultation with the Department of Public Health and the Household Economics Association, the Hospital for Sick Children "agreed to supply pasteurized certified milk to any

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<sup>132</sup>Piva, *The Condition of the Working Class*, 116-119; see also Paul Adolfus Bator, "'The Struggle to Raise the Lower Classes': Public Health Reform and the Problem of Poverty in Toronto, 1910 to 1921," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 14, 1(Spring 1979), 43-49.

<sup>133</sup>Piva, *The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto*, 120.

<sup>134</sup>Ibid.

<sup>135</sup>CTA, RG 11, Department of Public Health, Box 69, file 2, staff records, Eunice Dyke, "Division of Public Health Nursing - 1911 - 1912 - 1913 - January 1914," 385-86.

milk depots which might be established in co-operation with the Department of Public Health," and the city agreed to deliver the milk to the depots which participated. The three settlements which then had milk depots - University Settlement, Memorial Institute, and Evangelia - all enrolled immediately, and soon after, the others joined them; St. Christopher House opened its milk depot in May 1913, and CNH and Riverdale Settlement opened theirs in June 1913, all three in cooperation with the Hospital for Sick Children and the Health Department.<sup>136</sup>

Milk at the depots was not usually free; in 1908 the Pure Milk League depots sold it for two cents per half pint to those who could pay, although those who could not were not charged. The settlements charged most of their clients for milk, too, although apparently at a subsidized rate. Evangelia reported that in the first ten months of 1913 its Milk Department sold 4947 quarts of plain milk and 5444 of "modified" milk (formula). The total cost of the milk distributed was \$1624.42, (about six and a half cents a quart) of which the parents of the "sick babies" paid \$1274. (Evangelia's depot cared for 54 babies per day, on average).<sup>137</sup> In 1908, before the health department began its campaign to improve the supply, the Pure Milk League bought pasteurized milk for 11 cents a quart, but in December 1913 the Hospital for

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<sup>136</sup>Dyke, "Division of Public Health Nursing," 384-85; "Infant Welfare Work Begun at Settlement," *Varsity* XXXII, 8(October 16, 1912), 1 and "Workers for Settlement Eat," *Varsity* (November 20, 1912), 4; "St. Christopher House," Thirty-Ninth Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P, 1913*, 290; CTA SC5 D, Box 1, file 4, Newsletter, September 1913, and file 5, *CNH Year Book, 1913*; Parker, "St. Christopher House," 8-9. Mabel Newton, a six-year veteran Sanitary Inspector and Health Visitor for the Tottenham District Council in England, was appointed head of the University settlement's fledgling women's programme in the summer of 1912, and it was she who ran the milk depot initially. See Hortense Catherine Fardell Wasteneys, "A History of the University Settlement of Toronto, 1910-1958: An Exploration of the Social Objectives of the University Settlement and of Their Implementation" (D.S.W. diss., University of Toronto, 1975), 76.

<sup>137</sup>UTA, A67-007/028, Falconer Papers, Edmund Osler, "Evangelia Settlement: Summary of Ten Months Work."

Sick Children wrote to Ware to inform him that after January 1, 1914 it would be its price to 15 cents per quart, a considerable increase over what Evangelia had been paying until just a few weeks earlier. This price hike may have been what prompted CNH to discontinue its milk depot in December 1913.<sup>138</sup>

The most important element of the milk depots, from the perspective of the Health Department and the settlements, at least, was that they were supervised by nurses, who visited in the homes of the families who got milk. High infant mortality was assumed to be due to both contaminated milk and to ignorance regarding the proper care of infants, and the nurses' job was essentially to remedy the latter problem.<sup>139</sup> Most settlements also opened weekly well-baby clinics, attended by a practising physician, in connection with their milk depots; initially the settlements provided their own nurses for these clinics, but gradually the Public Health Department took them over,<sup>140</sup> after which the public health nurses ran the depots, assisted in the clinics, and visited in their districts. Because of the shortage of nurses in the health department, some of these women worked at more than one clinic, a practice which was facilitated by the fact that in the first year most clinics were conducted only one day per

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<sup>138</sup>CTA, SC24 Q Box 1 File 1, University Settlement, Correspondence, 1913, Memo from the Hospital for Sick Children, December 22, 1913; Dyke, "Public Health Nursing," 384.

<sup>139</sup>Kari Dehli, "'Health Scouts' for the State? School and Public Health Nurses in Early Twentieth-Century Toronto," *Historical Studies in Education* 2, 2(Fall 1990): 247-264; Marion Royce, *Eunice Dyke, Health Care Pioneer: From Pioneer Public Health Nurse to Advocate for the Aged* (Toronto and Charlottetown: Dundurn Press, 1983).

<sup>140</sup>BR, S54, "History of Canadian Settlements," Book B, Notes on Riverdale Settlement, compiled by H.J. and C. Hogg. See also Dyke, "Public Health Nursing," 384; CTA, RG11, Box 167, Department of Public Health, "Monthly Reports of the Medical Officer of Health, 1913," May 1913, 109. The settlement nurses were often simply transferred to the public payroll, after which their work was coordinated through the health department's nursing division, although some were 'let go' and replaced. See DPH staff records, and CTA, Janet Neilson, "The History of Public Health Nursing in Toronto," typescript, (January 1945); see also Royce, *Eunice Dyke*, 46-47.

week, but which caused unhappiness among some settlement workers and members because the nurses were less familiar with their respective districts as a result.<sup>141</sup> The settlements also had little control over the nurses' activities, which may have been a source of some friction.<sup>142</sup> Frustration was not all on the side of the settlements, however; in September 1913 Eunice Dyke, the head of the health department's nursing division, remarked that the "staff of nurses is entirely inadequate and the lack of medical organization renders their work futile. The social agencies to a large extent abandon their regular activities [during the summer] for fresh air work, which is without doubt beneficial, but not to be substituted for the steady neighborhood work."<sup>143</sup> Part of the problem, according to Dyke, also lay in the fact that the doctors who consulted at the settlement clinics were volunteers, and apt to be irregular in their attendance. Evangelia rectified that problem somewhat by securing a corps of 12 doctors among its volunteers, and University Settlement could count on medical students, who were supervised by Dr. Hendry, a member of the University's medical faculty and of the University Settlement Board, but the other settlements were less fortunate in that regard.<sup>144</sup>

As for what actually happened in the milk depots and clinics, Neufeld explained in her 1913 annual report that in the clinics the child welfare nurses looked for babies that needed to be 'artificially' fed - that is, the babies were weighed, and those who were underweight were singled out for supplementary feeding. The clinic doctors and nurses also offered prenatal care

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<sup>141</sup>CTA, RG11, Box 167, Department of Public Health, Staff Records; see also Parker, "St. Christopher House," 8-9.

<sup>142</sup>CTA, RG11, Box 69, Department of Public Health, Staff Records, 44.

<sup>143</sup>CTA, RG11, Box 167, Monthly Reports, September, 1913.

<sup>144</sup>BR, S54, "History of Canadian Settlements," Book B, Notes on Evangelia Settlement; "The University Settlement," *University Monthly* XI, 4(February 1911), 115.

during these 'baby consultations.' The mothers of underweight or sick babies were invited to get their formula from the milk depot, which was open for an hour or two daily (six days a week at Memorial). In connection with the clinic the health department nurses also visited the babies in their homes, during which time they investigated the babies' family life, and instructed the mothers on how best to feed and care for their families. Neufeld maintained that the milk depot had brought CNH "in closer contact with the individual homes. We have tried to supply medical as well as legal help; we have hunted positions, acted as interpreter, co-operated with relief-giving agencies in providing material help. In other words we have tried to live the life of an ever-watchful and interested neighbor."<sup>145</sup> Neufeld claimed that caring for Ward babies provided a common interest and a spirit of understanding between the people and the Settlement, and this was the first step toward "the Canadianization of the immigrant and his or her total conversion to our national standards of life, methods and morals."<sup>146</sup>

This aspect of 'Canadianization' did not always run smoothly, however. Families sometimes resented the intrusion of the public health nurses, and while Neufeld herself was occasionally invited to private celebrations in the neighbourhood, she and her colleagues were most often regarded as outsiders and authority figures rather than as friends.<sup>147</sup> Moreover, in her June 1913 report, delivered only a few weeks after CNH's milk depot had been established, Neufeld expressed her frustration at how little settlement workers and district nurses could actually accomplish in terms of curbing infant mortality in the neighbourhood. In

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<sup>145</sup>CTA, SC 5 D Box 1 file 5, "Head Worker's Report," *CNH Year Book, 1913*.

<sup>146</sup>CTA, SC5 D Box 1, File 4, CNH Newsletter, September 1913. 18 babies were "under supervision" at CNH's milk depot in July and August, 1913; by October 1913 there were 10 babies in the milk depot; SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's Minutes, Headworker's Report for July and August 1913, and for October 1913.

<sup>147</sup>CTA, SC5 I, Box 1, file 1, CNH Record Book #2, Headworker's Report for November 1912; Kari Dehli, "'Health Scouts' for the State?," 247-264; Cumbo, "'Blazing the Trail,'" 79.

some cases the circumstances of the baby's life made its premature death seem almost inescapable: "all the babies we know we can not save." But while this was no doubt true, many more babies were being saved. The parenting advice may not have been helpful, or even considered, but the greater access to medical treatment must have preserved some. In her report for August 1914 Eunice Dyke noted that the deaths of all babies under two years old in the city was half what it had been in August 1913, and the deaths from enteritis in this group were one third of what they had been in the previous year. Much of this change was probably due to the stricter quality controls on milk, but the health department had also made a concerted effort to improve the calibre of neonatal care in the city by attempting to contact each baby under one year, by sending literature on infant hygiene to all new mothers, by opening new baby clinics in various parts of the city, and by holding the clinics biweekly instead of just weekly. The number of babies who were cared for at the settlement clinics during the summer of 1914 was fairly substantial: Riverdale had 57, of whom one died; Evangelia had 160, with three deaths; Memorial Institute had 117, with one death; St. Christopher House had 111, with one death; and University Settlement had 76 babies, none of whom died.<sup>148</sup> Even if the clinics could only offer short-term responses to deep, societally-based problems, and even if the numbers who attended the clinics represent only a fraction of the babies born in the city, it seems likely that the greater availability of free medical care in the clinics did improve, at least slightly, many babies' overall chances of surviving their infancy.

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<sup>148</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's Minutes, Headworker's Report for June 1913; RG11, Box 167, Medical Officer of Health, "Monthly Reports, 1914: Division of Child Hygiene," June 1914, 146 and August 1914, 198. CNH did not reopen its milk depot in 1914, although it did continue to run a baby clinic, in which Neufeld acted as interpreter, and public health nurses continued to call in to the settlement every day. Headworker's Report, July 14, 1914; DPH, Staff Records.

Nevertheless, Eunice Dyke, Charles Hastings and Helen MacMurchy all concurred, with varying degrees of conviction, with Elizabeth Neufeld's assertion that poverty was the root cause of high infant mortality.<sup>149</sup> It was, Neufeld remarked, a very disheartening aspect of settlement work. Indeed, she reported in June 1913 that one child she had been watching over died in the night recently. Its death, she thought, was the result of ignorance (whose, she does not say), bad housing, "and conditions which permit men to desert their wives," leaving mothers with the responsibility for both caring for and earning the keep of their babies. She declared that "[f]ighting of such conditions make the work seem very useless. Poles and Russians seem to find it hardest to get Canadianized"; that is, Polish and Russian men, according to Neufeld, had the hardest time accepting the middle-class, Anglo-Celtic variant of the sexual division of labour within the family, and were reluctant to accept the responsibilities accorded to them thereby.<sup>150</sup> Indeed, this aspect of the assimilation project should not be overlooked; the bourgeois family structure, after all, was considered the backbone of the Canadian social order. In her report for July and August 1913 Neufeld noted that intensive "family work" had been done with 21 families over the summer months, and this was likely work with 'at risk' families similar to the one she had described in her June report.<sup>151</sup>

Settlements were not just concerned with the health of infants, however, and most provided free dispensaries for adults, in addition to their baby clinics. In fact, the free

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<sup>149</sup>Dyke, "Public Health Nursing," 382; Piva, *The Condition of the Working Class*, 125; Bator, "The Struggle to Raise the Lower Classes," 45.

<sup>150</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for June 1913.

<sup>151</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for July and August 1913.

dispensary was one of the first services to be organized at University Settlement; in January 1911 *The Varsity* reported that "[a] doctor and one or two medical students are on duty each evening from 7.30 to 8.30 to attend to any patient who may apply for medicine or treatment. Fifty cases have been looked after so far. Six doctors have given their time voluntarily to the work, the dispensary being under the general supervision of Dr. W.B. Hendry."<sup>152</sup> W.A. Scott, the medical student who was one of the first resident workers at the University Settlement, had organized the dispensary, which became so popular among the men and boys of the neighbourhood that they had frequently had to keep it open for an extra hour. The number of treatments given at the clinic rose steadily over that first year, as did the number of student volunteers and the services offered; a dental chair, attended each evening by senior dental students, was added sometime in January 1911, and a weekly tuberculosis clinic, in the charge of a health department nurse, was opened in October of that year.<sup>153</sup> In February 1914, when the health department's child welfare and tuberculosis nursing divisions were amalgamated, University Settlement, by virtue of its having both a tuberculosis and a baby clinic (both directed by health department nurses), and as a result of its recently concluded move to larger quarters, became one of the three district centres established to coordinate public health nursing in the city.<sup>154</sup>

University Settlement's tuberculosis clinic was unique among the settlements' medical

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<sup>152</sup>"Work Being Done at the Settlement," *The Varsity* 30, (January 6, 1911): 1.

<sup>153</sup>"The University Settlement," *University Monthly* XI, 4(February 1911): 114-16; Dyke, "Public Health Nursing," 391. In June 1911 the *University Monthly* reported that the settlement's dispensary had 100 patients and had given 250 treatments. See "The University Settlement," *University Monthly* XI, 8(June 1911): 379-380.

<sup>154</sup>CTA, RG11, Box 167, Monthly Reports, MOH, 1914, "February 1914"; "How Undergrad Learns to Shed His Happiness," *Toronto Star*, April 18, 1914, 23. This *Star* report notes that five public health nurses made University Settlement their headquarters, and that the move was made in order to "unify the work of the city with that of the University."

services, but it was by no means the most ambitious undertaking initiated by a settlement during that time; Evangelia, for its part, opened its own three-bed infirmary, where for two dollars settlement members could have their tonsils or adenoids removed. Indeed, Evangelia's medical department was the largest of all the settlements; for example, the dispensary saw 2511 patients in the first ten months of 1913 and reported giving 1041 unspecified treatments, 795 prescriptions (for which the settlement charged a small fee), and 84 adenoid and tonsil operations. In addition, it held 187 clinics, and the nurses and settlement workers attached to the dispensary paid 3276 friendly visits. The settlement's nursing staff and volunteers also attended confinements and offered post-natal nursing. Among its corps of volunteer doctors Evangelia counted a Dr. Wells, who was an ophthalmologist, a Dr. Gardiner, a nose and throat specialist, and Dr. Isabel Woods, a gynaecologist.<sup>155</sup>

While the work of the other settlements was on a smaller scale than University's or Evangelia's, their relationship with the health department was just as cordial. CNH, for example, began collaborating with the city nurses in October 1912, and in January 1913 Neufeld reported that she and her staff were "doing a considerable amount of visiting in cooperation with the City Health Department and the School Nurses." This cooperation continued even after CNH discontinued its milk depot in December of that year.<sup>156</sup> While

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<sup>155</sup>UTA, A67-007/028, Falconer Papers, Edmund Osler, "Evangelia Settlement: Summary of Ten Months Work." See also BR, S54, "History of Canadian Settlements" Book B, Notes on Evangelia.

<sup>156</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for October 1912, Headworker's Report for January 1913, and Headworker's Report for July and August 1913. See also RG11, Box 69, DPH, "Staff Records," which show that at least one city nurse reported to CNH on a daily basis from October 1912 onward. CNH began its medical work with a VON nurse, but the arrangement did not work out because, as Neufeld said, "the restrictions made by the policy of the Victorian Order as to the work the nurse was permitted to do made it difficult for her to meet the present needs of the Settlement in reaching the homes of the neighborhood for extension." Within a few months the VON was asked to withdraw from the settlement, and the settlement carried on its district visiting on its own until the Public Health

CNH ended its foray into milk distribution, it continued to experiment with new ideas and forms of treatment. For example, in March 1914 Neufeld reported her plans to establish a "clinic for the silver cure" to treat some CNH boys who were 'cigarette fiends.' While she did not oppose smoking as such, she did, she said, "object to anything which means lack of control."<sup>157</sup>

## VII

District visiting in connection with the health department brought to light a number of cases of dire need among the various settlements' clientele, and though the workers all declared emphatically that a settlement's job did not include the distribution of relief, they all attempted to alleviate their neighbours' distress in one way or another. Most often, that meant putting people in touch with local relief agencies, either private or public.<sup>158</sup> Settlement staff also acted as caseworkers for some of the local charity organizations, when asked. For example, Elizabeth Neufeld reported in May 1913 that the sanitary inspector and the Hebrew Charities had asked CNH to take over all their cases in the Ward, and noted that "our list will no doubt reach the 500 mark soon"; Milton Hunt, for his part, had his staff and volunteers

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Department expanded its nursing services to include CNH's district. SC5 I, Box 1, file 1, CNH Record Book #2, Headworker's Report, November 21, 1911; Organization Committee minutes, November 28, 1911.

<sup>157</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report, March 10, 1914. A 'silver cure' clinic was also established at the Boy's Dominion headquarters at Moss Park. See Parks and Recreation, RG 12, H, Box 1, "Boys' Dominion Scrapbooks."

<sup>158</sup>CBA, "Memorial Institute, Annual Report for 1913," 11. Helen Hart and Sara Carson would attempt to link British immigrants in need with church groups, as well as with charitable agencies, and at times the two women also made anonymous donations to especially destitute families. Parker, "St. Christopher House," 7.

visit relief cases for the Associated Charities.<sup>159</sup> According to the Associated Charities report for the winter of 1907/08, Evangelia, which was a member agency of this umbrella organization, 'helped' 255 families over the course of the winter - apparently, this meant that the settlement gave direct aid of some kind to these families, regardless of the widely proclaimed and longstanding injunctions against such practices within the general movement. At the request of the Associated Charities, Evangelia also disclosed a complete list of its aid recipients with its report in order to help prevent 'overlap' with other member agencies.<sup>160</sup>

The vast number of private relief agencies which they had to call upon for the support of their needy members prompted the settlements to establish three 'district case conferences' in the city. Milton Hunt helped to organize the west district conference, which met at University Settlement, soon after he arrived in Toronto in September 1911. The east district conference was organized in October 1911 and met at Evangelia, while the central district conference, which met at Fred Victor Mission beginning in January 1913, largely came about through the efforts of Elizabeth Neufeld.<sup>161</sup> Charles Hastings was an ardent supporter of the

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<sup>159</sup>CTA, SC5 B Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for May 1913. Allan Irving, Harriet Parsons and Donald Bellamy, *Neighbours: Three Social Settlements in Downtown Toronto* (Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press, 1995), 90.

<sup>160</sup>The Associated Charities was superseded in October 1912 by the Social Service Commission, whose purpose it was to cut costs and supervise and rationalize charities which received money from the City. James Pitsula, "The Emergence of Social Work in Toronto," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 14, 1(Spring 1979), 37-39. Appointed by City Council, and comprised of five businessmen, the SSC "applied a business ethos to charity," demanding "uniform accounting practices, budget statements, and complete reports." It withheld grants from charities it thought overlapped with others and sought to reduce the number of people cared for inside orphanages, Old Age Homes, and in the House of Industry. Many philanthropic groups detested it. See, for example, Margaret Foster, *The First Fifty Years: A History of the University Women's Club of Toronto 1903-1953* (Toronto: Hunter Rose Co., [1953]), 16; and J.M. Pitsula, "The Relief of Poverty in Toronto, 1880-1930" (Ph.D. diss, York, 1979), 233.

<sup>161</sup>Neufeld noted in her report for December 1912 that the Central District Case Conference had been organized, explaining that it was a meeting of representatives from all organizations in the neighbourhood for cooperation in planning for the relief of local families, and noting that

case conferences, as were many private social agency representatives, mainly because the conferences acted as desperately needed coordinating bodies. As Awdry Brown noted in his annual report for 1913:

A fortnightly meeting of the West Social Conference of church visitors, relief agents, school nurses, child welfare nurses and others meets at University Settlement, a non-sectarian 'centre, advising with one another on individual cases and general methods. Our Director [Brown] served as chairman last year and was just recently re-elected for another year. A similar conference for the east end meets at Evangelia Settlement, and recently a conference has been organized for the central district. The officers of these conferences together form a Joint Executive with our Director as chairman. The Joint Executive opened a confidential exchange to systematize Christmas giving. Over 9000 cases were tabulated. This followed upon a preliminary exchange carried on by the West Conference for the Fresh Air work of the district. Such organization goes far to prevent overlapping, unwise relief and superficiality in all our work.<sup>162</sup>

The public health department played a central role in the attempt to coordinate social agencies in the city through these organizations. Not only did the department help to establish the case conferences, but in 1914 it persuaded the member agencies of the district conferences to transform their alliances into the Neighbourhood Workers' Association (NWA).<sup>163</sup> The three case conference secretaries became the staff of the new organization, with the city's

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similar conferences had been organized in the east and west ends of the city in the previous year. She noted, perhaps in oblique reference to the report on social welfare in the downtown which Alderman Wanless had submitted to the Parks Commission a few months earlier, that there were so many organizations in the Ward that an organization of this kind had seemed almost impossible to create. CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for December 1912. Neufeld was elected secretary of Central Case Conference, and was therefore obliged to return to the city once a week during the summer of 1914 to discharge her duties in this capacity. Headworker's Report, July 14, 1914.

<sup>162</sup>CBA, "Memorial Institute, Annual Report for 1913," 13. See also CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for December, 1913, in which Elizabeth Neufeld discusses her role, in her capacity as Secretary of the Joint Conference, in organizing the Christmas exchange.

<sup>163</sup>Jacqueline Gale Wills, "Efficiency, Feminism and Cooperative Democracy: Origins of the Toronto Social Planning Council, 1918-1957" (Ph.D. diss, University of Toronto, 1989), 96.

Social Service Commission (SSC) paying their salaries.<sup>164</sup> Arthur Burnett, who had returned to Toronto in October 1913 to go to work for the health department after completing his studies at the New York School of Philanthropy, was elected the general secretary of the NWA.<sup>165</sup>

Burnett's position was a delicate one. When the nursing department was reorganized in February 1914 he became head of the Division of Public Service, a position which left him "free to develop [sic] the social work of the Department of Public Health in relationship to that of other civic and voluntary agencies." His mandate was to direct the nurses in those phases of social work which in his judgment were within their scope, but this caused a great deal of dissension in the department; according to Eunice Dyke's biographer, Dyke concurred with Burnett's hiring, and may even have suggested it, but the two frequently came into conflict over their respective supervisory duties.<sup>166</sup> One problem, according to Eunice Dyke, was that the nurses required additional training in order to do the job the way Burnett wanted it done. Moreover, their jurisdiction was not clear; there were three municipal agencies which were involved with social work - the Social Service Commission, the City Relief Office and the House of Industry - as well as the multifarious private organizations, and they all seemed to be jockeying for power. Indeed, Burnett may have taken on the role of NWA secretary in an effort to gain some control over one of the most important of these organizations.<sup>167</sup>

There were several reasons why the settlements were so deeply involved in the

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<sup>164</sup> This caused some conflict, as both the NWA and the SSC claimed supervisory authority over the secretaries. See Bator, "The Struggle to Raise the Lower Classes," 46.

<sup>165</sup>CTA, RG 11, Box 69, file 2 - DPH, staff records, Arthur Burnett, 358.

<sup>166</sup>Royce, *Eunice Dyke*, 56-58.

<sup>167</sup>CTA, RG11, Box 69, file 2, DPH, Staff Records, 358. Burnett finally quit in 1917.

establishment and administration of the case conferences and the NWA, but the most powerful was that, since the general policy was that settlements did not give relief themselves, they needed access to as many charities as possible in order to supply the needs of the settlement clientele. In the years immediately prior to the war Toronto went through another severe depression similar to the one it experienced in 1907-08. There were many unemployed men in particular who were seeking relief, yet the number of immigrants to the city continued to rise, and like most social agencies, the settlements were extremely concerned. In October 1913 CNH's Board unanimously passed a resolution stating that "the meeting view with concern the many indications of a large amount of unemployment in Toronto during the coming winter and would urge city council to take active measures to immediately face the situation and especially to take whatever steps may be necessary to prevent any further influx of the unemployed into the city from other parts of the country and that copies of this resolution be sent to the Mayor, Board of Control and the aldermen representing this Ward."<sup>168</sup> As for positive measures, University Settlement initiated an investigation of the city's private employment agencies, and established its own agency in an "attempt to learn how it should and should not be done."<sup>169</sup> The city created an employment bureau as well, which the public health nurses assisted by visiting all the first bureau registrants; the nurses were instructed to connect the registrants to their local clergyman or relief agency where the situation warranted it, for the city could not assist them all.<sup>170</sup> CNH also did some investigations for the civic employment bureau, reportedly in the hopes that it would bring the

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<sup>168</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, October 14, 1913.

<sup>169</sup>UTA, B79-0059/035, Student Christian Movement, "The Futurist Number," 7.

<sup>170</sup>CTA, RG11, box 69, file 2, DPH, "Staff Records," 371.

settlement closer to the neighbourhood.<sup>171</sup>

Mostly, however, the settlements just tried to secure work for their members, or barring that, relief.<sup>172</sup> For example, in late December of 1913 University Settlement placed an advertisement in some of the local papers asking for work for its members. Only two responses have survived, each offering short-term odd jobs like cleaning cellars, chopping wood, and varnishing wood floors.<sup>173</sup> Long-term work was harder to come by, and in their efforts to help secure more stable positions for their members, settlement workers were not above using whatever informal networks were available to them. For example, in March 1914 John Blackhall, the supervisor of the money order department of the Dominion Express Company wrote in response to an inquiry from Ware that although his company had been laying off people, he would do what he could to find some work for a settlement member. He noted, however, that "[w]e will, of course, be obliged to be very careful where we place such a man."<sup>174</sup> It is not certain that Ware used his social connections to gain this job lead, but it seems likely considering another instance, in which the 'old boys' network helped Norman Ware to secure workmen's compensation for one of his members. In September 1913 Ware wrote to Albert Matthews, owner of the Matthews-Laing Abattoir, on behalf of a man who

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<sup>171</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report, February 11, 1914. It appears that Memorial Institute may also have done some investigation for the Civic Employment Agency. See CBA, "Memorial Institute Annual Report, 1913," 9. Certainly the University Settlement did some district visiting for the civic bureau, see RG 11 Box 69, "Staff Reports," 371.

<sup>172</sup>In her annual report for 1913 Neufeld noted that CNH had, among other things, looked for work for its members, interpreted, and worked with local charities to provide food and fuel. CTA, SC5 D Box 1 file 5, "Headworker's Annual Report," *CNH Yearbook, 1913*.

<sup>173</sup>CTA, SC24 Q Box 1, File 1, University Settlement Correspondence, 1913.

<sup>174</sup>CTA, SC24 Q Box 1 File 2, University Settlement Correspondence, 1914, John Blackhall to Norman Ware, March 12, 1914.

had been injured while working at the Abattoir and who had over the past month tried without success to get some compensation from the company. Ware set out the man's case, and then in closing asked "Do you remember me for the son of the Rev. Henry Ware of Lindsay? I met you in Ottawa some time ago." Matthews replied by return post, telling Ware that the company had insurance for occurrences such as these, and that the injured man should come in and ask for Mr. Park, who had been alerted to the case.<sup>175</sup> It would be difficult to say whether the injured man's claim would have received such prompt attention from an executive of the firm if the letter had been written by someone who could not draw on a former acquaintance, but it seems unlikely, since Ware himself was initially unsuccessful when he telephoned the company and put the case before its superintendent. Milton Hunt and Norman Ware and their staffs handled several cases like this, as did all the settlements, to varying degrees of success depending, perhaps, on the ability of the settlement staff member to call upon powerful friends and relatives.<sup>176</sup>

But even with powerful friends the best the settlements could do, most of the time, was to provide a stop-gap. A growing perception among some members of the welfare community was that by failing to ease the unemployment situation the government was not fulfilling its obligations to promote the welfare of its citizens. This seemed to be the

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<sup>175</sup>BR, S54, letter from Norman Ware to Mr. Albert Matthew, September 19, 1913.

<sup>176</sup>See CTA, SC24 Q Box 1 file 1, University Settlement Correspondence, 1913, Wm. Simmons to Dr. Ware, and Wm. Simmons to Miss Newton, and notes re: Simmons' case; A. Braybrook to Mr. Ware, January 1914; Mrs. Lester to Miss Sellers, December 30 1913. This last letter was apparently written to a philanthropist in the Earls Court area, who offered the writer and her family some short-term aid, and then wrote to Milton Hunt to ask him to "have something done to relieve their want," apparently under the impression that the University Settlement was a relief agency. See also file 2, University Settlement Correspondence 1914-15, Helen Hart, St. Christopher House, to Miss [Mono] McLaughlin, February 9, 1914, regarding her investigations of some local families in need of relief. Some of the board members of most settlements were manufacturers and business owners, and this likely provided an avenue to employment for some settlement members at least.

conclusion reached by CNH's Board in March 1914, when after a long discussion the sentiment which emerged was that the civic and provincial authorities should be taking some more definite action to alleviate unemployment than they had done so far.<sup>177</sup>

Poverty and unemployment brought with them family tensions, as did the immigration experience by itself, often, and the settlements from time to time reported that they had been called in by either a neighbour or a social agency to smooth over family disputes. Through these intercessions the settlement workers sometimes gained some insights into the growing problem of juvenile delinquency in the immigrant community. Some settlements also worked in partnership with the juvenile court system, providing a place for probation officers to meet their 'boys' and thus got the institutional perspective as well.<sup>178</sup> The settlements' cooperation in this area may have been, in part, a response to statistical evidence which W.W. Lee, the YMCA National Council's Immigration Secretary, said indicated that while adult immigrants from eastern and southern Europe were less inclined to crime than their British, American, and Anglo-Canadian counterparts, the children of these immigrants tended toward malfeasance in far greater numbers than their Anglo-Celtic counterparts. According to Lee, the problem was part of larger questions such as the breakdown of the immigrant family, and the inherent ethnocentrism of many assimilationist programmes. He maintained that the tendency of the Anglo-Canadian population to despise the parents of these children encourages the children themselves to do the same. Moreover,

[t]he majority of these children are attending our schools, learning our language and absorbing our customs. The time comes when the child has to be interpreter of this new Canadian life to the parents, and very soon there is a

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<sup>177</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH-Board of Director's Report, March 10, 1914.

<sup>178</sup>For example, in September 1912 Neufeld reported that the probation officer, Mrs. Cummings, met a group of her boys at CNH on Wednesday evenings. CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for September 1912.

tendency for the child to first lose respect for and then begin to despise the parents. Then sets in that abnormal home relationship when parental control is entirely lacking and of which the Juvenile Court records show the results.<sup>179</sup>

The situation, Lee argued, cried out for a solution which preserved immigrant children's pride in their heritage: this was something which Jane Addams had been attempting to do at Hull-House for more than twenty years.<sup>180</sup>

St. Christopher's Sara Carson reported that helping parents to gain control of their wayward children was an important avenue toward gaining their neighbours' gratitude, and thereafter their trust.<sup>181</sup> But while people were distressed when their boys got into trouble with the law, wayward girls, it seems, were almost a greater cause for concern.<sup>182</sup> The possibility of recalcitrant girls being judged sexual delinquents within the wider community was very real, since the definition of respectability for women was still very narrow in the prewar era, and most viewed sexual delinquency in girls as the almost inevitable precursor to their entry into prostitution. Elizabeth Neufeld was particularly interested in investigating prostitution as an issue of concern to middle-class women. In the report for April 1913 Neufeld noted that CNH (meaning herself) had recently 'guided' four university students in a survey of the brothels in the third and fourth wards. The students got the owners' names "and full information about the houses" plus the names of fifteen prostitutes "and some of the causes of their downfall." In all, 35 houses were investigated. Neufeld asserted that the report

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<sup>179</sup>W.W. Lee, "Immigration and Its Effects on Canadian Life," Fourteenth Canadian Conference of Charities and Corrections, Proceedings (Winnipeg, 1913): 21-22.

<sup>180</sup>Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (New York: Macmillan, 1910), 231-58.

<sup>181</sup>"St. Christopher House, Toronto," Thirty-Ninth Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P*, 1913, 289.

<sup>182</sup>See Carolyn Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 134-139.

was a valuable indicator of city conditions, thought it was limited in both its scope and its depth. It was beyond the abilities of CNH to mount a more exhaustive study, but Neufeld managed to persuade the Local Council of Women, on the strength of her prostitution inquiry, to begin an ambitious survey, using a trained American worker, of "Women in Industry" in Toronto.<sup>183</sup>

The interest of middle-class women's groups in the subject of working-class women wage-earners in Toronto had not abated since 1902, when Evangelia Settlement was first established. Indeed, in February 1913, just a few months before Neufeld reported the plans for the local Council of Women study, the University Women's Club received a report from its Industrial and Social Sections, or committees (which were headed by Edith Elwood), noting that as a result of a number of investigations of female wage earners, it had become apparent that many 'girls' did not receive sufficient wages to cover their daily needs. As a result some were undernourished and had been forced into prostitution. Elwood remarked that while the average female wage earner was, nevertheless, "courageous and unassailable in virtue," her vitality was sapped by such hardships. Since these were the future mothers of Canadians, the situation threatened the future of Canadian citizenship itself. It was imperative that legislation for a minimum wage be enacted, one which would guarantee at least \$6 for a 48 hour week.<sup>184</sup>

Yet while settlement workers were vitally interested in the lives of working people, and acknowledged, especially in the case of working women, that their wages were insufficient, with the exception of CNH this concern did not extent to their openly supporting

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<sup>183</sup>CTA, SC5 D Box 1 File 22, CNH, Headworker's Reports, monthly, April 1913.

<sup>184</sup>UWCA, Edith C. Elwood, "Public Interests - Recommendation by the Industrial and Social Sections, February 1913."

strikers, trades unionists, or radical political groups. Part of the reason was simply that they were being pragmatic; since they were dependent upon subscriptions, particularly from local businessmen and professionals, they could not afford to antagonize those they hoped would finance their work. In supporting the interests of both their members and their benefactors, the best they could hope for was to be allowed to remain uninvolved. It was a position which rankled Elizabeth Neufeld. At the NCCC conference in 1914 she noted,

When we put up buildings from moneys collected from wealthy people, perhaps from the very same people who are sweating and underpaying our neighbors in their factories and department stores, and then plan these buildings to serve the needs of the working classes, we forget that there is an increasing spirit of self respect abroad that prevents many from entering our settlement doors. This spirit may not be quite new, but with the ever-growing warfare between capital and labor, it is affecting an ever widening circle.<sup>185</sup>

For Neufeld, the answer was to teach settlement users the principles of self-government, develop community services in the neighbourhood, and then turn the lot over to the neighbourhood residents: to avoid institutionalizing the settlement, in other words. As she said, "in a real democracy leadership makes people their own masters."<sup>186</sup> When settlement workers engaged in institution-building, she said, they left themselves open to being "controlled by the vested interests," and therefore unresponsive to the needs of their membership.<sup>187</sup> Settlement workers could not promote real democracy in their communities if they were put in a position of having to curb their neighbours' right to self-determination, and this they would have to do if, worrying about keeping the patronage for the institutions themselves, the settlements refused to support strikers or champions of radical political

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<sup>185</sup>Elizabeth B. Neufeld, "The Development of Existing Neighborhood Activities," National Conference of Charities and Corrections *Proceedings, 1914* (Fort Wayne IN: Fort Wayne Printing Co., 1914), 407.

<sup>186</sup>*Ibid.*, 410.

<sup>187</sup>*Ibid.*, 409.

movements. In order for them to provide real leadership to their neighbourhoods, settlements had to be truly on their neighbours' side. For Neufeld the most important thing was to inculcate in her neighbours the principles of democracy, but in order to do that settlement workers had to genuinely advance them, not just by creating community services like libraries and medical dispensaries, but by allowing their members to express themselves "whether we accept what is expressed or not."<sup>188</sup>

This was why, in the winter of 1912, Neufeld told her board that it was a hopeful sign that the Eaton's strikers turned to CNH. As she remarked, "[t]here seemed to be a feeling that the Settlement was vitally interested in the welfare of the working people."<sup>189</sup> For Neufeld, the fact that the strikers used CNH as a meeting place indicated that the settlement, as a representative of the democratic ideals for which the community as a whole stood, was becoming a centre for the neighbourhood. As such its staff and volunteers could fulfil their obligations to provide their neighbours with the kind of leadership which might help them to develop their 'best selves.' Her assumptions were premature, however; no other group of strikers used CNH as a base, and indeed it seems clear that with the establishment of a growing number of social agencies which offered specific kinds of community services - services like libraries and well-baby clinics which the settlements themselves had pioneered - as well as the development of ethnic and class-based organizations, none of the settlements became as central to their neighbourhoods as their organizers had hoped they would be.

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<sup>188</sup>Ibid., 408.

<sup>189</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for February 1912. For an interesting account of the 1912 Eaton's strike, see Ruth Frager, *Sweatshop Strife: Class, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Jewish Labour Movement of Toronto, 1900-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

Settlement workers' definition of community, and their approach to its (re)creation, had profound effects on the way that they went about developing community services in their neighbourhoods. Services like the ones outlined above had a variety of purposes on a variety of levels, but perhaps the most important one was to help establish that sense of community which many commentators of the time thought had been lost to, or was under threat from, the forces of industrialism and what they considered to be precipitate heterogeneous immigration. The settlement workers tended not to make clear statements on their position with regard to Canada's immigration policy; they argued instead that whether or not Anglo-Canadians liked it, Southern and Eastern European immigrants had arrived and they were going to stay. As the newsletter writer for CNH asserted:

Canada wants these people. Our government makes strenuous efforts to attract them. But when they do arrive they must be taught. We endanger our own civilization if we fail to teach them, and we neglect our duty.<sup>190</sup>

While it may be that some of this rhetoric of danger was aimed at boosting settlements' fundraising bids, it is still clear that even among the advocates of CNH, Toronto's most 'progressive' settlement house, there were some - perhaps many - who at least tacitly regarded 'unassimilated' immigrants as a danger to Anglo-Canadian cultural hegemony. Even Elizabeth Neufeld seems to have shared this view. According to proponents of the settlement movement, this danger could be abated if middle-class Anglo-Canadians did their 'duty' and supported settlement work. As we will see in the next chapter, the twin spectres of danger and duty were two of the most powerful arguments that settlement advocates put forward in their fundraising and volunteer recruitment drives.

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<sup>190</sup>CTA, SC5 D, Box 1, file 4, CNH newsletter, August 1913.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### ADVANCING THE IDEAL:

#### FUNDING, STAFFING, AND ADMINISTERING THE SETTLEMENTS

Who, properly, should fund, staff and control welfare institutions, either private or public? Should it be their clients, their trained employees, their benefactors - or all three? If the latter, how do the various constituencies determine the distribution of power between them, since each of the groups has a vested, yet distinctive interest in the way their institutions are run? These were some of the most difficult issues Toronto's settlements faced in the period leading up to the advent of the Great War, and indeed they have continued to trouble welfare agencies of capitalist democracies until the present day.

In examining the settlement movement in Toronto, some very basic questions present themselves. Who actually funded settlement work, and why? How was their cooperation secured, or that of the people who volunteered to teach classes, lead clubs, coach sports teams, and so on? And how was status determined among the resident workers and the volunteers who staffed the settlements prior to the establishment, at the University of Toronto in the autumn of 1914, of Canada's first professional training programme for social workers? More generally, what was the nature of the relationship between settlement volunteers, staff and their boards of directors? How were settlement board members selected, why did they become involved, and what were their duties? And where, exactly, did the clients fit in? These are some of the questions we will examine in this chapter.

On one level issues of power seem fairly simple to resolve; those who funded the

settlements through their annual, or more frequent, subscriptions could presumably exert an enormous amount of control, particularly if their subscriptions were large, simply through possessing the power to withdraw their financial support. According to Diana Pedersen, this was a problem faced by many of the turn-of-the-century philanthropic institutions which were created and run by women but were funded largely by men. Pedersen argues that middle-class men and women had very different approaches to urban reform, yet women were forced, by their lack of capital and political strength, to adjust their approach, and to 'sell' their enterprises in a particular way in order to satisfy their male patrons' reservations and needs.<sup>1</sup> Was it the same for settlement proponents? Certainly, as we saw in Chapter Five, there is evidence that settlements geared their enrolment reports to their intended audience, and this indicates that settlers were under pressures from benefactors similar to those noted by Pedersen. But the situation was complicated by the increasing trend toward the professionalization of settlement work, for in this age of professionalization experts possessed a potent source of power of their own. It was complicated also by the indispensability of the volunteer, without whom settlements could not hope to run their many programmes. Moreover, in a city which offered an ever-expanding number of commercial amusements and denominational welfare agencies, as well as a developing structure of ethnic and working-class associations and support networks, settlement clients themselves could exert a considerable degree of influence through exercising their growing power of choice.

## I

Fundraising was, for most settlements, a constant challenge. Even those settlements with wealthy benefactors, like Evangelia and St. Christopher House, or those with some form

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<sup>1</sup>Diana Pedersen, "'Building Today for the Womanhood of Tomorrow': Businessmen, Boosters, and the YWCA, 1890-1930," *Urban History Review* XV, 3(February 1987), 225.

of institutional backing, like Memorial Institute and University Settlement, could not avoid the pressure, for none of the settlements received funds sufficient to cover all their needs. For Memorial Institute and St. Christopher House there was an additional challenge as well, because they had to ensure that they satisfied the sometimes conflicting demands of prominent leaders in their respective denominations as well as the those of their clients. Central Neighborhood House, which had neither a wealthy benefactor nor an institutional sponsor, had a different, but perhaps more perplexing problem in that it had to secure its operating capital from a wide variety of individuals and groups.

But how were Toronto's settlements financed, and who financed them? We know from Chapters Five and Six that fees and dues charged to clients were one source of funding, and that small as these charges were, they contributed to the operating costs of the settlement. In fact, the fundraising letter for Evangelia that E.B. Osler and three of his colleagues sent out in 1905 revealed that this settlement's operating costs were then over \$3000 per annum, and that the members themselves contributed about \$400 of this sum - a not inconsiderable amount in light of the ages (most of Evangelia's members were between six and twenty at this time), gender (membership was only opened to men and boys subsequent to the writing of this letter), and earning potential of the settlement's clientele, many of whom were still at public school.<sup>2</sup> According to the report for 1913, these costs had risen by then to \$16,000, over and above the dues and fees paid by members and classes.<sup>3</sup> In contrast, Central Neighbourhood House, which is the only other settlement for which records of the amounts brought in by

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<sup>2</sup>BR, M.S. files, Evangelia House, "1905 - Dear." Sarah Carson and her resident workers contributed another \$500-\$600, and the rest came from irregular and casual subscriptions.

<sup>3</sup>UTA, A67-0007/028, Falconer Papers, Edmund B Osler, "Evangelia Settlement: Summary of Ten Months Work from 1st January to 1st November, 1913," November 19, 1913. Unfortunately, this report did not specify the total amount collected through dues and fees.

membership fees have survived, collected only \$51.35 from its members in 1912, out of its total receipts of \$2178.20, and \$65.00 out of a total of \$5516.84 in 1913.<sup>4</sup> Neither of these amounts include club dues or moneys raised by settlement members on their own toward athletic uniforms and other house expenses, but nevertheless it is clear that settlement proponents could not hope to cover the operating and maintenance costs of the institutions through fees to members.<sup>5</sup>

Nor would they have wanted to, even if it were possible. The primary focus of the settlement movement was to bring together the classes and to illustrate their interdependence, but as we have seen, its proponents conceived of this interdependence in an idiosyncratic way; they maintained that the working class, and immigrants in particular, needed the leadership and guidance of the middle class, while the middle class essentially needed to recognize and

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<sup>4</sup>CTA, D, Box 1, file 2, The Central Neighborhood House *Year Book, 1912* and file 5, *Year Book, 1913*. It is interesting to note that University Settlement did not include any membership dues or fees in its Treasurer's Report for 1914, yet it listed donations even as small as \$2. See UTA, A67-0007/037, Falconer Papers, "University Settlement: Receipts and Expenditures for Twelve Months Ending September 30th 1914."

<sup>5</sup>Interestingly, Pedersen notes that YWCA membership fees and dues did cover a substantial portion of the operating costs of the local YWCAs. See Pedersen, "Building Today," 229. With regard to the settlements, it is possible that the difference in the sums collected from Evangelia's and from CNH's members was due to differences in accounting procedures between the two; CNH only accounted for paid-up annual membership dues in this category, while Evangelia seems to have designated all moneys collected from members as membership fees. But the difference may also reflect a dissimilarity in their respective clientele's attitudes toward the settlements, as well as a disparity in the availability of other choices for leisure-time activities. As we have seen, in Riverdale in 1905 Evangelia's then all-female Anglo-Protestant membership would have been hard pressed to find a "respectable" public alternative to the settlement, but as Enrico Cumbo has pointed out, the situation was a little different in the Ward, at least for CNH's Italian neighbours in the 1910s and 1920s. See his "'Blazing the Trail and Setting the Pace': Central Neighborhood House and its Outreach to Italian Immigrants in Toronto: 1911-1929," *Italian Canadiana* 12 (1996): 68-93.

fulfil their obligations to their communities in order to escape a selfish, hedonistic existence.<sup>6</sup> As we shall see, their belief in the importance of middle-class leadership caused settlement framers to structure their administration so that most of the decision-making power was concentrated in the hands of the board of directors. Although board members shared that power with the staff and volunteers, to a greater or lesser degree depending on the individual settlement, none of them apparently considered sharing it with their clientele.

Surviving financial reports, as well as anecdotal reports, indicate that the bulk of the funding for the settlements came from members of the local business community, some of whom were renowned philanthropists who supported not only one or more settlements, but a host of other charities in addition. Indeed, it is likely that this group viewed settlements as charities, despite settlers' frequent repudiation of that label. Thus we find on the subscribers' lists of both CNH and University Settlement, names like G. Frank Beer, who was president of the Toronto Housing Co., George Cox, the president of Central Canada Loan and Savings Co., J.W. Flavelle, president of the William Davies Co., and George Gooderham, of the Gooderham and Worts Distillery; Sir Edmund Osler and Alexander Laird, general manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, also donated funds to these two settlements as well to Evangelia.<sup>7</sup> Prominent women philanthropists and reformers also contributed to the

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<sup>6</sup>See the essays in Linda Kealey, ed., *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s - 1920s* (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1979), and particularly Linda Kealey, "Introduction," and Wayne Roberts, "'Rocking the Cradle for the World': The New Woman and Maternal Feminism, Toronto, 1877-1914," for an analysis of this aspect of Canadian women's reform work. See also Jane Addams, "The College Woman and the Family Claim," *The Commons* 29, (September, 1898): 3-7; Sara Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good: Social Service and Gender at the University of Toronto, 1888-1937* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); and Standish Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and Social Reform 1880-1914: The Search for Community* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1987).

<sup>7</sup>Biographical information on these men was gathered from the *Toronto City Directory, 1914* (Toronto: Might Directories Ltd., 1914); Henry James Morgan, *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography of Living Characters* (Toronto: William Briggs,

settlements; Mrs. Sarah Warren, Mrs. A.M. Huestis, Mrs. Sigmund Samuel and Mrs. Rosaline Torrington can be counted among these. As Diana Pedersen points out, however, most middle-class women, regardless of the wealth of their husbands, lacked direct access to large quantities of capital, and were thus restricted in the amount of financial support they could offer on their own.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, a number of groups associated with the Toronto Local Council of Women were active supporters of settlement movement, including the Round Table Club, The Women's Alliance of the First Unitarian Church, and the Toronto Froebel Society.<sup>9</sup>

St. Christopher House and Memorial Institute were in a somewhat unusual position among Toronto settlements, for they could count on some financial support from their sponsoring church bodies, and from Sunday schools and other groups within individual congregations across the country. The sources for this period do not disclose the amounts that these groups actually provided to the settlements, however, so it is impossible to be sure of the extent to which St. Christopher's and Memorial Institute were dependent on direct denominational funding. But one must not forget that the respective denominations assisted their settlements indirectly, as well; the Presbyterian Board of Social Service and Evangelism and the Walmer Road Baptist congregation's Downtown Committee (or Committee of Nine, as Donald Goertz identifies it) almost certainly helped secure capital for their particular

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1912); and C.W. Parker, ed., *Who's Who and Why: A Biographical Dictionary of Canada and Newfoundland* (Vancouver: International Press Ltd., 1914).

<sup>8</sup>Pedersen, "Building Today," 231. UTA, A67-0007/037, Falconer Papers, "Donations Received During Year Ending September 30th, 1914"; CTA, SC5, D, Box 1 file 2, CNH *Year Book, 1912* and file 5 CNH *Year Book, 1913*; BR, S54, "History of Canadian Settlements" Notes - Book B. Little information has come to light about these women, other than the fact that they were widows of, or married to wealthy businessmen. See Toronto City Directory, 1914.

<sup>9</sup>Toronto Local Council of Women *Annual Report, 1912*, "Round Table Club," 34; "Toronto Froebel Society," 35; and "The Women's Alliance of the First Unitarian Church," 41.

settlements by appealing to wealthy members of their respective congregations. There are indications, for example, that some member of the Presbyterian Board introduced Sir James Woods, the president of the Gordon, Mackay, and Co. dry-goods firm, to the work of St. Christopher House; the settlement subsequently interested Sir James so much that he became both the settlement's chief benefactor and its principal advocate among his colleagues.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to prominent philanthropists, many less well-known local businessmen and professionals contributed to one or more settlements as well.<sup>11</sup> According to Diana Pedersen, there were a number of reasons why members of the corporate sector financed private social agencies. Some businessmen were evangelicals who saw it as their duty to prove their worthiness, through the support of philanthropic endeavours, for the privileges of wealth which they enjoyed. This may have been what motivated the members of the wealthy Walmer Road Baptist church to support Memorial Institute; certainly, the need for wealthy Protestants to benefit their communities was an important theme in a number of the articles and publications of the denominational presses, as well as in the annual reports of the Presbyterian

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<sup>10</sup>UCA (library), Ethel Dodds Parker, "St. Christopher House; Stories of My Time," typescript, 2; "Report of the Board of Social Service and Evangelism," Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P*, 1913 and 1914; *Canadian Baptist*, March 14, 1912, 9. See also Donald Goertz, *A Century for the City: Walmer Road Baptist Church* (Toronto: Walmer Road Baptist Church, 1989), 42.

<sup>11</sup>UTA, A67-0007/037, Falconer Papers, "Donations Received During Year Ending Sept. 30th, 1914," and A67-0007/028, "Evangelia Settlement"; CTA, SC5 D, Box 1, file 2, *CNH Year Book, 1912* and file 5, *Year Book, 1913*; BR, S54, "History of Canadian Settlements," Notes, Book B, "Evangelia House." Riverdale, for example, enjoyed the patronage of its chairman of the board, a Mr. Johnston who owned a drygoods warehouse and supplied the settlement with merchandise as well as money and time. There were many other businessmen whose names appear on the lists of subscribers for CNH or University Settlement, or both. BR, S54, "History of Canadian Settlements," Notes, Book B, "Riverdale Settlement."

Board of Social Service and Evangelism, which administered St. Christopher House.<sup>12</sup>

Others, Pedersen says, saw private philanthropy as a "bulwark" of free enterprise which discouraged government involvement in the provision of welfare, and thus prevented the progress of socialism. In addition, participation in fundraising campaigns for social agencies could provide useful business and social contacts, and could thus "facilitate the career of the individual and provide valuable free publicity for the firm."<sup>13</sup> Some businessmen became involved in philanthropy in order to 'rationalize' charitable giving and thus reduce their overall pecuniary outlay; as the number of social agencies increased, businessmen sought to eliminate what they saw as waste and inefficiency by encouraging the agencies they funded to adopt modern business practices, like keeping files on their clients, and carefully accounting for the moneys spent.

Settlement fundraisers employed a number of techniques to attract the attention and support of local businessmen and philanthropists. Indeed, Diana Pedersen has remarked that the period between 1890 and 1920 was a transitional one for philanthropic fundraisers. Traditional approaches, which relied upon the largely unsung personal efforts of the board members of social agencies,<sup>14</sup> were falling into disfavour, and new methods, which involved

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<sup>12</sup>Pedersen, "Building Today," 234; "The Churchwoman: Toronto," *Canadian Churchman*, January 20, 1910, 39; "Toynbee Hall," *Canadian Churchman*, March 30, 1910, 132; "Women's Work in the Church," *Canadian Churchman*, September 29, 1910, 587; "Board of Social Service and Evangelism," *The Presbyterian*, September 14, 1911, 264, 285; "The Reason for Social Service," *The Presbyterian*, October 30, 1913; "Social Service: The Social Claim of the Gospel," *Canadian Baptist*, January 18, 1912, 4; "Social Service: The Nation and the Empire," *Canadian Baptist*, January 25, 1912, 4-5; J.S. Woodsworth, *My Neighbor* (n.p., 1911; repr., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), Chapter 10.

<sup>13</sup>Pedersen, "Building Today," 234.

<sup>14</sup>See Joey Noble, "Class-ifying the Poor: Toronto Charities, 1850-1880," *Studies in Political Economy* 2, (1979), 109-128; James Pitsula, "The Emergence of Social Work in Toronto," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 14, 1(Spring 1979): 35-42.

a great deal of publicity and the exertions of many volunteers, were being pioneered.<sup>15</sup> Settlements, for their part, used both old and new. As Pedersen found was the case in the early YWCAs, settlement organizers chose their directors very carefully, with an eye to the "personal prestige and social contacts" the prospective directors possessed, and like their counterparts in the YWCAs, settlement board members spent what appears to have been a considerable amount of time canvassing local businesses and congregations, as well as their friends, colleagues and peers. Settlements also sponsored public lectures, musicals, and weekly 'at homes' in an effort to drum up financial support.<sup>16</sup> These kinds of techniques had become common by the end of the nineteenth century, and as Pedersen points out, they often generated surprisingly large sums of money. But they were labour-intensive and tedious, and in 1905 the YMCA pioneered a new approach: the short-term financial campaign. It was, according to Pedersen,

a city-wide blitz that relied heavily on the support of the local press and was 'characterized by the careful organization of teams of canvassers to collect the money, the selection of prospective contributors, their cultivation by means of carefully planned publicity, their solicitation over a short period of time - usually a week - daily meetings for reports of canvassers, and the use of skilful tactics to keep up the enthusiasm of public and canvassers alike.'<sup>17</sup>

It was a technique which became immensely popular among most private philanthropic

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<sup>15</sup>Pedersen, "Building Today," 233.

<sup>16</sup>See CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for January 1913; "Support Settlement," *The Varsity* XXXI, 15(November 1, 1911): 2; "Graduates Asked to Aid Settlement," *Mail and Empire*, December 9, 1913, 2; BR S54, "History of Canadian Settlements," Notes, Book B, "Evangelia House."

<sup>17</sup>Pedersen, "Building Today," 233-34. Pedersen credits the work of Aileen D. Ross, and particularly her "Organized Philanthropy in an Urban Community," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 18, 4(1952): 474-486, in helping her to develop this aspect of her analysis of YWCA fundraising.

agencies in the 1910s and 1920s;<sup>18</sup> among the settlements, however, the University Settlement was the only one to have taken full advantage of it. Indeed, one could say that right from the beginning it was University Settlement's principal source of funds, for even the \$2500 which the YMCA contributed in order to establish the settlement had come from a short-term fundraising campaign which had been originally intended to provide the capital to build a new YMCA building on campus.

University Settlement usually held its fundraising campaigns in late October or early November each year, and although it later extended its efforts out into the business community, initially it concentrated almost exclusively on the university's student body. The first settlement campaign, held in January 1911, was directed by E. Murray Thomson, one of the settlement's resident workers, and its goal was to raise \$2500 toward the institution's operating expenses. The colleges and faculties targeted were University College, Trinity, Victoria, Knox, and Wycliffe, and the faculties of Science, Education, Forestry, Medicine and Dentistry; each college and 'year' within the colleges organized canvassing teams, who met daily to lunch and to report on their results. The results were then reported in *The Varsity* by college and by 'year,' apparently in order to encourage a friendly rivalry among the various divisions.<sup>19</sup> The campaign ultimately reached its goal, but it is interesting to note that in subsequent years, after the settlement officially severed its ties with the YMCA, the goals of the campus campaigns gradually decreased; the fall 1911 campaign raised a little over \$1500 from the students, although its organizers were originally hoping for \$2000, and by

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<sup>18</sup>The Community Chest movement, which was established in Toronto in the early 1920s and later became the United Way, employed this method of fundraising. See Gale Wills, *A Marriage of Convenience: Business and Social Work in Toronto, 1918-1957* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

<sup>19</sup>"University Settlement Start Campaign," *The Varsity* XXX, 23(January 13, 1911): 4; "Campaign News from Settlement," *The Varsity* XXX, 24(January 17, 1911): 4.

November 1913 fundraisers were barely able to reach their \$1000 objective.<sup>20</sup> This decline seems rather ironic, since the severance of the settlement's ties with the YMCA was intended to boost student support for the former by making it clear to all that the University Settlement was not an evangelical institution. As *The Varsity* noted in October 1911:

[i]t has been felt for some time that many men have the idea that the Settlement is an evangelical work. Such, however, is far from the case. The Settlement affords to men of the University an outlet for the broad humanitarian spirit which the college course helps to promote. A man can live out his principles and ideals in assisting fellow men along life's highway. Broad altruism is all that is necessary for success in the Settlement, and it is hoped by both boards of directors [of the University YMCA and the University Settlement] that by throwing the whole movement into the direct control of all the undergraduates, without any intervening organization, that more men will live lives of practical humanitarianism while pursuing academic courses.<sup>21</sup>

With regard at least to the funding of the institution, it appears that those hopes were quickly dashed.

Beginning in the fall of 1913, this growing shortfall in student subscriptions was augmented by the amounts raised in the community by the Alumni Association, which pledged to acquire \$3000, and by President Falconer and the University YMCA, each of whom promised to raise \$1000.<sup>22</sup> The settlement's requirements, however, were reported to be at least \$7000 per year, so the extra \$2000 or so had to come from unspecified private sources, and was likely obtained through President Falconer's contacts. The insecurity was a

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<sup>20</sup>"Letter of Appreciation," *The Varsity* XXX, 28(January 31, 1911): 4; "Workers for the Settlement After Cash," *The Varsity* XXXII, 22(November 20, 1912); "University Settlement Committee Makes Appeal for Funds," *The Varsity* XXXIII, (November 5, 1913): 1; UTA, B79-0059/B72-1066 Student Christian Movement, "Settlement, November 1913," (summary of amounts subscribed and paid by participating faculties and colleges).

<sup>21</sup>"Settlement and Y.M.C.A.," *The Varsity* XXXI, (October 25, 1911): 1.

<sup>22</sup>"University Settlement Committee Makes Appeal for Funds," *The Varsity* XXXIII, (November 5, 1913): 1.

considerable strain, and in December of 1913 Falconer announced a plan to reorganize the institution's finances in order to place it "upon a sound financial basis."<sup>23</sup> What that meant, ultimately, was that university graduates and members of the city's corporate sector would be asked to contribute the bulk of the settlement's funding; according to the treasurer's report for September 1914, they did in fact do that.<sup>24</sup>

CNH, for its part, used some of these new techniques in its fundraising efforts - it sent out canvassing teams, usually comprised of members of its Board of Directors, and it attracted the sympathetic attention of the press - but it never actually launched a full-scale, high-intensity fundraising campaign similar to those carried out by University Settlement, and none of the other settlements appear to have done so either, although they all lobbied potential subscribers on a smaller, more discreet scale. Why this is so is not immediately clear, but presumably such campaigns required an initial cash outlay for publicity, which may have seemed beyond the scope of most settlements. Also, one must not forget that this kind of fundraising was still relatively new. There seems, in addition, to have been a prevailing conviction among some settlement supporters that previous methods were working well, and that the money would simply appear when it was needed. For example, in the first annual

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<sup>23</sup>*The Varsity* reported that it cost about \$8000 per annum to run University Settlement, while the *Mail and Empire* put the cost at \$7000. According to the treasurer's report, the expenditures for the year ending September 30, 1914 were \$7414.28, but these included over \$2000 for the alterations and furnishings for the new building at 95 Peter Street. In any case, although Falconer and the Alumni Association were able to raise over \$4000, and the YMCA and the student campaign their promised \$1000 each, the settlement was still short by \$1355.15. UTA A67-0007/037 "University Settlement: Receipts and Expenditures for Twelve Months Ending September 30th, 1914"; see also "University Settlement Committee Makes Appeal for Funds," *The Varsity* XXXIII, (November 5, 1913): 1; "Will Place Settlement on a Sound Basis," *The Globe* (December 9, 1913): 9; "Graduates Asked to Aid Settlement," *Mail and Empire* (December 9, 1913): 2.

<sup>24</sup>UTA A67-0007/037, Falconer Papers, "Donations Received During Year Ending September 30, 1914."

report for CNH, J.J. Kelso remarked that

Through its activities along various social lines, the 'House has become well known to citizens, and financial aid has been freely extended. To secure the continuance of this aid without undue strain on the workers is the chief anxiety for the future. Funds are extremely low at present, but we have every confidence that the necessary money will be supplied to carry on and extend this important work for our city and country.<sup>25</sup>

As we shall see later on, by 1913 this kind of attitude put CNH in a very difficult position.

Another possible reason why the other settlements did not launch short, high-intensity fundraising campaigns is that they may have found it difficult to secure the necessary media coverage; as Diana Pedersen has noted, these kinds of fundraising campaigns depended upon the backing of the local press, but while Toronto's newspapers appear to have been very interested in CNH, with its newsmaking activities in municipal politics and its high-profile champions like J.J. Kelso, and also in University Settlement, which no doubt received excellent advice from the YMCA on how to garner publicity, the local dailies paid much less attention to the city's other settlements. Most settlements advertised their activities on their own, through flyers, weekly or monthly newsletters, and annual reports - all materials which they sent out to specific groups; for example, Memorial Institute distributed its weekly schedule to Baptist congregations. Settlements used other venues to advertise themselves as well; Riverdale undoubtedly utilised its musical concerts to present audiences with its need for capital, while Evangelia called attention to itself by, among other things, making its facilities available for public lectures given by renowned, popular speakers.<sup>26</sup> CNH sent newsletters, as well as circulars, Christmas cards, and the like, to prospective donors; on one occasion at

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<sup>25</sup>CTA, SC 5 D, Box 1, file 2, J.J. Kelso, "Forward," *CNH Year Book, 1912*.

<sup>26</sup>"Caring for the Bairns," *The Presbyterian*, June 4, 1908, 708; UWCA, Minutes, Vol. 2, December 14, 1912.

least, the settlement acquired a \$100 contribution as a result.<sup>27</sup> Settlement workers and board members also made personal appeals to private individuals and groups, calling upon people they knew, holding 'at homes' for potential benefactors, and going to speak to a variety of private clubs and organizations.

Yet while the medium changed, the message remained more or less the same, both in content and in structure. Most settlements began their funding appeals by describing their activities, often in the process giving some examples of individuals that they had helped. St. Christopher's and Memorial Institute's reports particularly emphasized such examples, but the other settlements also attempted to awaken people's sympathies in this way.<sup>28</sup> Most appeals then went on to describe how the work was expanding, how it differed from other kinds of social service, and how it ultimately might benefit the subscriber, and they frequently ended with a dark hint of what might happen if the work was not done. For instance, CNH's monthly newsletter for August 1913 noted that many immigrants came to Canada to escape totalitarian governments and persecution at home. In their countries of origin the living conditions were poor, the newsletter declared, and few possessed any knowledge of the workings of democratic governments, such as Canada's, which endowed "the highest civilization in the world." After pointing out that the federal government had attracted the newcomers, and alluding to the dangers of failing to teach these immigrants 'Canadian' ways,

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<sup>27</sup>CTA, SC5 I, Box 1, file 1, CNH Organization Committee minutes, Treasurer's Report for November 1912. C.D. Massey was the donor.

<sup>28</sup>See, for example, "Report of the Board of Social Service and Evangelism," Thirty-Ninth Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P*, 1913; CBA, files, M[attie] L. F[oster], "The Story of Parashka," [1913-1915]; CTA, SC5 D, Box 1, file 4, CNH newsletter, 1913; UTA, B79-0059/035, Student Christian Movement, "University Settlement, 1910-1911" (pamphlet). Goertz argues that John MacNeill, the Walmer Road pastor, insisted from the beginning of his congregation's sponsorship of Memorial Institute that evangelism be a key element in the settlement's programme. See *A Century for the City*, 43.

the newsletter went on to report that 50 children had performed folkdances and skits for an audience of 600 adults at Central Neighborhood House's annual closing exercises in June, and to remark that this large turnout indicated the growing importance of the settlement in the district.<sup>29</sup> CNH's newsletter for July 1914 followed a similar theme; it reported that the Spring Festival was a means to both exhibit the culmination of CNH's members' efforts to learn Canadian ways, and to impress upon the older folk from 'unenlightened' countries that Canadians were anxious to help them to learn "better, pleasanter ways of life." Readers were reminded that while they were enjoying the advantages of their wealth, they should think of the poor who were trapped in the city heat, and then donate \$10 to CNH in order to get poor mothers and children out to the Fresh Air Camp at Lake Simcoe.<sup>30</sup>

The basic structure of the message was often modified according to the audience. Church congregations, for example, heard about how settlement activities which ministered to the bodies and minds of settlement users also brought them closer to God. Nationalists, for their part, learned that immigrants were transformed into well trained citizens through settlement activities. University students, in contrast, were told how contributing to the finances of the settlements would be an unselfish way to pay back the debt they owed to the State and to the city for their educational and social advantages. For example, in the January 1911 fundraising campaign for University Settlement *The Varsity* quoted James Shaver as saying "[t]he city is trying to do away with the slums it has here, and this is the chance for the students to do something to help along the movement." University Settlement offered, *The Varsity* said,

the opportunity for the University students, with their training, their technical

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<sup>29</sup>CTA, SC5 D Box 1, file 4, CNH newsletter, August 1913.

<sup>30</sup>CTA, SC5 D Box 1, file 4, CNH newsletter, July 1914.

education, to unite with the city in direct work downtown. While the student is in Toronto he gets the best it has to offer. Now the student has the chance to show the city that he wishes to do something in return for it. There is something important also in taking the initiative in a work like this. 'The city will take the hint if we do it for a while,' prophesied Mr. Shaver 'We have an opportunity now of starting a work that otherwise would not get the same start. It is a worthy and a big thing.'<sup>31</sup>

Clearly, the concept of Christian stewardship, of fulfilling a social obligation attendant upon the possession of the privileges of wealth and education, was informing this appeal. By the fall of 1911 this notion of the social obligations of university students was expanded to include the State:

[t]hat such a place and work should be the product of University men from Toronto is very fitting. It is the part of an institution supported by the state, as is this University, to give return to the people, in some measure. The honest and worthy service of a graduate in his profession or business is a fair return to the state, but it is more or less a selfish service. Actual inculcation of decent, manly ideas into the minds of those people, who have found the State less kindly than you have and whose experiences have led to a sordid view of life, is the kind of constructive work that a University man should favor, with a share of his time at least.<sup>32</sup>

It is interesting to watch the shifts in the rhetoric used in fundraising literature aimed at students in tertiary-level institutions, since they were an important source of both financial and volunteer support for the settlements. For example, while the 1911 campaigns for University Settlement focused on students' duties to the state or the city, in 1912 this focus was abandoned in favour of a two-pronged approach. On the one hand, some fundraisers, like President Falconer, emphasized the ability of the university educated to solve major social problems, rather than the student's duty to the community or the state; clearly, in Falconer's estimation the university settlement was the ideal site at which to develop these solutions and put them into effect. On the other hand, advocates like Professor Dale of McGill (who had

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<sup>31</sup>"Campaign News from the Settlement," *The Varsity* XXX, 24(January 17, 1911): 4.

<sup>32</sup>"Support Settlement," *The Varsity* XXXI, 15(November 1, 1911): 2.

been brought in to help with the fall 1912 campaign), focused less on the theoretical potential of the settlement and more on its immediate practical benefits to university students, most of whom, he seems to have assumed, would be employers one day. Dale noted, for example, that the settlement offered students an opportunity to prepare for their lives after university, teaching them how to deal with the labour-management problems they might encounter, and instructing them in an innovative approach to citizenship. This new conception of citizenship was very important in the circumstances which were emerging in Canada, he argued, for the cause of "estrangement between employer and employee" was mutual misunderstanding, and this was particularly evident in labour relations involving 'foreigners.' For Dale, clearly, one of the principal advantages that the university settlement offered students was the opportunity to develop an understanding of their future employees.<sup>33</sup> What is intriguing is that this argument was entirely missing from fundraising literature aimed at business people.

Competition between the settlements for subscriptions was usually fairly muted. Robert Falconer was perhaps the most forthright in his reluctance to support settlements other than University; although he apparently maintained cordial relations with Evangelia (perhaps because of Edmund Osler's membership on the university's Board of Governors) on two occasions he turned CNH supporters down when they asked for his support. He did the same, however, to Rev. Alfred Fitzpatrick, a proponent of the Reading Camp Association, explaining that the settlement depended on the university students for some of its financial support, and thus could not afford to divert them to any other cause.<sup>34</sup> Some of St. Christopher's supporters exhibited a degree of hostility to CNH and to Elizabeth Neufeld in

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<sup>33</sup>"Workers for the Settlement After Cash," *The Varsity* XXXII, 22(November 20, 1912): 4.

<sup>34</sup>UTA, A67-0007/013, Falconer Papers, Falconer to Edith Elwood, April 22, 1911; A67-0007/023 Falconer to Rev. Alfred Fitzpatrick, March 28, 1913.

particular, likely because of her religion, but on the whole most settlement advocates seemed to want to support their counterparts,<sup>35</sup> and this general attitude of cooperation was reflected in the support some community groups offered to more than one settlement. For example, the Round Table Club at the Toronto Conservatory of Music sponsored both Evangelia and Central Neighborhood House, although it was more generous to the former than to the latter.<sup>36</sup> When University Settlement was established there was some debate at the University Women's Club about whether or not the club should continue its support of Evangelia or transfer it to the University Settlement, but in the end the club executive decided to support both institutions.<sup>37</sup>

Nevertheless, most settlements ran into financial difficulties somewhere along the line; workers sometimes went unpaid, and in addition had to pay settlement expenses out of their own pockets.<sup>38</sup> At other times the settlements were simply unable to expand their physical plants, or their staff, or their programmes as they felt it necessary. In the spring of 1913 University Settlement experienced financial difficulties which were so severe that Falconer

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<sup>35</sup>"Social Workers and the Church," *The Presbyterian*, October 9, 1913; CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report, May 1913; CBA, Walmer Road Church, "Memorial Institute, Annual Report for 1913," 13.

<sup>36</sup>See the Toronto Local Council of Women *Annual Reports*, 1908 to 1914. There was at least one student of the Toronto Conservatory's School of Expression, Ethel Dodds Parker, who attended the Conservatory from 1910 to 1913, and then subsequently became a settlement worker in St. Christopher House. She, however, attributes her career choice to the influence of family and friends, not to her school experiences. Interestingly, she does not allude to her period at the Conservatory in her accounts of her life. See Ethel Dodds Parker, "The Origins and Early History of the Presbyterian Settlement Houses," in Richard Allen, ed., *The Social Gospel in Canada: Papers of the Interdisciplinary Conference on the Social Gospel in Canada, March 21-24, 1973, at the University of Regina* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), p. 86.

<sup>37</sup>UWCA, executive minutes, May 2, May 21, 1912.

<sup>38</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report, December 17, 1911 to January 18, 1912.

feared it might soon close,<sup>39</sup> and Central Neighborhood House was rarely out of debt in the first few years of its existence. Indeed, shortly after CNH opened its doors J.J. Kelso wrote to Sarah Warren to ask her to replenish the settlement's coffers, as they then had only about \$25 to cover all their operating costs, and they had very little equipment or furniture.<sup>40</sup> Mrs. Warren responded by sending \$100, and for the next year or so CNH received just enough, from a number of donors, to get by. Nevertheless, by November 1912 CNH's financial situation was grim; Neufeld's salary for October was in arrears, and the treasurer, Arthur St.L. Trigge, reported that at the present rate CNH would be \$900 in debt by the year's end.<sup>41</sup> In his report for December 1912 Trigge told the Board that CNH was running an overdraft and was having trouble securing its basic operating funds and, moreover, they would need at least \$3900 for 1913 - more if the necessary enlargement of the work was to take place.<sup>42</sup>

In the next six months CNH's financial situation remained precarious until finally, in her report for June 1913, Neufeld made it clear that she was fed up. She told the Board that she and her assistant, Miss Graydon, had not yet been paid their salaries for the previous month, and that in addition, the settlement owed Neufeld \$50 for publicity. She informed the Board that she had used up her savings and had borrowed on her personal account to pay the

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<sup>39</sup>UTA, A67-0007/023, Falconer Papers, Falconer to Rev. Alfred Fitzpatrick, March 28, 1913. This was also during the time that Milton Hunt left the settlement, so some of University's problems revolved around staffing and leadership issues as well.

<sup>40</sup>CTA, SC5 I Box 1, file 1, CNH Record Book 2, Kelso to Mrs. Warren, September 29, 1911. See also *ibid.*, Organization Committee minutes, September 26, 1911.

<sup>41</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Treasurer's Report for November 1912.

<sup>42</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Treasurer's Report for December 1912.

living expenses of the settlement household, and as far as she was concerned, they could not go on as things were. She said that when it was just her and her own future she let it pass, but now she was responsible for the future of her staff. With the strain and the worry of the work itself, Neufeld said, she was not strong enough to carry the burden of financial responsibility as well. She told the Board that they needed to discuss the situation and make some plans to address it immediately.<sup>43</sup>

The Board's first response was to have Trigge, who was stepping down as CNH's treasurer, secure a 'note' from the Bank of Commerce, where he was secretary, to pay off the settlement's overdraft. This only took care of one of the settlement's most pressing problems, however. CNH's total liabilities amounted to about \$1500, and the balance in the bank was \$10.31.<sup>44</sup> In his report for August, Trigge was careful to point out that the settlement's financial position was in no way due to poor management; indeed, he said, through her careful oversight Neufeld had kept the expenses for the summer at a lower rate than he had previously estimated.<sup>45</sup> For her part, in her report for the summer Neufeld told the Board that she was concerned about the ability of the settlement to carry out the winter's work. Indeed, she said, 'worried' was too mild a word for what she was feeling; it looked like a nightmare to her "in the light of the last few weeks," during which she had received only \$18 for household expenses, instead of the \$100 she had expected. She estimated that they would need about \$6000 to do the increased work efficiently, and in addition they would need to

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<sup>43</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for June 1913.

<sup>44</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Treasurer's Report for June and July, 1913.

<sup>45</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Treasurer's Report for August 1913.

obtain their own summer home for next year; it was time they stopped relying on other agencies, who had different philosophies concerning social work, to share their summer facilities.<sup>46</sup>

Clearly, the situation was desperate, and the Board members, perhaps fearing that they might lose their headworker, agreed to divide the responsibility for fundraising between them; William A. Firstbrook was assigned to raise \$2000, Elizabeth Neufeld, \$300, and Father Minehan and Rabbi Jacobs were to visit a "limited number of gentlemen" and see what they could raise. The rest of the Board members worked in teams; H. Lawrence Rous and George Scroggie were assigned to raise \$1000, as were William Laidlaw and Howard Douglas, while A.M. Campbell and Gertrude Sanborn, Board representatives from the volunteer workers' council, were to try to collect as much as they could.<sup>47</sup> A few weeks later, in his presidential address for 1913, William Firstbrook noted to the general membership that "although a balance has been maintained between subscriptions and expenditure, it is a very narrow one, and indicates that our efforts in behalf of the undertaking, so far as the finances are concerned, must be undertaken with renewed enthusiasm."<sup>48</sup> It is interesting that no stronger appeal for help in fundraising was made to this body. Nevertheless, things got a bit better for CNH after the fall of 1913, though it is not entirely clear why; perhaps the Board conducted its canvassing efforts with renewed vigour in the wake of the crisis. It is also possible that fear of potential working class unrest, resulting from the exigencies of the economic depression that the city experienced that winter, acted as

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<sup>46</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for July and August 1913.

<sup>47</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, September 9, 1913. See also May 13, 1913.

<sup>48</sup>CTA, SC 5 D Box 1 file 5, "President's Address," *CNH Year Book, 1913*.

an incentive to previously reluctant donors. In any case, in February 1914 the Board noted that the number of CNH subscribers had risen steadily between 1911 and 1913; in 1913 there were 283, up from 156 in 1912 and 53 in 1911. With the settlement's financial situation looking up, the Board also decided to seek SSC endorsement, in order to help improve CNH's fortunes even further.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, it seems that all the settlements were in a somewhat more stable, if still precarious, financial position in 1914 - at least, until the outbreak of the war in early August.

## II

While local businessmen provided the bulk of the funding, students, most of whom were women who were attending the university, or music conservatories, nurse training institutions, and other professional schools, comprised the majority of the volunteers in all the settlements except University, where women were not permitted to participate during its first year. They were welcomed at the other settlements, however. Among Trinity College's female student body weekly stints at *Evangelia* were a college custom prior to the First World War.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, in the annual reports of the Toronto Local Council of Women, university women's groups show the highest level of involvement in the settlements.<sup>51</sup> CNH's volunteer list also confirms that one third were women from one of the colleges in, or affiliated, with the University of Toronto, and most of the others likely came from one of the city's conservatories or schools of expression, or from McMaster University, which was still located

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<sup>49</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, February 11, 1914.

<sup>50</sup>UTA, B74-0020, Mossie May Waddington Kirkwood, interviewed by Elizabeth Wilson, March 27, 1973.

<sup>51</sup>See Local Council of Women of Toronto, *Annual Report*, 1903-1915.

in Toronto in 1914.<sup>52</sup> Mossie May Waddington (later Kirkwood), a volunteer at Evangelia and student at St. Hilda's, wrote an article on "The Woman Student in Toronto" for the *Arbor* in which she stated,

A special field for the discussion of the problems suggested above is afforded by our social study classes and discussion clubs. Debates centring round them are occasionally held in our literary societies. But the reality and greatness of the need for philanthropic work are brought home to the student most clearly through the city settlements. Too much stress can hardly be laid upon the importance of taking one's part and share in the work appointed for one's own college. Through the settlement the undergraduate comes into personal touch with the people whose needs and destiny she has studied in the abstract. For the first time perhaps her mind and her sympathies are busied with human beings who can give her nothing akin to what she gives out to them. Settlement work becomes the link between her formative years and her coming career of usefulness. It reveals perhaps the first glimpse of what she may achieve through the gifts of her womanhood. It proves to her the practical use of having developed her talents. For, obviously, attention and analysis must be followed by construction, or the long labour spent in study is a selfish pleasure. The students' [sic] experience of settlement-work is therefore a valuable step in her self-development.<sup>53</sup>

Thus, according to Waddington, settlement work was not only a means for the woman student to help ameliorate the condition of the poor, it was also an important component of her education and the development of her character and calling.

While in theory anyone with the time to offer could become a volunteer, by the 1910s the settlements had become so strongly identified with young people involved in tertiary-level education that others appear to have been put off. This is evident in a letter Norman Ware received in November 1913 from a clerical worker offering to help at University Settlement; the young woman was very apologetic about her lack of university training, but suggested,

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<sup>52</sup>CTA, SC5 D, Box 1, file 2 and file 5, *CNH Year Book* 1912 and 1913; University of Toronto *Calendar* (Toronto: University Press, 1913/14).

<sup>53</sup>M[ossie] M[ay] Waddington, "The Woman Student in Toronto," *The Arbor* IV, 8(March 1913): 237.

diffidently, that her business training might fill a gap in the experience of university students.<sup>54</sup> Indeed, this young woman's perception that settlement work belonged, in a sense, to educated young people was one which was widely held, and it was no doubt perpetuated by frequent assertions that the main goal of the work was to eliminate the slum through a 'scientific' understanding of poverty, which would be arrived at with the "practical application of every science and branch of knowledge in existence"; it was a job, organizers argued, for which university students were best suited.<sup>55</sup> The identification of settlement work with women was also well entrenched by the 1910s, although University Settlement's Board resisted the association as long as it could, in the belief that the widespread participation of women would lead men to stop volunteering in settlement work, and that this would lead to a degeneration of its higher aims.<sup>56</sup> Other commentators disagreed, however. For example, Dr. George H. Locke, the head of the Toronto Public Library, remarked to the University Women's Club that "[t]he college bred women in the United States, owing to their great numbers exercise a most direct influence in Literature, religion, art and especially social questions." He said college "bred" men and women both were more tolerant, resourceful, knowledgeable, powerful, experienced, and less jealous, than those who had not attended

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<sup>54</sup>CTA, SC24 Q Box 1, file 1, University Settlement correspondence, 1913, November 6, 1913. It is not clear whether or not Ware accepted this woman's offer.

<sup>55</sup>"The Settlement Movement," *University of Toronto Monthly* XI, 2(December 1910), 38-39; UTA, Registrar, A73-0051/244(06) clippings - settlement, "How Best to Cope with Social Evil," *Mail and Empire*, February 22, 1910.

<sup>56</sup>See Sara Z. Burke *Seeking the Highest Good: Social Service and Gender at the University of Toronto, 1888-1937* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 41-42. The University of Toronto's attitude toward female involvement in its settlement work probably accounts, in part, for the heavy involvement of university women in both Evangelia and in Central Neighborhood House. In CNH's annual report for 1912 there were 53 female volunteers listed, and 25 male volunteers. CTA, SC5 D Box 1, File 2, "Volunteers," *CNH Year Book, 1912*.

college.<sup>57</sup> Clearly, they provided the best example for members of the working class, and especially immigrants, to follow.

But whether commentators agreed or disagreed with women's presence in the sphere of settlement work, that presence could not easily be ignored. Indeed, in April 1914 the *Toronto Star* noted,

Most of the workers at the [University] Settlement are girls, [sic] but according to Dr. Ware this is not because of any lack of humanitarianism on the part of the male undergrad. It is because there are so many fields of social work for girls, and so few for men. Any girl student can teach sewing, kindergarten games and rhymes, grammar, drills, cooking, and the art of having a good time in a wise and safe way, but for the men there are only open the teaching of English, politics, gymnastics, and baseball. These are not to be in any way despised, for the man who can train a successful sportsmanlike baseball team from the wild masses of arms, legs and rude words, which in the beginning constitute the Settlement class, is a maker of men.<sup>58</sup>

However restricted in their apparent usefulness, male volunteers were nonetheless in high demand. This was partly because of the still dominant postulate that adolescent boys needed a male leader, and partly because the manifestation of large numbers of male workers in a field usually conferred a high status to it.<sup>59</sup> The demand for men was rarely met, however; at CNH in 1913, for example, out of the 61 volunteers for the settlement's regular programme (not including the night school), only 9 were men. The paucity of male volunteers appears to

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<sup>57</sup>UWCA, Vol. II, Minutes, November 18, 1912.

<sup>58</sup>"How Undergrad Learns to Shed His Happiness," *Toronto Daily Star*, April 18, 1914, 23.

<sup>59</sup>See Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good*; see also James Struthers, "'Lord Give Us Men': Women and Social Work in English Canada, 1918-1953," in Allan Moscovitch and Jim Albert, eds., *The Benevolent State: The Growth of Welfare in Canada* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987), 126-143.

have been as great or even greater at other settlements.<sup>60</sup>

Of course, most settlements also had a number of non-student volunteers: Evangelia House, for example, utilized the services of Rosedale matrons and their daughters, in addition to those of university students, nurses-in-training, and so on; the University Settlement, in its turn, relied upon faculty wives to help out, especially when the settlement first opened its doors to women; and Memorial Institute requested the assistance of the ladies of the Walmer Road congregation for district visiting and other forms of volunteer service.<sup>61</sup> What the settlements most often asked for from this group, however, was what might be called material help: donations of folding cribs or rocking chairs for the nursery, for example, or plant slips and magazines for the reading room; dressing dolls, wrapping presents, and packing food hampers was another form of service which often fell to non-student volunteers. Few from this group of volunteers appear to have been given responsibility for settlement clubs or classes, or otherwise come into direct contact with settlement members.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for October 1912. See also SC5 D, Box 1, file 5, CNH *Year Book*, 1913. Apparently, a larger percentage of CNH's night school English teachers were male, for the *Year Book* notes that the volunteers came mainly from Knox, Victoria, Wycliffe and University College, the Faculty of Applied Science, the College of Pharmacy, and the Methodist Deaconess Training School, and most of these institutions were exclusively male, or overwhelmingly male-dominated. It is impossible to ascertain, however, what the male to female ratios were here. As for the other settlements, in the absence of volunteer lists there is no way of telling exactly how many men offered their services, but most settlements mention a need for volunteers for male-oriented activities, like manual training. See, for example, CBA, files, "Memorial Institute, Annual Report for 1913," 11.

<sup>61</sup>BR, S54, "History of Canadian Settlements," Notes, Book B, "Evangelia"; "Settlement Work," *The Varsity* XXXI, 40(January 25, 1912), 4; CBA, files, Memorial Institute, *Calendar*, April 28, 1912.

<sup>62</sup>UWC Archives, Vol. I, minutes, November 5, 1906; and Memorial Institute *Calendar*, April 28, 1912 and May 12, 1912. Evangelia may have used non-student volunteers to do things like serve lunch in the settlement's lunchroom for working women, or babysit during Mother's Meetings, but the evidence is unclear on this point. See BR S54, "History of Canadian Settlements," Notes, Book B, "Evangelia." One exception to this general rule was Mrs. Wallace

It is possible that most non-student volunteers preferred to keep their distance from settlement members, but another factor in the preference of settlement administrators for using student, rather than non-student, volunteers as teachers, coaches, and club and library supervisors may have been the prevailing certainty that those who combined youthful idealism with the mental discipline furnished by tertiary-level education would better advance the aims of the settlement.<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless, the extent of the volunteer's work, and its very personal nature, made it increasingly evident to many that even the possession of youth, middle-class status, and education was not enough; there were skills involved in settlement work for which training was, as many became convinced, clearly necessary. This may explain why Helen Hart preferred to lead all the clubs at St. Christopher House personally, along with the assistance of a volunteer or two; St. Christopher's volunteers thus learned their jobs through a

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and a few other faculty wives who assisted with the establishment of the University Settlement's women's club. They appear to have stepped out of direct work once there were women students to take over, however. See "Settlement Work: The Woman's Club," *The Varsity* XXXI, 40(January 25, 1912):4. Another exception appears to have been at Memorial Institute, where three of the seven volunteers who were mentioned as having led clubs or classes were married women. See CBA, files, Memorial Institute *Calendar* October 19, 1913. At CNH there were 5 married women volunteers among the 52 listed in the 1913 *Year Book*. One of these, Mrs. T.B. Kurata, was a first year student at the University College, and it is quite likely that some or all of the other 4 were former university students. Certainly, some of the University Women's Club members who volunteered at Evangelia House were married. Thus the university connection was frequently present even among the married women who volunteered at the settlement.

<sup>63</sup>See Sara Libby Carson, "The Social Settlement," *Social Service Congress Proceedings*, (Toronto: Social Service Council of Canada, 1914): 134. Carson said in this paper, that settlement residents do not necessarily *have* to be university graduates, but they do need to be people "of trained mind and developed character." This feeling is also evident in Neufeld's report for March 1913, in which she noted that two volunteers took 11 older boys and girls to 'Rigoletto,' which she took for a sign that CNH's volunteers were interested in the intellectual welfare of the settlement. CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's Minutes, Headworker's Report for March 1913.

kind of apprenticeship.<sup>64</sup> CNH, for its part, established a Volunteer Worker's Council, which met monthly to discuss social work theory and praxis, and to hear lectures from experts in the field - lectures which, according to Neufeld, inspired the volunteers and expanded their horizons.<sup>65</sup> Some University Settlement volunteers are likely to have been members of the Sociological Club, which likewise discussed social work issues and invited guest lecturers.<sup>66</sup> Indeed, many clubs invited experts in the field to address their membership. The Round Table Club was, as we saw with regard to the early history of Evangelia House, among the most enthusiastic supporters of the settlement idea. It was an enthusiasm which continued among this club's membership at least until the advent of World War One; in April 1912, for example, the Club arranged to have Jane Addams address a public meeting on settlement work.<sup>67</sup> The University Women's Club also invited American experts on social service to

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<sup>64</sup>Parker, "St. Christopher House," 3. According to Parker, the workers in the early years at St. Christopher House were all from religious homes. They valued the relationship between the settlement and the church, "and found in their work an outlet for their deepest religious feelings." Parker, "Presbyterian Settlements," *Social Gospel in Canada*, 110-113.

<sup>65</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report, December 17, 1911 to January 18, 1912, and Report for January 1912; SC5 D, Box 1, file 2, *CNH Year Book, 1912*.

<sup>66</sup>See, for example, CTA, SC24, Q, Box 1, file 2, University Settlement Correspondence, 1914. W.F. Wallace, President of the Sociological Club, to Dr. Ware, undated. There was also the Social Science Club and the Social Workers' Club, which were organized along similar lines. The former, according to Lorna Hurl, "was an association of socially prominent women interested in discussion and investigation of social issues," while the latter was "an association of practising social workers for the cultivation of personal acquaintance, encouragement of co-operation, promotion of education, improvement of efficiency and standards, and fostering of social reform." See Lorna Hurl, "Building a Profession: The Origin and Development of the Department of Social Service in the University of Toronto, 1914-1928," *Working Papers on Social Welfare in Canada 11* (Toronto: Faculty of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1983), 43, note 5.

<sup>67</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, December 20, 1911.

speak to its membership.<sup>68</sup>

The idea of training volunteers was not a new one; it in fact continued a trend begun in the mid-nineteenth century, when visitors for Toronto's House of Industry, who were unpaid, were required to serve an apprenticeship, because the managers of the House maintained that inexperienced visitors could unintentionally do more harm than good.<sup>69</sup> By the 1910s proponents of social work, with their growing belief in the application of scientific methods to their field, began to insist upon a more systematic form of training than apprenticeship for their volunteers. This insistence was part of social workers' drive toward the professionalization of their work, and according to Carol Baines, it eventually resulted in the circumscription of volunteers' roles and the general decline in their overall status.<sup>70</sup>

### III

Throughout the period leading up to the creation of the university's Department of Social Service, the line between the professional and the non-professional social worker was nebulous. Indeed, it was mainly determined by whether or not workers possessed many years of direct experience in the field, or, increasingly, whether or not they had been trained either in the newly created field of sociology, or at a school of social work;<sup>71</sup> receiving payment

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<sup>68</sup>UWCA, Volume II, Minutes, April 4, 1912; April 22, 1913.

<sup>69</sup>Pitsula, "The Emergence of Social Work in Toronto," 37.

<sup>70</sup>Carol Thora Baines, "From Women's Benevolence to Professional Social Work: The Case of the Wimodausis Club and the Earls court Children's Home 1902-1971" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1990), 1-11.

<sup>71</sup>Part of St. Christopher's mandate was to train workers for Presbyterian settlement work across the country, and in 1912 and 1913 Helen Hart is reported to have trained two or three per year. After the University's Department of Social Service opened in the fall of 1914, St. Christopher's trainees went there for formal instruction, and did their field work at St. Christopher House. The number of students working and living at St. Christopher's also increased. See below for further discussion of the establishment of the new Department. See also Parker, "St. Christopher House," 3.

for their efforts, and/or doing the work on a full-time basis, were not always the criteria for determining workers' status. For example, W.A. Scott and E. Murray Thomson, the first two student residents of University Settlement, were paid ten dollars per week but still retained their volunteer status.<sup>72</sup> Arthur Burnett and George Bryce, who were not paid, were also classed as volunteers despite the fact that they originally established CNH, were its first resident workers, and unlike the students, devoted their entire time to the settlement.<sup>73</sup> Yet these two men had a considerable amount of experience; they had both worked on the evangelical housing surveys organised by the Fred Victor and City Mission Board during the summers of 1909 and 1910, and Burnett had assisted with the Methodist Church's social surveys of Hamilton, Brantford, St. Thomas and Windsor, while Bryce prepared reports on social conditions in Toronto and New York for the Presbyterian Board of Moral and Social Reform and Evangelism.<sup>74</sup>

Some Canadian settlement workers moved gradually from volunteer to professional status through the part-time employment route; that is, they would start as volunteers, then get hired on a part-time basis, and eventually take on into full-time employment, though they

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<sup>72</sup>UTA, A67-0007/016, Falconer Papers, "University Settlement, Analysis of Accounts, 1911."

<sup>73</sup>CTA, SC 5 D, Box 1, file 2, "Annual Report of Head Worker," *Year Book: The Central Neighborhood House, 1912*. First Burnett and then Bryce went on to train at the New York School of Philanthropy, however, and although Bryce, at the insistence of his wife Winnifred, ultimately left the field to become a missionary in India, Burnett remained in social work and in October 1913 became the head of the newly established department of social service in Toronto's Public Health Department. BR, S54 "History of Canadian Settlements" 4:2:6, Biography file on Winnifred Bryce, Ph.D.; CTA, CNH SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for June 1912 and September 1912; CTA, RG11, Department of Public Health, "The History of Public Health Nursing in Toronto," (unpublished manuscript, November 1963); RG11, Box 69, file 2, "Staff Records," 378.

<sup>74</sup>UTA A67-0007/025, Falconer Papers, Burnett to Falconer, April 7, 1913; UCA, 79.169c, Presbyterian Board of Moral and Social Reform and Evangelism, Minutes, September 6, 1910.

often attended a social work training school in the United States prior to the third stage. Gertrude Graydon's employment history offers us one example of this pattern; she was a graduate of the University of Toronto who had begun volunteering at CNH while working as a secretary for a university professor, and was subsequently hired first as Elizabeth Neufeld's part-time assistant in February 1913, and then as the settlement's girls' worker, a position in which she remained until August 1914, when she left Toronto to attend the New York School of Philanthropy.<sup>75</sup>

The position of boys' worker was often one of the first paid, part-time appointments in the settlements. The job seems always to have gone to a man during the pre-war period; in fact, it may be that the position was made a paid one because settlements were concerned about their ability to secure the commitment of a male volunteer to supervise this aspect of their programmes. A salary, however, did not necessarily guarantee either the competence or the long-term dedication of the boys' worker. CNH, for example, hired a Mr. Cooper, "a University man," to take over as boys' worker after Arthur Burnett, who had done the work as a volunteer, left to study at the New York School of Philanthropy in September 1912.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup>CTA, SC5 B Box 1, file 1, Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report, January 1913 and February 1913, and file 2, Headworker's Report, April 14, 1914. There are other examples of volunteers moving into part-time, and afterward into full-time work in social service, like Miss M.G. Daly, who volunteered at Memorial Institute while attending social service lectures at McMaster University in 1913-14. Volunteering led to some part-time jobs in the Toronto Public Health Department for Daly, and eventually to full-time work with the Toronto Patriotic League. CTA, RG11, Box 69, file 2, Toronto Department of Public Health, "Staff Records," 52. CBA, files, Memorial Institute "Annual Report, 1913," 11.

<sup>76</sup>CTA, SC 5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for September 1912. Mr. Cooper was hired to replace Arthur Burnett, who left that fall to train at the New York School of Philanthropy. Cooper was paid \$10 a month plus the use of a room in exchange for four evenings and one afternoon per week. Harold Swan, who replaced Cooper, was apparently paid the same, but after he quit the salary was raised to \$60 per month, and when Mr. Morgan, Swan's successor, graduated from the University and became engaged to be married, his monthly salary rose to \$75. Ibid., Headworker's Report for April 1913, and file 2, Headworker's Report for May 1914. Incidentally, the only Cooper in the 1913/14 University of

But Cooper was fired within a few months for incompetence and Harold Swan, another volunteer at CNH, was hired to take his place. Swan was a superior worker to Cooper, but he, in turn, quit after only two months.<sup>77</sup> Other boys' workers stayed longer, however. For example, Swan's successor, a Mr. Morgan, stayed with CNH for a year and a half, and would have stayed longer if the settlement had not been forced to let him go due to a financial crisis brought on by the war.<sup>78</sup> St. Christopher House hired J.M. Wyatt, who had recently graduated with an M.A. from the University of Toronto, to be its first boys' worker in the spring of 1914, and although some thought he was a less able leader than Helen Hart, Wyatt, like Morgan, also stayed in the work for about a year and a half, leaving only when he became a Juvenile Court probation officer.<sup>79</sup> Similarly, Harry Roche, who was hired as University Settlement's boys' worker in October 1912, stayed with the work until he graduated from Wycliffe in the spring of 1914.<sup>80</sup>

Clearly, most if not all part-time boys' workers were either students or recent graduates of the University of Toronto. Indeed, part-time employment in the settlements possessed some very attractive features for university students; for example, a paid worker in a settlement would be permitted, probably even expected, to live in residence, and would

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Toronto *Calendar* was an A.R. Cooper, who was a Ph.D. candidate. No Mr. Morgan was listed, but he may have been a student at McMaster.

<sup>77</sup>CTA, SC 5 B Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report, September, 1912, for December 1912, for January 1913, for April 1913, and for May 1914.

<sup>78</sup>CTA, SC5 B Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, September 22, 1914.

<sup>79</sup>Parker, "St. Christopher House," 11; "The Church and Congested City Districts," Fortieth Presbyterian General Assembly, *Proceedings, 1914*, 318.

<sup>80</sup>"Infant Welfare Work Begun at Settlement," *The Varsity* XXXII 8(October 16. 1912), 1; UTA, B79-0059/034, Student Christian Movement, "The 'Futurist Number:' University Settlement Review"; BR S54, Budget, University Settlement, (estimated) April 1, 1912 to April 1, 1913 and April 1, 1913 to April 1, 1914.

receive room and possibly also board as part of his salary. Moreover, boys' workers, as supervisors, had the opportunity to develop marketable management skills. In addition, the work was conducted in the late afternoons and evenings, and so could easily be combined with attending classes. For the settlements, on the other hand, the situation was less ideal due to the probability of losing the services of their boys' workers as soon as the latter graduated or found more remunerative employment. The advantage, however, was that employing a boys' worker reduced a substantial component of the headworker's very heavy responsibilities.

The workload for a part-time employee, and for some volunteers as well, was itself quite heavy; boys' workers, for example, were responsible for organizing and supervising not only their settlements' activities for boys, but also the volunteers who assisted with them.<sup>81</sup> Part-time employees were, however, often able to share the work between them. For example, when Elizabeth Neufeld went on holiday in the winter of 1914, Gertrude Graydon and Mr. Morgan were put jointly in charge of the settlement, while a volunteer, Helen Wilson, took Neufeld's place in residence.<sup>82</sup> Similarly, Mabel Newton, the women's worker at University Settlement, was able to share some of her duties with Mono McLaughlin, her assistant.<sup>83</sup> Again, while Neufeld was running the settlement's camp in the summer of 1914, Morgan was put in sole charge of CNH's city work, but he still had the assistance of

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<sup>81</sup>CTA, SC5, B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for June 1912.

<sup>82</sup>CTA, SC 5 B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report, February 11, 1914.

<sup>83</sup>"Settlement Work," *The Varsity* XXXI, 40(January 25, 1912), 4.

Gertrude Graydon, who did not depart for New York until early September.<sup>84</sup> When she did leave, Graydon's position was filled by a volunteer, Mary Joplin Clarke, who within a few months became the settlement's part-time girl's worker, and a few months after that, when Elizabeth Neufeld fell ill, was appointed at first temporary, and then full-time headworker.<sup>85</sup>

There were, of course, other professionals who worked in, or through, the settlements, either on a volunteer or a part-time basis. As we saw in Chapter Six, some settlements employed their own nurses prior to the expansion of the nursing division of the public health department in 1913, after which the city nurses often used the settlements as their neighbourhood bases. University Settlement and Evangelia House appear to have continued to employ their own nurses for a number of years after 1913, as well as providing space for the public health nurses.<sup>86</sup> Playground workers, while usually employed by the Playground Association, often worked either at, or in cooperation with, the settlements in their area. Furthermore, not all settlements relied upon volunteers to teach their gymnasium and domestic science classes or run their women's programmes. University Settlement, for example, hired Mabel Newton, formerly a British sanitary inspector, to direct its women's and girls' programme, while Evangelia and Riverdale both had trained gymnasium instructors and domestic science teachers on their payrolls.<sup>87</sup> Thus, while there were few settlement

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<sup>84</sup>CTA, SC5, B, Box 1, file 2, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report, July 4, 1914.

<sup>85</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 3, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for November 1914, and Headworker's Report for January and February 1915.

<sup>86</sup>BR, S54, Budget, University Settlement (estimated), April 1, 1912 to April 1, 1913 and April 1, 1913 to April 1, 1914; "History of Canadian Settlements" Book B, notes on an interview with Miss Grace Bain, former nurse at Evangelia.

<sup>87</sup>These included Ethel Bunker, who taught gymnastics at both Evangelia and Riverdale, Adelia Noble, who taught domestic science at Riverdale for a year, as well as Dorothy Wreyford, a gym teacher, and Gladys Breed, a domestic science teacher, both at Evangelia. Bunker and

workers in Toronto who had formal training in social work, there were some who were professionals in related fields.

Most often, the only member of settlement staffs who possessed professional social work credentials were the headworkers. Indeed, settlement organizers often went out of their way to secure workers trained in the United States to head their institutions, because it was upon the headworker's expertise and leadership abilities that the success of the settlement ultimately depended.<sup>88</sup> This fact was brought home to University Settlement's board when it found that their first headworker, James M. Shaver, lacked proficiency in settlement work, despite his experience as a lay Methodist minister, and his work as a student in religious social service.<sup>89</sup> Milton B. Hunt, who was Shaver's replacement in the fall of 1911, was better versed in settlement programming and neighbourhood work; *The Varsity* reported that Hunt was a graduate of Brown University, and that he had been a resident for two years in Chicago settlements. In fact, Hunt had an M.A. from Brown in economics and social science, and he had attended the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy for a year in addition to his two year settlement residency.<sup>90</sup> Dr. Norman Ware, who succeeded Hunt in the fall of

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Breed were both hired at Evangelia in 1910, and while Breed stayed there until 1917, Bunker moved over to Riverdale when it opened in 1913, and stayed until it closed in 1916. BR, S54, "History of Canadian Settlements," Book B, Notes, "Riverdale" and "Evangelia."

<sup>88</sup>This was not only true of Toronto's settlements; for example, when the Local Council of Women made plans for the "Women in Industry" survey, Neufeld travelled to Chicago on the Council's behalf in order to look for a trained worker to conduct the study. CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report, April 1913.

<sup>89</sup>UTA, A67-0007/013, Falconer Papers, Robert Falconer to Professor Graham Taylor, March 9, 1911; UCA, biographical files, James M. Shaver, D.D; UCA, DR 15, No. 467, Fred Victor Mission *Annual Report*, 1909, 23.

<sup>90</sup>Allan Irving, Harriet Parsons and Donald Bellamy, *Neighbours: Three Social Settlements in Downtown Toronto* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1995), 87. Milton Hunt left University Settlement abruptly in April 1913. He went back to Chicago subsequent to his leaving Toronto, and worked in the boys' club at Hull-House. In September 1914 Falconer received a letter from

1913, possessed even better qualifications: a Ph.D. in Sociology, obtained under C.R. Henderson, one of the noted authorities on settlements in the United States, as well as experience running Hull-House's boys' club. As we saw in the last chapter, Ware was also a Canadian who had ties to the business community in Toronto.<sup>91</sup>

Of all the settlement headworkers in Toronto, Elizabeth Neufeld's professional credentials were the best: not only was she a graduate of the New York School of Philanthropy, but she also had five years experience in settlement work in Baltimore, and spoke Russian, Polish, Yiddish and English fluently. Her class and educational background was also impeccable; while she was born in the United States, she was sent to Russia and Germany to be educated at elite institutions there. Indeed, according to one newspaper report, Neufeld "was attending Warsaw university at the time of the riots of 1905, when so many students, of both sexes and all creeds, suffered and died in the cause of liberty."<sup>92</sup> A background like this probably lent Neufeld a bit of an aura of romance, but as we have seen already, her Jewishness, as well as her stance against proselytism in settlement work, also

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the American Civil Service Commission asking for a reference for Hunt; he had applied for a job as a special agent in the Department of Labor's Children's Bureau. Falconer wrote back to say that he thought "under a competent head he would be found to be very useful in gathering and sifting information and dealing with it in accordance with the best modern methods." Faint praise indeed. UTA A67-0007/037, Falconer Papers, John McIlhenny to Falconer, September 23, 1914 and Falconer to McIlhenny, September 29, 1914. See also CTA, SC24 Q Box 1, File 2, University Settlement Correspondence, 1914-15.

<sup>91</sup>"Appointed Director of University Settlement," *The Globe*, October 18, 1913, 9; UTA, B79-0059/035, Student Christian Movement, "The 'Futurist Number.'" Arthur Burnett also applied for Hunt's job, and offered some very strong qualifications to support his application in terms of experience, training, and practical orientation, the latter of which Falconer feared Ware lacked. UTA, A67-0007/026, Falconer Papers, Arthur Burnett to President Falconer, March 20, 1913.

<sup>92</sup>CTA, SC5, J, Box 1, file 1, CNH Newsclippings, 1911-1930, "Women's Canadian Club Meets Tomorrow," *The Daily Times Journal*, September 16, 1913; "Settlement Work Has a Good Start," [*The Globe*], n.d. [October 1911]; SC5 I Box 1, file 1, CNH Record Book #2, J.J. Kelso to Mrs. Warren, September 29, 1911.

aroused the prejudice and criticism of some in Toronto's social work community.

Apparently not from Awdrey Brown, however. On the contrary, Brown took advantage of Neufeld's expertise, asking her advice on Jewish customs and diet, for example, in an effort to avoid causing offense to Memorial's Jewish members.<sup>93</sup> Brown's own credentials were similar to those of James Shaver, in that his degree was in divinity rather than social work; indeed, since religious instruction was an important facet of Memorial Institute's programme, this background was no doubt more useful there than it would have been in a non-sectarian institution. Nonetheless, Brown may well have taken advantage of McMaster University's lecture courses on social service while he was a student. He was deeply immersed in the larger social reform community in Toronto, frequently seeking to collaborate with other agencies, both sectarian and non-sectarian, over social work methods. Interestingly, he seems to have been very careful to separate Memorial's religious from its settlement programme, though why he did so is not clear; he may even have accepted Neufeld's arguments on this issue, although this is doubtful. In any case, he not only reported the attendance at Memorial's religious activities separately from that of its settlement activities, but he employed both Nellie McFarland, a Bible woman-cum-district visitor who had been working at Memorial prior to Brown's arrival, and Mattie L. Foster, a settlement worker. As the latter received a higher salary than the former, one might surmise that her work was considered the more valuable, although it may simply have been that Foster possessed a higher social status or better educational qualifications than did McFarland.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>93</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report, May 1913.

<sup>94</sup>CBA, files, Memorial Institute clippings, R.J. Garrett, "A New Departure in the Work at Memorial Church," *Canadian Baptist*, April 9, 1909; Memorial Institute *Calendar*, October 19, 1913; "Memorial Institute Annual Report, 1913," 13 and "Annual Report, 1915," 12; *Canadian Baptist*, March 14, 1912, 9. Unfortunately, no background information on Mattie Foster has

St. Christopher's headworker, Helen Hart, also had no formal training in social work methods, but since she was a graduate of Mount Holyoke, whose students and graduates were among the staunchest supporters of the American settlement movement, and since she had served a long apprenticeship under her father's tutelage, one can assume a certain degree of expertise on her part.<sup>95</sup> The Board certainly considered her to be enough of an authority to entrust her with the training of workers for the Presbyterian Church's entire chain of settlements across Canada. Sarah Carson, of course, entered settlement work before formal training courses existed, but her many years in the field guaranteed her expert status. Under her, Evangelia's Edith Elwood served a five year apprenticeship, and it was Elwood who trained her own successor, Catherine Wright. Prior to taking over as head worker at Evangelia in the spring of 1913, Wright is reported to have acted as 'secretary,' or headworker, at Riverdale Settlement. Details on this aspect of Riverdale's history are scarce, but from the recollections of one of its former staff members, it appears that Wright's job at Riverdale was to help establish the settlement's administrative structure and working procedures. Her staff included Adelia Noble, a "well-trained" domestic science teacher from the United States, and Ethel Bunker, one of Evangelia's gymnastics teachers. According to Bunker's recollections, Wright was succeeded as Riverdale's headworker by Miss Anthos Nesbitt, who was in turn succeeded by Miss Amereaux for the last six months of Riverdale's

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come to light, but Nellie McFarland was a graduate of the Toronto Bible Training School, and had taken a nursing course at the Nursing-at-Home Mission on Hayter St.

<sup>95</sup>See John P. Rousmaniere, "Cultural Hybrid in the Slums: The College Woman and the Settlement House, 1889-1894," Esther Katz and Anita Rapone, eds., *Women's Experience in America: An Historical Anthology* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, Inc., 1980), originally published in *American Quarterly* 22(Spring 1970): 45-66; Parker, "St. Christopher House," 2.

existence.<sup>96</sup>

Increasingly, this haphazard method of acquiring and training settlement workers came to be seen as inadequate to the needs of the movement. Since Mary Richmond first addressed the 1897 meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction on the subject of professional education, social workers in Canada had shown an increasing interest in creating a more formal, professionally-oriented, Canadian training school for practitioners in their field.<sup>97</sup> Indeed, as we saw in Chapter Three, Edith Elwood informed the Canadian Conference of Charities and Correction in 1911 that one reason for Canadians' failure to make progress in the metier of settlement work was their lack of trained workers.<sup>98</sup> The work, it seems, had moved well beyond the point of being an "inverse philanthropy for restless and frustrated rich girls," as one historian has described Hull-House's original mandate.<sup>99</sup> By the 1913 meeting of the CCCC, Elwood's judgment concerning the requirements for the advance of the Canadian settlement movement had come to be shared by the vast majority of the social workers who attended - not only with regard to settlement work, but to virtually all aspects of social work. Canadian social workers argued that they

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<sup>96</sup>BR, S54 "History of Canadian Settlements," Notes, Book B, Riverdale, Carol Stanton Hogg, notes from an interview with Ethel Bunker, n.d. Although the city directory lists Riverdale Settlement, it does not give the name of its headworker, or of any of its residents, and none of the names that Bunker gave are listed in the directory either. It must be kept in mind, though, that city directories frequently leave names out.

<sup>97</sup>Mary E. Richmond, "The Need of a Training-school in Applied Philanthropy," National Conference of Charities and Correction *Proceedings* (Boston: Geo. H. Ellis, 1898), 181-188; Hurl, "Building a Profession," 1. Miss Tingle may well have been the daughter of J. Tingle, a professor at McMaster University.

<sup>98</sup>Edith Elwood, "The Social Settlement," *Canadian Conference of Charities and Correction* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), 31.

<sup>99</sup>Mina Julia Carson, *Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement, 1885-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 54.

needed formal training in order to transform their avocation into a profession.<sup>100</sup> Essentially, the quest for professional status had come to take precedence over one of the settlement movement's strongest original mandates: to reintegrate the classes in order to form a homogeneous community.

Burton Bledstein notes that a profession was considered to be a full-time occupation which provided the professional with his or her principal source of income. It required 'mastery' of a specific body of knowledge and theory, and an apprenticeship or other training. Professionals offered their expert scientific knowledge of specific subjects, such as mine engineering or medicine, in exchange for money and prestige - but it was the prestige which was perhaps most significant. As Bledstein points out, a college professor could make less than a policeman but still have higher social status.<sup>101</sup>

Few occupations in which women predominated were ever accorded full professional status, but some, like social work, developed into what were later identified as 'semi-professions;' vocations which were essentially conceived of as an extension of women's domestic labour into the public sphere, but on what many considered to be a more scientific and efficient basis.<sup>102</sup> As Catherine Prelinger has argued, the development of the female semi-professions allowed gender to become one means of determining occupational hierarchy

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<sup>100</sup>Hurl, "Building a Profession," 1.

<sup>101</sup>Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company Inc., 1976), 86-106. This could help to explain why in 1920 women social workers were able to maintain their position as 'professionals' while receiving an average weekly wage of \$9.01, when male blue collar workers were bringing in an average of \$24.05 per week. Carol Baines, "From Women's Benevolence to Professional Social Work," 80.

<sup>102</sup>Penina Glazer and Miriam Slater, *Unequal Colleagues: The Entrance of Women into the Professions, 1890-1940* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 2-14.

in the professions.<sup>103</sup> Women in the semi-professions took on the less prestigious 'practical' work, which left their male counterparts in the professions with the time necessary for research and theory-building. This gendered assignment of positions in the occupational hierarchy also limited the ability of the female portion of the middle-class population to compete on an equal basis with male professionals.

In the development of the male-dominated profession of sociology and the female-dominated semi-profession of social work, Ellen Condliffe Lagemann has illustrated this practice, which she notes is "also evident in the professionalization of medicine and education."<sup>104</sup> She maintains that the according to the pattern set early on,

professionalization was a process by which the largely male 'university elite' increased apparent similarities between themselves and their also largely male, and also professionalizing university colleagues and decreased the actual similarities that existed at the turn of the century between themselves and their largely female, non-university colleagues.<sup>105</sup>

She goes on to note that

Professionalization represented a means of organizing work through the subdivision and parcelling out of different jobs and statuses between and among different groups and institutions . . . gender was a critical 'organizing principle' in the 'structuring' of women's participation in the professional workforce.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>103</sup>Catherine Prelinger, "The Female Diaconate in the Anglican Church: What Kind of Ministry for Women?," in Gail Malmgreen, ed., *Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760-1930* (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1986), 161.

<sup>104</sup>Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, "The Challenge of Jane Addams: A Research Note," *History of Higher Education Annual* 6 (1986): 56.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid. 58; Charles Levy found direct evidence of this in a 1915 address by Abraham Flexner to the National Council on Charities and Corrections, in which Flexner declared that social work could not be limited or specialized to the degree required in order to be considered a true profession because it was so vast and touched on so many different fields of work. See Charles Levy, *Social Work Education, 1898-1955* (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Social Workers, 1981), 6.

Carol Baines has noted that in their quest for professional status women in the so-called semi-professions adopted a "male ethos of professionalization," one which set objectivity, competition, hierarchy and individualism against nurturing, and expressive and collective forms of interaction.<sup>107</sup> This, she argues, led to tensions, because unlike men who entered the professions in search of social power,

women who entered the women-dominated professions were primarily motivated by an ethic of service or care . . . . Service to society and an ethic of care constrained women in the professions who had assumed that meritocracy and new fields of work would provide women with equal opportunities.<sup>108</sup>

In the case of social work the male ethos of professionalization also set the trained professionals against women volunteers in the field, as the professionals turned away from relationships with volunteer women in hopes of establishing alliances as equals with their male colleagues.<sup>109</sup> Unfortunately, with gender as a central organizing principle establishing hierarchy in the professions, such equality was impossible to achieve. As the new reform elite of the early twentieth century adopted a male-centred, scientific approach to social problems, it included few women on an equal basis.<sup>110</sup>

According to Sara Burke, however, the training programme which Robert Falconer and his colleagues devised in the spring of 1914 for the University of Toronto's prospective Department of Social Service was not intended to further the evolution of social work as a female-dominated semi-profession, but rather to elevate its status to that of a full profession,

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<sup>107</sup>Baines, "From Women's Benevolence," 5.

<sup>108</sup>Baines, "The Professions and an Ethic of Care," 37-38.

<sup>109</sup>Baines, "From Women's Benevolence," 12.

<sup>110</sup>*Ibid.*, 16-17.

and thus induce men to become its primary practitioners.<sup>111</sup> Burke suggests that what prompted Falconer to create the social work course in 1914, after having considered the idea since at least 1908, was the fear that some private agency might take the initiative if the university did not, as the New York Charity Organization Society had done when it established the institution which became the New York School of Philanthropy.<sup>112</sup> It is important to recognize, in this context, that the university was at this time seeking to enhance its significance in Canadian society by becoming the gatekeeper for the professions, so it would not be surprising if its leaders guarded this turf rather jealously.<sup>113</sup> The possibility that a private training institution might take social work along the path toward semi-professional status, by focusing on the acquisition of practical skills to the exclusion of theoretical knowledge, may also have been a serious concern, however.<sup>114</sup>

As Sara Burke points out, the training course developed for the University of Toronto's Department of Social Service focused very little classroom attention on the enhancement of vocational skills. Rather, she says, "[w]ithin the framework of applied social study, the course combined a theoretical grounding in the social sciences with practical

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<sup>111</sup>Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good*, 79-80.

<sup>112</sup>*Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>113</sup>R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, *Professional Gentlemen: The Professions in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); Paul Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class: Student Life in English Canada During the Thirties* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 7-12.

<sup>114</sup>Catherine Prelinger has noted that theory-building was an essential component of the growing prestige of the male professions; indeed, she argues that it was in order to allow male professionals to remove themselves from direct or extensive human contact, so that they could have the isolation and 'objectivity' that the process of abstraction required, that the female-dominated semi-professions were created. See Prelinger, "The Female Diaconate," 185.

information on such topics as criminality and contagious diseases."<sup>115</sup> The programme was initially only one year long, and required that students attend both lecture courses on such topics as social economics, social psychology, and social ethics, which were taught by members of the university, and discussion classes, taught by practitioners in the field. Norman Ware, for example, taught a lecture course entitled "The Urban Community," while Sara Libby Carson taught courses in community and settlement work, Elizabeth Neufeld taught about recreation and play, Helen Hart offered instruction on juvenile delinquency, and Arthur Burnett gave a course on charities and another entitled "The Family and the Community." Other prominent members in the reform community, like Dr. Helen MacMurchy, were also instructors in the new department. The course was planned so that full-time students would receive most of their technical training through their ten hour per week fieldwork placements in the settlements and in the Toronto General Hospital's Social Service Department, but this aspect of the programme, according to Burke, was never organized to the satisfaction of the department's first director, Franklin Johnson Jr.<sup>116</sup>

Most of the city's social agencies welcomed the formation of the Department of Social Service. Playground workers, some of the nurse trainees in Toronto General Hospital's social service department, public health nurses and school nurses, and trainees at St. Christopher House, as well as workers in other settlements who were interested in taking up the work as a profession, were all either required or strongly urged to enrol. In the first year the department could boast only 11 full time students, but there were 282 part-timers, the vast majority of whom were already working in the field; incidentally, only 5 of these were men. According to Lorna Hurl, all 11 of the full-time students were women. As for their religious

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<sup>115</sup>Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good*, 90.

<sup>116</sup>Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good*, 90-91; Hurl, "Building a Profession," 8-13.

backgrounds, six were Presbyterian, three were Methodist, one was Baptist and the last was Unitarian.<sup>117</sup> Despite Falconer's desire to elevate social work above the status of a female-dominated semi-profession, the department's admission requirements were not exacting; college graduation, or at least high school matriculation, was preferred for full-time students, although experienced social workers were exempted, and there were no pre-requisites at all for part-timers.<sup>118</sup>

#### IV

Settlement boards of directors, with the notable exception of University Settlement's Board, tended to be only indirectly involved in issues of professionalization and training in social work. Although board members at the other institutions may have taken an interest in developments at the University of Toronto and elsewhere, surviving minutes and reports indicate that what the boards themselves tended to concentrate on was the month-to-month operation of their institutions. In order to facilitate those operations, the boards of University Settlement and Central Neighbourhood House, and possibly the other settlements as well, created constitutions which set out the administrative structure and the distribution of decision-making powers in their institutions.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>117</sup>Hurl, "Building," Appendices D and E. According to Hurl's tables, small numbers of Jews and Roman Catholics were among the full-time student body beginning in 1918, but prior to that, only one Catholic entered the department on a full-time basis (in 1916). Hurl provides no data on the religious affiliation of the part-timers. With regard to the gender imbalance, Sara Burke points out that the outbreak of war diverted the attention and energies of large numbers of male undergraduates, which ultimately served to heighten the predominance of women in social work. By 1918 only 16 men had registered in the course, as opposed to 765 women. See Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good*, 92-93.

<sup>118</sup>Hurl, "Building," 8-11.

<sup>119</sup>Only CNH's and University Settlement's constitutions have survived, but Evangelia, child of the YWCA that it was, probably had a constitution, and Riverdale may have had one as well. It is unclear whether or not St. Christopher House and Memorial Institute had constitutions; no evidence suggesting their presence has come to light, but given that many social agencies created

Although the structure of the documents themselves is similar, the two surviving constitutions, CNH's and University Settlement's, inaugurated very different administrations in their respective organisations. CNH's, for example, established the criteria for four levels of membership in the Neighborhood House Association, ranging from sustaining to life, as almost its first order of business.<sup>120</sup> Payment of their dues gave CNH members the right to vote at the annual meetings, and to receive all the reports and publications the House issued. Members also had the opportunity to be elected to CNH's board - 12 directors were chosen from the general membership, while another four were elected from the volunteer workers' council. According to the constitution, the settlement's officers - the president, two vice-presidents, recording secretary, corresponding secretary, and treasurer - were to be elected by the board, but it is important to note here that some of these officers were recruited from the business community specifically for their positions. This was how A.St.L. Trigge became CNH's treasurer, for example.<sup>121</sup>

CNH's administration was intended to be democratic in form. For example, the settlement's constitution stipulated that the Board was charged with the conduct of the settlement's affairs, but was accountable, at the annual meeting, to the general membership. In addition, the Board could create, revise or repeal by-laws or conclude real estate transactions on behalf of the House, but only if it advised the general membership of its intention to do so. If one-fifth, or about twenty, members made a written request, the

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in these years did write constitutions, if only to satisfy their benefactors, it is quite possible that they did.

<sup>120</sup>Sustaining members had to pay \$5 or more each year, fellows were required to donate \$25 or more annually, honorary members gave \$100 or more, and life members contributed \$500. CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, November 28, 1911.

<sup>121</sup>CTA, SC5 I Box 1, file 1, CNH Record Book #2, Minutes, November 21, 1911, and November 28, 1911.

directors were required to set up a special meeting in order that members could review, amend, or repeal the Board's decisions. CNH's constitution also inaugurated the volunteer workers' council, and delineated its membership and responsibilities; essentially, anyone who volunteered at CNH could be a member of the council, which was allowed to adopt an independent constitution and by-laws. The council, nevertheless, had very little real power independent of the Board; it was allowed to elect four of its members as Directors, but beyond that it was considered an advisory body for the headworker, who was also an ex officio member of both the council and the Board. She was responsible only to the Board, however.

The University Settlement's constitution created an administration which concentrated much more power at the top. According to the *University of Toronto Monthly*, it "provided for the appointment of a Board of Directors representing the different interests of the University and the business men of the city."<sup>122</sup> The President of the University was designated chairman of the Board, and was given the power to appoint two representatives from the business community, one from the university faculty, one delegate from the University YMCA's Board of Directors and another, a non-student, from the Athletic Association to the settlement's Board. The Board was also to include the Honorary President of the Undergraduates' Parliament, who was also, most likely, a non-student.<sup>123</sup>

It is interesting to note that University Settlement's constitution, like CNH's, provided for the organization of an assembly of volunteers. At University this group was identified as the 'Student's Work Committee.' It included the resident secretary (headworker), the

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<sup>122</sup>"The University Settlement," *The University of Toronto Monthly* XI, 4(February 1911), 113.

<sup>123</sup>*Ibid.*

University YMCA's secretary, the resident students at the settlement, and its club and class leaders, as well as one representative each from the Athletic Association, and from the literary societies of the Faculty of Education, and of University, Trinity, Victoria, Wycliffe, St. Michael's, Knox Colleges, in addition to the Medical and the Engineering Societies' delegates, and an emissary from the Dental Student's Parliament.<sup>124</sup> The responsibilities of the Student Work Committee were unspecified, but it appears to have been organized as a kind of booster society. It had no representation of the Board; in fact, with the possible exception of the honorary president of the undergraduate's parliament, in the first year no student was appointed to the Board, and neither was the settlement's headworker. This changed when Milton Hunt came on staff; Hunt was listed as a Board member in the 1911 publicity pamphlet, and when Norman Ware took over in 1913 he was appointed to the Board's executive.<sup>125</sup> Students were also included on the 1913 board.

According to *The Varsity*, when the YMCA severed its official connection with the settlement in the fall of 1911, Falconer appointed a Board comprised of "a happy combination of members of the University staff and graduates from down town."<sup>126</sup> The student committees were apparently to have a greater say in the administration of the settlement, but it is not clear from this report exactly how they were to participate in the decision-making process. The constitution may have been amended to reflect these changes, but if so, the amended document has not come to light. Most likely, the institution was administered in much the same way as it had been in the previous year.

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<sup>124</sup>Ibid., 114.

<sup>125</sup>UTA, B78-1395 "Some Facts: About the University Settlement"; B79-0059/035, "The Futurist Number."

<sup>126</sup>"Support Settlement," *The Varsity* XXXI, 15(November 1, 1911): 2.

Another change which took place in the fall of 1911 was the expansion of University Settlement's programme to include women and girls, and with that expansion a Ladies Committee, consisting of faculty wives and a representative of the University Women's Club (UWC), was instituted. This committee, like the Student Work Committee, seems to have been mainly focused on gathering money and volunteers for the settlement.<sup>127</sup> Curiously, in October 1912 Mrs. Falconer asked the UWC to send a representative to sit on the Settlement's executive, and a Miss Tingle was duly appointed, but her name does not appear on any of the settlement's subsequent publicity circulars.<sup>128</sup> It is possible that the executive of which Mrs. Falconer spoke was actually the Ladies Committee, but if it was not, if women did sit on the Board's executive, their names may have been omitted from the settlement's brochures because Falconer and his colleagues were attempting to maintain the institution's masculine appearance before the public. It is also possible that women like Miss Tingle had very little influence on how the institution was governed anyway.

So who were the people who wielded real power on settlement boards of directors? Some were, in fact, prominent members of Toronto's wealthy elite, while others were celebrated reformers, but the majority of the settlements' directors were simply comfortably-off business executives. At St. Christopher House, which was governed by a committee of the Board of Social Service and Evangelism, they were prominent members of the Presbyterian Church leadership or laity; the chairman of the committee was James W. Woods, and he was joined by other members of the Board, including John G. Shearer and James A. MacDonald,

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<sup>127</sup>"Settlement and Y.M.C.A.," *The Varsity*, (October 25, 1911): 1.

<sup>128</sup>UWCA, Executive minutes, October 29 and November 26, 1912.

editor of the *Globe*.<sup>129</sup> Like St. Christopher's, Memorial Institute was also governed by a group of prominent ordained and lay leaders, in this case members of the Baptist Church. Memorial's governing council was called the Downtown Committee of the Walmer Road Church, and its chairman was Joseph Shenstone, the treasurer of the Massey-Harris Co., and resident on Walmer Road.<sup>130</sup>

Evangelia's Board probably counted the largest number of prominent citizens among its directors, including Sir Edmund B. Osler, who was President, and Sir Byron Edmund Walker, Sarah Warren, Lady Kemp, and "the Misses Laidlaw," most likely the daughters of Walter C. Laidlaw, the secretary-treasurer of Laidlaw Lumber, Building and Contracting.<sup>131</sup> On the executive were Alexander Laird, who was Vice-President in 1913, and Sydney B. Sykes, the secretary-treasurer of the North of Scotland Canada Mortgage Co., who brought his business skills to Evangelia as its Secretary-Treasurer; Edith Elwood also sat on the board. Evangelia's "council" members included Joseph Henderson, the second vice-president of the Bank of Toronto, Frank W. Strathy, a real estate and investment broker, James Scott, Sidney Small, J.P. Northby, who were all businessmen, and Dr. Crawford Scadding.<sup>132</sup> In addition, every women's student society which maintained a chapter of Evangelia House sent a representative to sit on the settlement's board. When Evangelia established Riverdale it not only lent its daughter institution some of its staff, but also some of its Board members,

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<sup>129</sup>Brian J. Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988), 71.

<sup>130</sup>*Canadian Baptist*, March 14, 1912, 9. Goertz says that the name of this council was the "Committee of Nine," but other sources refer to it only as the Downtown Committee. See *A Century for the City*, 42.

<sup>131</sup>BR S54, "History of Canadian Settlements," Notes, Book B, "Evangelia."

<sup>132</sup>UTA, A67-0007/028 Falconer Papers, "Evangelia Settlement: Summary of Ten Months Work."

including a Miss Osler, who later married businessman Wilmot Matthews, and a Mrs. McMurray, who was the wife of a banker. Riverdale's Board was chaired by William R. Johnston, the president of a drygoods firm.<sup>133</sup>

The most complete lists of Board members is provided by University Settlement and Central Neighborhood House. For example, we know that University Settlement's first Board consisted of R.J. Clark, who was treasurer, Dr. W.B. Hendry, Prof. G.I.H. Lloyd, Prof. R.W. Angus, Prof. M.W. Wallace, Prof. H.T.J. Coleman, Prof. H.C. Griffith, G.A. Warburton, and E.F. Burton, all of whom were faculty members, as well as J.S. McLean, who was secretary-treasurer of the Harris Abattoir and was later appointed University Settlement's treasurer when R.J. Clark left the city, and Thomas A. Russell, general manager of Canada Cycle and Motor Co. and Russell Car Co. Ltd., J.J. Kelso, and Dr. E.M. Walker. It is curious that Robert Falconer, who was chair, was not mentioned in the first pamphlet.<sup>134</sup> He was, however, in the second, which also listed McLean, Hendry, Lloyd, Angus, Wallace, Kelso, Coleman, and Burton from the previous Board, as well as some new members: Prof. E.J. Kylie, Dr. J.W. Barton, Norman P. Lambert, Percy Brooks, Master Mechanic of the Grand Trunk Railway, Andrew S. Sibbald, a fourth year student in University College, and Milton B. Hunt.<sup>135</sup> The 1913-14 Board included many members of the previous two boards; Falconer, McLean, and Norman J. Ware, as secretary, comprised the officers and Hendry, Lloyd, Angus, Wallace, Kelso, Coleman, Burton, Barton, were also members. New recruits included Dr. Duncan Graham, Dr. Fred Mallory, Cyril Carrie,

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<sup>133</sup>BR S54, "History of Canadian Settlements," Notes, Book B, "Riverdale Settlement."

<sup>134</sup>UTA, B79-0059/035, Student Christian Movement, "The University Settlement, 1910-1911."

<sup>135</sup>UTA, B78-1395, "Some Facts: About the University Settlement."

secretary of the University YMCA, C.T. Currelly, Dr. C.E. Cole.

CNH had the most interesting Board, as one might expect. J.J. Kelso was chairman, and only designated officer of the organizing committee, and he was joined by Rosaline Torrington, who later became president of the National Council of Women, and Helen Leys, Rabbi and Mrs. Jacobs, Flora MacDonald Denison, well-known journalist and feminist, Mrs. Leo Frankel and Mrs Sigmund Samuel, both wives of manufacturers, author Alice Chown, Elizabeth Neufeld, Rev. R.J. Hutcheon, a Unitarian minister, William A. Firstbrook, vice-president of a manufacturing company, Father Lancelot Minehan, the pastor of St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church, Austin L. McCredie, general manager of a publishing firm, Arthur St. L. Trigge, who was secretary of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, as well as Central's Treasurer, and Arthur Burnett, George Bryce, and W.L. Symons, who was an architect interested in developing working-class housing.<sup>136</sup> These members also comprised the settlement's first elected Board.<sup>137</sup> The 1913-14 Board reflected some changes: Alice Chown, Helen MacMurchy and Flora MacDonald Denison had resigned, apparently due to pressure of work, and William Firstbrook was elected president, while J.J. Kelso became vice-president and Arthur Burnett became secretary. C.L. Rennie, the manager of the Union Bank on Gerrard Street, was treasurer, and of course Elizabeth Neufeld was still headworker. The settlement had a separate executive, on which sat Mrs. Torrington, Gertrude Sanborn, a resident volunteer, Rabbi Jacobs, and Father Minehan, as well as some new members, Thomas Roden, a silverware manufacturer, Walter C. Laidlaw whose daughters sat on the board of Evangelia Settlement, H. Lawrence Rous, president of a printing company, George

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<sup>136</sup>CTA, SC5 B Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, "Mailing List of Organization Committee"; "Headworker's Report, December 17-1911 to January 18, 1912."

<sup>137</sup>CTA, SC5 D Box 1, file 2, *CNH Year Book, 1912*.

Scroggie, who was a manager at the *Mail and Empire*, A.M. Campbell and Howard Douglas, students who also volunteered at University Settlement, and Maurice Frankel.<sup>138</sup>

As we can see from the above, men predominated on settlement boards, except in the first CNH board, where there were almost equal numbers (10 men to 8 women). All appear to have been comfortably-off, and some were very affluent, but most of the directors were business executives, and the majority likely had to work fairly hard for their livelihoods. It is worth noting again that settlement users were not invited to participate in the institution's decision-making process, even at CNH, which had by far the most inclusive administration. This exclusion was no doubt pragmatic on one level; the main responsibilities of the board members were to use their influence, connections, and expertise to raise funds, and then to meet regularly in order to decide how those funds were going to be expended, usually in consultation with the headworker.<sup>139</sup> In an era when poverty was still considered by many to be caused, at a fundamental level, by the inability of the poor to manage their incomes appropriately, prospective contributors would not be likely to feel confident in an institution in which the poor had a say in its administration. In any case, most board members thought they

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<sup>138</sup>CTA, SC5 B Box 1, file 5, *CNH Year Book, 1913*; file 1, Board of Director's minutes, February 20, 1912.

<sup>139</sup>For example, when CNH was trying to persuade the city Parks Department to convert the old Elizabeth Street school into a playground shelter, Board members were called upon frequently to attend city council meetings, and to discuss the need for a shelter, and CNH's plans for it, with different members and groups in city government. The credibility of the CNH's Board members was key to their gaining access to these civil servants. See CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, March 12, 1912; Headworker's Report for September 1912; and CTA, RG17, Box 12, Parks and Exhibition Committee minutes, September 9, 1912 and October 7, 1912. It was also key to their gaining the ear of possible benefactors; different members of CNH's board were delegated to speak on the settlement's behalf to individuals within their acquaintance. For example, Helen Leys was assigned to ask Clara Benson for help in getting Mrs. Massey-Treble to fund CNH's domestic science programme; Rabbi Jacobs was asked to speak to Cawthra Mulock, Sir Henry Pellat, and J.C. Eaton; and J.J. Kelso was delegated to write letters to philanthropists he knew personally. See SC5 I, Box 1, file 1, CNH Organization Committee minutes, September 26, 1911.

already knew what their clientele needed, and were providing it.

But how did all this translate into practice? Who actually made the decisions, and how were they made? Clearly, much of the day-to-day management of the institutions fell to the headworkers, and indeed they had a great deal of influence over the atmosphere of the settlements as a whole, but some Board members, like Sir James Woods, were frequent visitors to their institutions and sought to participate directly in their management. Robert Falconer, for his part, declared that "[a] good deal of the burden of planning for the University Settlement falls on my shoulders: at least I feel that I cannot divest myself of a certain responsibility, though there are others on the Committee who perhaps do more work than I do."<sup>140</sup> He does not mention the work of University Settlement's director. At Central Neighborhood House, some of the day-to-day administration was carried out by numerous sub-committees of the Board, which were created when particular needs arose, such as when the constitution or publicity brochures needed to be written, when rowdiness became a problem in neighbourhood dance halls, or when settlement representatives were collecting evidence to support a call for a civic vice commission.<sup>141</sup> The Board sub-committees usually worked in close partnership with Elizabeth Neufeld, however. In fact, CNH's Board seemed increasingly content to leave everything to her, sometimes to her frustration, as we saw when the Board allowed CNH to fall further and further into debt during 1913. Details are scarce as to the style of management of the other settlements, but it appears that their headworkers were relatively autonomous, and that their boards saw themselves in a supportive, rather than an authoritative, capacity.

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<sup>140</sup>UTA, A67-0007/023, Falconer Papers, Falconer to Rev. Alfred Fitzpatrick, March 28, 1913.

<sup>141</sup>CTA, SC5 I, Box 1, file 1, Organization Committee minutes, October 23, 1911; SC5 I, Box 1, file 1, Board of Director's minutes, May 13, 1913.

Of course, headworkers were not only responsible for the management of their institutions; they were also very deeply involved in reform at the civic, national and international level. As Neufeld argued, "much of the value of the work is dependent on our ability to co-operate with other institutions and making [sic] their work as well as our own in that way more efficient."<sup>142</sup> At the civic level, settlement headworkers were the backbone of the district case conferences, and later of the Neighborhood Worker's Association which succeeded them.<sup>143</sup> It was the headworkers who maintained connections with other settlements, who undertook casework for local relief societies, and who worked with the police and juvenile court officials, the Board of Education, the Public Health Department, the Parks Department, the sanitary inspector, and the Civic Employment Bureau. They personally conducted district visiting in their neighbourhoods on behalf of some of these agencies, and some of them also joined citizens' committees investigating, among other things, the minimum wage, housing, and working conditions.<sup>144</sup> Some headworkers also helped in the establishment of other settlements: Helen Hart, for example, trained workers for settlements

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<sup>142</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for July and August, 1913.

<sup>143</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for December 1912; file 2, Headworker's Report for December 1913; CBA, "Memorial Institute, Annual Report for 1913," 13; RG11, Box 69, file 2, DPH Staff Records, 370-373; Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good*, 81.

<sup>144</sup>CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report, December 17, 1911 to January 18, 1912; Headworker's Report for March 1912, June 1912, September 1912, October 1912, January 1913, April 1913, May 1913, November 1913, February 11, 1914, and for May 1914; CNH Board minutes, April 8, 1913; SC5 D, Box 1, file 4, CNH newsletter, September 1913; file 2, CNH *Year Book, 1912* and file 5, CNH *Year Book, 1913*; CBA, "Memorial Institute Annual Report for 1913," 11; "Workers for Settlement Eat," *The Varsity* XXXII, 22(November 20, 1912): 4; UTA, A67-0007/023, Falconer Papers, Falconer to Rev. Alfred Fitzpatrick, March 26, 1913; B79-0059/035, "The 'Futurist' Number"; "The University Settlement" (pamphlet) December 1913; "How Undergrad Learns to Shed His Happiness," *Toronto Daily Star*, April 18, 1914, 23.

in Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver, while Edith Elwood assisted in the creation of Riverdale, and Elizabeth Neufeld went to London Ontario to help the local Women's Canadian Club to organise a settlement there. Norman Ware, for his part, travelled to Montreal to speak on behalf of that city's University Settlement.<sup>145</sup> Some headworkers also participated in national and international social work groups, or otherwise maintained their contacts with colleagues across the country and in the United States. Norman Ware, for example, maintained a correspondence with Jane Addams, as well as with a number of American sociologists, and kept up with American developments through a subscription to *The Survey*.<sup>146</sup> Sara Carson gave a paper on settlement work at the Social Service Congress in 1914, while Edith Elwood did the same at the Canadian Conference of Charities and Correction (CCCC) in 1911. Elizabeth Neufeld, for her part, regularly attended the CCCC's annual meetings, and was an executive officer of that organization's committee on immigration. She also regularly attended the National Conference and Charities and Correction in the United States. Moreover, she assisted J.S. Woodsworth to launch the Canadian Welfare League in 1913.<sup>147</sup> Most headworkers seemed to consider this kind of "outside" work to be a necessary part of their jobs. In fact, it is possible that part of the

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<sup>145</sup>"Report of the Board of Social Service and Evangelism," Presbyterian General Assembly, *A&P*, 1913 and 1914; BR S54, "History of Canadian Settlements" Notes, Book B, "Riverdale"; CTA, SC5 B, Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report, April 14, 1914; SC24 Q, Box 1 file 2, University Settlement Correspondence, 1914, Elizabeth Helme to Norman Ware, and J. Dale to Norman Ware, January 12, 1914.

<sup>146</sup>CTA, SC24 Q Box 1, file 2, University Settlement Correspondence, 1914, Jane Addams to Norman Ware, May 7, 1914, and *The Survey* to University Settlement, July 13, 1914; BR S54, "History of Canadian Settlements," 4:2:6, E.H. Sutherland to Norman Ware, October 14, 1913.

<sup>147</sup>CTA, SC5 B Box 1, file 1, CNH Board of Director's minutes, Headworker's Report for April 1912; Headworker's Report on the CCCC, September 1913; SC24 Q, Box 1, file 1, University Settlement Correspondence, 1913, E. Neufeld to Norman Ware, December 30, 1913.

reason Riverdale foundered in 1916 was that its headworker, Miss Anthos Nesbitt, did not take on these activities in the larger community.<sup>148</sup> This may also have contributed to the demise of Evangelia Settlement, under Catherine Wright.<sup>149</sup>

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Clearly, there were many issues involved in the funding, staffing and administration of the settlements. Some of those who donated money, and who volunteered their time to sit on boards of directors, did so out of a sense of obligation, because they believed their relative wealth conferred upon them the responsibility to help those less fortunate than themselves. The settlement movement's claims to scientific methodology and efficiency also attracted some, who may themselves have been experimenting with new management techniques aimed at promoting efficiency in the workplace. Belief in the principles of welfare capitalism also probably prompted some to fund the settlements, while others may have sought to maintain or augment their connections in the business community through their participation on settlement boards or in fund-raising campaigns. Volunteers had similar motivations, as did those who staffed the institutions. But whatever reasons that settlement staff, volunteers, board members and contributors had for participating in the movement, most of them ultimately did so because they believed that in addition to ameliorating the condition of the poor, the

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<sup>148</sup>BR, S54, "History of Canadian Settlements," Notes, Book B, "Riverdale Settlement."

<sup>149</sup>I can find no evidence that Catherine Wright participated in any social work conferences or inter-agency cooperative ventures while she was headworker of Evangelia. The settlement is reported to have closed in 1919, although it is listed in the Toronto City Directories until 1923, when it was absorbed into Evangel Hall. One former employee of the settlement claimed that Evangelia closed because Catherine Wright, while well-loved, was not assertive enough with her Board of Directors, who lost interest as a result. Others have claimed that World War One, and Edmund Osler's ill health and subsequent withdrawal from active participation in Evangelia's affairs sounded the death-knell for the settlement. Most likely, it was a combination of all these factors. See *Toronto City Directory, 1922*, 854, and *1923*, 902; BR, S54, "History of Canadian Settlements," Notes, Book B, "Evangelia," C. Hogg, notes from an interview with Miss Grace Bain, [1963]; Mary Jennison, "The Canadian Settlement Movement," TMs, 1965, 69, BR.

contributors themselves would gain by it, either directly or indirectly. This, in the end, may be why they never considered allowing their clientele to have a hand in the management of the settlements: they had too much to lose.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### THE CULTIVATION OF CANADIAN CITIZENS

All these things lead us to wonder, as we watch them happening around us, what is the meaning of it all? These foreigners, so queer in outward appearance, have the same feelings, the same qualities, both good and bad, that are found in other ranks of society, their needs physical, mental and moral, are the same of [sic] ours, but their circumstances are so very, very different, and the opportunities that are open to them are so few in number and so limited in extent, that one often wonders how they manage to 'make good' in the way that they do, and why they remain kind and friendly to all instead of becoming embittered and resentful, when they see the painful contrast between the things that life has given them so grudgingly, and the things that have been strewn so lavishly in the paths of others. And we are forced to ask what right have 'the others' to the advantages that they enjoy? More especially what right have they to pride themselves upon their superiority and to despise the 'Sheeny' and 'Dago[,] the dirty and the downtrodden, for dare they think that, had the circumstances been reversed and their lot been cast in the Ward that they, by their innate virtue, would have risen to their present heights of wisdom and goodness[?]<sup>1</sup>

With this statement Elizabeth Neufeld concluded a sad little valedictory monograph entitled "Life in the Ward." She wrote the piece in October 1915, shortly after she officially resigned as headworker of Central Neighborhood House to marry Richard Neustadt, who was a settlement worker in Baltimore. In this essay Neufeld described the persistent, nebulous sense of fear that "respectable citizens" commonly experienced when they contemplated the Ward and the people who lived there. She described, also, how she and her colleagues perceived the people of the neighbourhood - as dignified, gay, frivolous and sometimes silly - as well as some of the injustices the newcomers faced as a result of punitive relief policies, and the more generalized "Fear of the Unknown," as she called it. Eliminating this fear, and

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<sup>1</sup>CTA, SC5 C Box 1, file 13, Elizabeth Neufeld, "Life in the Ward," October 28, 1915.

creating in its place a sense of common purpose and affinity between the classes, was what the settlement movement had been originally intended to accomplish, but clearly, as far as Neufeld was concerned, this inter-class bond - essentially, this sense of community - had not yet been formed in Toronto.

With the outbreak of World War One, a gradual shift in focus took place within Toronto's settlement movement. Although the settlements remained intent on assisting immigrants to assimilate, and they continued to champion some of their original values by keeping before the middle-class public the very human face of the 'strangers' in their midst, settlement workers gradually began to concentrate more on the development of individuals than on the strengthening of communities. The reasons for this shift can be found in the exigencies of the war and the immediate post-war era, as well as in the rise of a particular form of social work praxis during these years. The result was that while many of the original settlement programmes and policies remained intact, the settlements which emerged in 1919 were very different institutions from what they had been in at the start of the decade.

In *A Room of One's Own* Virginia Woolf ruminated about her sense that something was missing in Oxbridgians' discourse after World War One - "a sort of humming noise, not articulate, but musical, exciting, which changed the value of the words themselves."<sup>2</sup> In Toronto's prewar settlements, a similar kind of humming could be discerned - an undercurrent of cheerful vitality and confidence that the 'problem of the city' could be solved - and it too seems to have gone missing during the war. In part this may have been due to changes in the movement's leadership. Within the space of a few years most of the major figures from the prewar movement - Edith Elwood, Elizabeth Neufeld, Sara Carson, Helen

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<sup>2</sup>Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (London: Hogarth Press, 1929, repr. London: Grafton Books, 1977), 13.

Hart, and Norman Ware - left the city. Moreover, the war brought about a real crisis for the settlements, as media attention was drawn away from the 'problem of the city' by news from the front, and as the energies and bequests of volunteers, staff and benefactors were diverted to the war effort. Four of the six original settlements managed to survive, but only to be faced, in the post-war era, by new challenges and predicaments: the post-war depression, for example, and the 1918 influenza epidemic, which claimed the lives of many residents in settlement neighbourhoods; the 'Red Scare,' which had far-reaching effects on community-oriented services; the demolition of the Ward in order to make way for the construction of the city's new business district; and the introduction of the community-chest approach to funding non-public social agencies, under which settlements were persistently characterized as non-essential, and were therefore perpetually underfunded. The movement was by no means over, and Toronto's settlements continued to pioneer new approaches to the problems of their clients, but the changes were also significant. In order to be explored properly, these wartime and post-war shifts in the settlement movement deserve a separate study of their own.

This thesis has investigated the development of Toronto's settlement movement from its turn-of-the-century beginnings to the advent of World War One. As we have seen, the movement originally evolved out of the desire of some citizens, mostly well educated young women, to help improve the opportunities available to the residents of what were euphemistically known as 'neglected' districts, and more commonly identified as slums. The ambition of settlement organizers and their staffs was to reconnect the 'masses' with the 'classes,' and to create, or recreate, as they considered it, a cooperative community in which individuals worked to benefit their neighbours and to develop their 'best selves.' Charity, settlers believed, only sustained and perhaps even augmented inter-class fears and misunderstandings, and moreover, it degraded its recipients and did nothing for its

contributors, either. Far better, the early proponents maintained, to get to know the poor as individuals, and to help them by offering leadership, practical services, and inspiring models - in short, those things that were regarded as the tools of self-help in the early twentieth century.

The settlements in Toronto offered something significant and unique to each of their constituencies; to their memberships they offered opportunities for recreation, vocational training, and educational advancement of various kinds, as well as services like daycare and libraries which were, for the most part, unavailable elsewhere. To their employees settlements offered the prospect of a career in a developing profession which claimed as its hallmarks, the hallmarks of the age - innovation, scientific expertise, and efficiency. Volunteers, for their part, were told they could do something meaningful with their knowledge and abilities, and as well, they could develop desirable job skills, and fulfil an obligation, felt by many, to improve social conditions in their communities. And to their benefactors and administrators settlements offered the opportunity to be a part of an innovative approach to the problems of urban poverty, as well as more pragmatic possibilities, such as developing business connections and gaining personal recognition among their peers.

As we have seen, there were a number of factors which influenced the development of the settlement movement in Edwardian Toronto. The years between 1900 and 1914 saw an unprecedented increase in the city's population, almost entirely through immigration, and although their numbers were never more than modest prior to World War One, the most conspicuous participants in this increase were those who originated from Southern and Eastern Europe. As the visibility of the 'new immigrants' among the city's inhabitants grew, settlement advocates shifted their attention to the assimilation of this new and, as several commentators claimed, potentially subversive segment of the population, and the movement

began to expand. This decade and a half also saw the rapid growth of Toronto's industrial base, which served to swell the flow of immigration and increase anxiety over the 'problem of the city;' as we have seen, a number of the industrialists, bankers, real estate agents and business owners who benefitted from the growth of industry in Toronto were among the settlement movement's major contributors. Perhaps most importantly, during the 1900 to 1914 period middle-class women in Toronto expanded their public presence - as students in tertiary-level schooling, as reformers, as club members, as philanthropists and as professionals, and it was upon this group that the settlement movement relied most heavily.

This thesis began with an argument that it was largely through their activities as settlement volunteers, staff people, board members and fundraisers, that these women were able to contribute most toward the formation of the Canadian state. This is particularly evident when, as Philip Abrams suggests, we regard the process of state formation as the establishment and maintenance of, firstly, the state-system - essentially, the internal and external relations of political and governmental institutions - and secondly, the state idea - a hegemonic ideal of nationhood, citizenship and culture.<sup>3</sup> As we have seen, the settlement movement especially contributed toward the development of the state-system at the municipal level by, among other things, supporting, with their public statements and with programme initiatives, the expansion of the Parks, Relief, and Public Health departments, and the Juvenile Court system, as well as by working for the creation of new divisions of government, like the Vice Commission. Through their kindergartens, vocational training, gym and elocution classes, and English instructional programmes, all conducted using the most up-to-date methods, as well as through persistent demands for the extended use of schools as

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<sup>3</sup>Philip Abrams, "Notes on the Difficulty of Studying the State," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1, 1(1988): 75-80.

evening social centres, settlement workers and their supporters also advanced, both directly and indirectly, the development of the city's school system.

As important as these developments were, it is the movement's contributions toward what Abrams calls the 'state idea' that is perhaps most fascinating. As we have seen, settlement work was ultimately focused on citizenship training. Clubs, classes and large-group activities were the principal means of inculcating settlement clientele with the ideals of democratic citizenship, and the norms of class and gender relations in a capitalist parliamentary democracy. Clubs aimed particularly at setting standards of personal conduct, by imparting such principles as honesty, a sense of duty to one's fellows, the integrity of the individual, and self-reliance and self-discipline, as well as an understanding of the more concrete workings of the government and justice systems. Most of the classes focused on teaching 'gender-appropriate' skills - cooking and sewing for girls and women, debating and mathematics for boys and men - and thus they subtly represented bourgeois, Anglo-Celtic gender roles as normal and inevitable. Settlement workers placed great value, as well, on proficiency in English, on 'clean' forms of entertainment, and on the work ethic, and thus, through oblique means, encouraged the adoption of bourgeois values and mores. This is not to argue here that immigrants did not espouse similar values, only to point out that settlement workers set out deliberately to teach these things, with the expectation that they needed to be taught.

But the settlements were also intent on inculcating the middle class with an ideal of cooperative citizenship. It is important to recall that the principles that the settlements were attempting to impress upon their clientele were also being taught to the children of the middle class through their youth organizations. By encouraging middle-class young people to teach the principles of democratic citizenship to immigrants, settlement leaders underlined the

relevance of those principles to the instructors themselves. Proponents of the settlement movement thus encouraged middle-class young people to see themselves as models of democratic values and mores - indeed, as representatives of what they believed to be the acme of human civilization - and as such to feel a sense of obligation toward the less privileged members of their community.

Accordingly, it is important to acknowledge that while most settlement workers, volunteers, and benefactors were sympathetic to and supportive of the residents of the 'neglected' districts of Toronto, their work ultimately reinforced and extended existing gender, class, and ethnic relations in Anglo-Canadian society. As Roxana Ng has argued, these relations, based as they were (and are) on an ideology of Anglo-Celtic superiority, subordinated particular groups within Canadian society: in this case, non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants, and members of the working class more generally. Gender, class, and ethnic relations were important to Canadian state formation, Ng argues, because "the development of capitalism and the emergence of Canada as a nation-state cannot be separated from racism and sexism as systems of domination and subordination."<sup>4</sup> Ng points out that the power of the ideology of middle-class Anglo-Canadian superiority lay in its influence upon "how people define themselves and how they participate in social life."<sup>5</sup> She notes that ideological processes are embodied in people's daily practices, whether they are aware of them or not; in other words, they are part of people's 'lived culture,' as Raymond Williams puts it. Making them part of settlement users' lived culture was one of the most important goals in settlement work. Thus we find, for example, that despite the rhetoric of using the settlements as sites of

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<sup>4</sup>Roxana Ng, *Racism, Sexism, and Nation Building in Canada*, in Cameron McCarthy and Warren Crichlow, eds., *Race Identity and Representation in Education* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 57.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 51.

cultural exchange, settlement workers consistently presented their clientele's traditional lifestyles as inferior, backward, or outmoded, and middle-class Anglo-Canadian ways as 'pleasant,' 'clean,' and infinitely superior. Even Elizabeth Neufeld, who argued in "Life in the Ward" that middle-class superiority was not inherent but situational, still worked hard to teach those ways to CNH's neighbours. This is not to say that the settlement movement was part of a planned conspiracy to oppress Southern and Eastern immigrants, or the working class more generally. Nor is it to argue that settlement proponents saw Anglo-Canadian society as flawless; their efforts to bring about the cooperative community belies that view. But it is important to recognize that in the context of turn-of-the-century Anglo-Canadian society, the superiority of middle-class Anglo-Canadian culture appeared to be just 'common sense,' and thus the unequal gender, class, and ethnic relations within it seemed, and were presented as, normal and just.<sup>6</sup> For the proponents of the settlement movement, the need for non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants to assimilate appeared self-evident. The cooperative community could not exist without it.

But what 'assimilation' entailed was still open to debate. While they all agreed that non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants could, and should, be assimilated, individual settlement leaders had different views on the importance of evangelism in the assimilation process. As we have seen, Neufeld maintained that the inclusion of religious teachings in settlements interfered with their primary mandate to bring heterogeneous communities together, by discouraging certain segments of the immigrant population from participating in settlement programmes. It is not that Neufeld and her board at CNH rejected religion; indeed, CNH's Board was composed of individuals from many different faiths. As J.J. Kelso noted in 1915:

[s]ometimes we have heard it said that the Central Neighborhood House was

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 52.

an institution from which religion was entirely debarred. This is far from the truth. We do not profess to be an evangelistic organization or mission, and religious doctrines are not taught. Workers connected with the House are, however, actuated by deep religious conviction, and are believers in creeds broad enough to include Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Gentile. Surely we can all unite under the commandment, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.'<sup>7</sup>

For the proponents of non-sectarian settlements, the adoption of a particular system of religious beliefs was not a necessary part of the assimilation process. They were not alone in this view; as one commentator in the *Canadian Churchman* argued, Anglo-Saxon civilization in the New World was so successful at assimilating the children of Europeans, that the differences which remained were only skin-deep. He maintained that nations that think, speak, and dream in the same tongue, and feed impressionable minds with the same masterpieces "are bound to approximate towards each other in the essentials." Indeed, he said, "language is thicker than blood."<sup>8</sup>

But as we saw in the preceding chapters, the founders of both the denominational and non-denominational settlements disagreed with this view. They included Sunday services in their programmes because they did not believe that 'Canadianization' could be accomplished without 'Christianization.' Yet workers at the religious settlements did not try to insist that members attend the Sunday services. Rather, they maintained that their clientele would absorb the Christian message by observing the actions of the settlement staff. Evangelical work, Edith Elwood argued, had to be "tactful, and yet aggressive," and, like J.J. Kelso, she

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<sup>7</sup>CTA, SC5 C, D, Box 1, file 7, *CNH Year Book, 1915*.

<sup>8</sup>"The Melting Pot," *Canadian Churchman*, April 7, 1910, 216. For further discussion on this point, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

insisted that it had to be prompted by the Golden Rule.<sup>9</sup> Helen Hart concurred, noting that,

[t]here are different kinds of Social Settlements, expressing different points of view; but there are two things about every true Social Settlement that distinguish it from most of the activities we call 'charitable': - it is a SHARING rather than a giving, and its benefits are spiritual rather than material; spiritual in that they are an expression of the spirit of neighbourliness and good-will, and of the love of Christ.<sup>10</sup>

While they disagreed on the matter of religion in the settlements, Toronto's settlement workers fully concurred on the need for systematic research on their clientele, consistently arguing that their work had to be founded upon a concrete knowledge of the needs of the settlement neighbourhoods. Thus they engaged in district visiting, as well as conducting more formal surveys, and when the attendance of a particular group dropped off, they sought to remedy the situation by modifying their programme. It is important to recognize here that settlement members were able to exert a not inconsiderable degree of influence over their settlements through these kinds of interactions. Indeed, as we have seen, the attempts of settlers to establish certain ideals as hegemonic were not always successful, as in the case of CNH's Italian citizenship lecture series, and where the clientele did seem to accept the messages they were being sent, we have to question whether or not the members were merely using the settlement offerings for their own purposes. Enrico Cumbo has argued, for example, that when CNH acquired some pool tables, some of the boys at the settlement used the opportunity to hone their skills, so that at sixteen, when they were legally permitted to enter

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<sup>9</sup>Edith Elwood, "The Social Settlement," *Canadian Conference of Charities and Correction, Report of the Proceedings, 1911* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), 32.

<sup>10</sup>Helen L. Hart, "Evangelical Social Settlement Work," *The Presbyterian Record*, June, 1915, 255.

commercial pool halls, they could 'clean up' as pool 'sharks.'<sup>11</sup> And when we see that Jews and Catholics attended the Sunday services at the religious settlements, we have to question the headworkers' assumptions that the Protestant message was getting through. There are other reasons, which have little to do with the acceptance of religious doctrine, why settlement members may have attended these services. Indeed, the practice on the part of settlement clientele to use settlement programmes selectively, and for their own purposes, probably accounts, at least in part, for the institutions' high attendance figures. But while it is critical to acknowledge the agency of the settlements' members, we must not forget Raymond Williams' contention that the cultural hegemony of the bourgeoisie in capitalist democracies is maintained not only through overt manifestations of power, but also through the "lived culture" of their populations. As Enrico Cumbo and others have demonstrated, non-Anglo-Celtic immigrant communities, and the working class more generally, successfully maintained many of their cultural traditions despite the pressures being brought to bear upon them from the larger community. But they had to maintain those traditions *in relation to*, and usually without the support of, the dominant culture, and if the figures on juvenile delinquency and family breakdown in the prewar era are to be believed, it seems that immigrant communities, and the working class in general, were not always successful either.<sup>12</sup>

In the end, the settlements in Toronto experienced mixed success in their efforts to

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<sup>11</sup>Enrico Carlson Cumbo, "*Blazing the Trail and Setting the Pace: Central Neighborhood House and its Outreach to Italian Immigrants in Toronto: 1911-1929*," *Italian Canadiana* 12 (1996): 83-84. These tables were acquired after the period covered by this study.

<sup>12</sup>See, for example, W.W. Lee, "Immigration and its Effect on Canadian Life," Canadian Conference of Charities and Correction *Proceedings, 1913* (Toronto: Williams Briggs, 1913), 19-23. See also Franca Iacovetta, "From *Contadina* to Worker: Southern Italian Immigrant Working Women in Toronto, 1947-62," in Jean Burnett, ed., *Looking Into My Sister's Eyes: An Exploration in Women's History* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1986), 195-222.

extend bourgeois cultural hegemony. In certain ways they achieved many of their stated goals. They offered much needed services to their neighbourhoods, and saw a number of ventures they pioneered adopted by government or private agencies. Many working-class and non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants were able to improve their lives because of the help they received from the settlements. The efforts of settlement workers often did foster better living conditions within the homes and neighbourhoods they served. Finally, social work did become professionalised, as the movement's supporters had advocated for some time. However, in the process of professionalization social work became distanced from both the clientele it was meant to assist and the middle-class constituency - the non-professionals who were eager to help - from which it had grown. As a result, what was central to settlement work, its community orientation, faded in importance in social work circles.<sup>13</sup> This is significant, for the kind of state which the proponents of Toronto's early settlement movement wanted to develop was one which was essentially based, although they may or may not have known it, on the Owenite ideal of the cooperative, interdependent community.<sup>14</sup> As Robert E. Ely told the delegates to the 1897 National Conference of Charities and Correction meeting in Toronto, "any true betterment of men [sic] can only be brought about by all who are related to it; that all, the educated included, need education, and that the final appeal must be to the sense of right."<sup>15</sup> Elizabeth Neufeld, writing eighteen years later, would no doubt have agreed.

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<sup>13</sup>Elizabeth B. Neufeld, "The Development of Existing Neighborhood Activities," National Conference of Charities and Correction, *Proceedings, 1914* (Fort Wayne Indiana Printing Co., 1914), 408.

<sup>14</sup>Jacqueline Gale Wills, "Efficiency, Feminism and Cooperative Democracy: Origins of the Toronto Social Planning Council 1918-1957" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1989), 42-48.

<sup>15</sup>Robert E. Ely, "The Settlement Idea," National Conference of Charities and Correction *Proceedings, 1897* (Boston: Geo. H. Ellis, 1898), 337.

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