

CANADIAN DEACONESS AND MISSIONARY EDUCATION FOR WOMEN -  
TRAINING TO LIVE THE SOCIAL GOSPEL:  
THE METHODIST NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL AND  
THE PRESBYTERIAN DEACONESS AND MISSIONARY TRAINING HOME, 1893-1926

by  
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Introduction and Literature Review

Research Topic and Thesis

“That doesn’t exist.”

Fresh from the Prairies as a first year student attending the Centre for Christian Studies (CCS) in the late 1980s in Toronto, I was shocked to learn that my simple and seemingly reasonable request led to that answer. I had just asked one of the CCS teaching staff for the name of a book that would give me the history of diaconal ministry in a nutshell. At that time, it did not exist.

I came to learn that very little of the history of the ministry I was studying and preparing for at that time was documented anywhere. Most of what was recorded was in church reports, articles for church periodicals, or in committee documents attempting to raise the profile of diaconal ministry within the United Church of Canada. I personally knew very little of the history of diaconal ministry, but had assumed it was because I was from the Prairies and away from the centre of diaconal education in Toronto and that once there I would come to know more about this ministry I was entering. My ignorance did lessen as I continued my theological education; I went from knowing very little about my ministry’s history to becoming rooted in its rich traditions largely through encounters with other diaconal ministers and listening to their stories. But I never recovered from my sense of shock that there was no textbook to read.

Years have passed since that fateful day. There are now some books, theses and articles which create a small but growing body of research on the Canadian history of

diaconal ministry. Through this thesis project I hope to make a contribution to this emerging research by focusing on the early history of diaconal ministry in Canada. To do so, the period prior to 1925, the year the United Church of Canada came into being, must be considered as it was a complex but defining time in diaconal history of Canadian Protestant churches.<sup>1</sup> During that pre-union period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, two separate ministry vocations developed for women within the Methodist and Presbyterian churches in Canada: the deaconess movement and the Women's Missionary Society (WMS) movement. While the deaconess movement and the WMS movement were separate in origin and organization within the two denominations, each denomination established a training school to prepare women for both vocations. The training schools provided a joint educational community for women preparing for church work. Whether a woman was training for overseas mission work, home mission work, or wishing to become a deaconess, she attended her denomination's training school and usually resided there. The training schools were instituted before women were welcome to enter traditional male oriented theological colleges or were allowed to become ordained ministers. Established specifically for women, the training schools engaged female students in theological education and vocational development.

In this thesis I explore the formation and history of the Methodist National Training School, established in Toronto in 1894, and the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, established in Toronto as Ewart Training Home in 1897. I outline how each institution developed from the time their doors opened until their institutional merger in 1926 to become the United Church Training School, following the

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<sup>1</sup> I define diaconal history as the history of the diaconal movement. I define diaconal education as the theological education which prepares students for diaconal ministry.

decision in 1925 by the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational churches to unify and become the United Church of Canada.

An analysis of the apparent differences between the two schools actually reflects their commonality in purpose. The Methodist National Training School, originally the Toronto Deaconess Home and Training School, was initially established to provide deaconess training; the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, originally the Ewart Training Home, was initially established to provide training for women seeking to become foreign missionaries. Regardless of the stated purpose of each institution, however, both institutions from their earliest days were open to women seeking training for either deaconess or missionary work or to enhance their skills as lay leaders. Using a resourceful approach to program development both schools were able to offer quality training programs with limited staff and resources. Largely through cooperation with other institutions (such as the School of Music, Victoria and Knox College, and the University of Toronto department of Medicine and, when it was developed in 1914, the department of Social Service), the two training schools were able to offer theological programs which incorporated the most recent theories and educational approaches of their day. From their very beginnings, the schools integrated the two vocational streams of ministry for women and held the common purpose of providing specialized theological training and vocational preparation for both mission work and deaconess work. The training schools gathered the separate ministries together into one integrated educational community.

Both institutions were originally residences where supervised communal living provided vocational formation, and the formal class work of each program took

place off site. In 1912 the Methodist National Training School built a new school in which most of the training classes took place, with the exception of those offered through the department of Social Service, Victoria College or the Cooperative School of Missions. A residence, referred to as the Deaconess Home, was also lodged within the new Methodist building . The Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, on the other hand, remained a community residence throughout its history, and class work, with the exception of daily bible study, took place off site.

While it is interesting to note that the Methodist institution eventually came to identify itself as a school and the Presbyterian institution always identified itself as a home, communal residential living was such an integral part of both educational programs that the words could be interchangeable. Living in community was so essential to deaconess and missionary education that both institutions maintained residential living as a program requirement. The most significant difference between the two institutions was that the Methodist church had the resources to build a facility large enough to be a teaching facility as well as a residence, while the Presbyterian church struggled to maintain their smaller residence which did not have the space for classes. The “school” or academic aspect of each program and the “home” or residential aspect of each program were of equal importance for both institutions. For the purposes of clarity and simplicity in this thesis, however, I use the term school when referring to both institutions.

The training schools emerged at the beginning of a period of theological and social transition and ferment in Canadian history. Following Confederation in 1867, Canada did not experience the economic boom and population expansion hoped for. What followed

instead was drought on the Prairies, an unsettled political climate in the West which only stabilized after the suppression of the Northwest Rebellion in 1885, and economic depression across the country.<sup>2</sup> Canada's fortunes only began to improve with the coming of the new century. The "Laurier Boom," brought on by the industrialization of Canadian business, the development of Canada's natural resource industry, and the long awaited immigration tide to fill the free homesteads on the Prairies, created an almost uninterrupted economic growth from 1900 to 1913.<sup>3</sup> The impact of this change was felt socially, politically, and intellectually, as well as economically. Industrialization brought with it corporate capitalism, which began to reshape everyday Canadian life. Assembly line production transformed the workplace, industrialized the economy and increased the need for workers in larger cities. At the same time, the middle class expanded with the development of "white collar" employment. Technology revolutionized the home as well as the workplace. The invention of relatively inexpensive consumer items such as the washing machine freed economically privileged women from certain time consuming domestic drudgery. All this led to social change, social dislocation, and the growing need for social reform.

The impact of these changes led to the development of three movements which strongly influenced the Methodist and Presbyterian churches in Canada to establish training schools for women. Maternal feminism, the international diaconal movement, and the social gospel movement all contributed to the evolution of theological education for women in Canada at the end of the nineteenth century. The changed economy created

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<sup>2</sup> John Webster Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era, Updated and Expanded (Welch Publishing Company, Inc. Burlington Ontario, Canada, 1988), 48.

<sup>3</sup> Phyllis D. Airhart, Serving The Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada (McGill-Queens' University Press: Montreal & Kingston, 1992.), 64.

not only increasing social problems through immigration, urbanization and poverty but also created a growing class of privileged women freed from domestic affairs ready to respond to the changing social circumstances brought on by social dislocation and the increasing need for social reform.

Maternal feminism used the language of domesticity to call upon women to define a public role for themselves as women, sisters, and mothers to improve society around them, particularly to alleviate the suffering of other women and children. Maternal feminism was the rationale needed to explain why women needed to receive theological education and training at a time when they were not permitted to enter male oriented theological colleges or to be ordained. Women needed to be properly equipped to carry out the church's mission, it was argued, because they were naturally best suited to care for the poor and the most vulnerable of Canadian society and those overseas. The nineteenth century's maternal feminist vision for social improvement through social reform in combination with the lack of other opportunities for church leadership for women, has been used as an explanation by some feminist historians to explain why the churches encouraged women to prepare for and engage in deaconess or missionary work, and to explain why women themselves embraced such work.<sup>4</sup> This thesis shows that maternal feminist ideals did open the door for the establishment of the training schools and helped create the opportunity for women to study theology and train for ministry at a time when other doors to theological education and leadership in the church structures were closed. Maternal feminism, however, was not the only

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<sup>4</sup> Alison Prentice et al., Canadian Women: A History 2nd ed (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Canada, 1996), 189, 315.



influence on the development of the training schools.

The international diaconal movement was another emerging phenomenon in this time period and this thesis will show that the Canadian movement was most significantly influenced by its proximity to the United States.<sup>5</sup> The international diaconal movement provided examples and strong precedent for the appropriateness of vocational opportunities for Protestant women. Many deaconess houses had been established throughout Europe in the nineteenth century in response to the growing needs of industrialization and increased urbanization, with the first opening as early as 1836. Because of Canada's geographic proximity to the United States, Canada was most impacted by the diaconal movement there. The existence of training centres in the United States created the support needed to persuade Canadian Methodists and Presbyterians of the value of such enterprises. Because the industrial and economic changes, increased immigration and urbanization followed by the subsequent social problems took place earlier in the United States than in Canada, examples for reform were available before the full extent of social change was felt in Canada.<sup>6</sup> This factor explains the existence of the training schools prior to Canadian "boom" years. Once Canadian churches were faced with the developing challenges of growing cities and increased immigration in the west, the training schools were already well established and ready to participate in whatever Canadian proposals for reform were imagined.

The Canadian social gospel movement was one of those imagined responses. Much has been written about the development of the social gospel and its contributions to the

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<sup>5</sup> Diane Haglund, "Side Road On The Journey To Autonomy: The Diaconate Prior To Church Union," in Women, Work & Worship in the United Church of Canada, ed. Shirley Davy (Toronto: The United Church of Canada, The Division of Mission in Canada, 1983), 209-210.

<sup>6</sup> Airhart, 65.

Canadian church and society in the early twentieth century, usually with some reference to the work of deaconesses. Many church historians uphold deaconess work as a key example of the way churches responded to the emerging challenges of a changing church and society in that time period. This thesis considers what role the training schools had in supporting the social gospel movement in the Methodist and Presbyterian churches. Given that church historians rarely discuss the social gospel movement in Canada without mentioning the work of training school graduates, it seems plausible that the training schools were key vehicles for the churches to move from social gospel theory to practice. While maternal feminism and the existence of training centres in the United States created the foundational support for the initial development of the Methodist and Presbyterian training schools in Canada, this thesis shows that the ongoing interaction between the training schools and the emerging social gospel movement had the deepest impact on the vocational and educational ethos of the training schools, and ultimately, on their significance to their denominations. The training schools developed into theological centres which prepared workers to embody a social gospel theology throughout the early decades of the twentieth century.

This thesis shows that by integrating the late nineteenth century missionary imperative with the early twentieth century imperative of an applied Christianity, a unique form of theological education was created specifically for women. An analysis of the development of the curriculum and program options, as well as an overview of the teaching staff shows not only that the training schools were deeply influenced by the social gospel movement but that the training schools themselves impacted the furtherance of the social gospel movement. Because the oversight and administration of the training

schools was part of the overall administration for deaconesses within their individual institutions, and because the training schools maintained an independent relationship with their denomination's WMS movement, the schools had ongoing communication with graduates in the field. Therefore the curriculum of each school was regularly adapted in response to that ongoing feedback regarding emerging training needs. The training schools' history of cooperative programming with existing institutions also allowed for the easy integration of new educational developments, such as the creation of a joint certificate for training school students with the newly formed Department of Social Service at the University of Toronto. Their adaptive, practical and socially focussed ethos positioned the training schools to become the concrete embodiment of the social gospel for the Methodist and Presbyterian churches.

The training schools created opportunities for each denomination to respond to the changing social needs through the specialized training of women. Their significance to their denominations is demonstrated in the fact that they continued on, albeit in a new form, following church union in 1925 and did not disappear in the ecclesiastical chaos. After union and the formal transition of the training schools into the United Church Training School, the new school not only continued as an educational centre for women but was able to maintain the unique vocational and educational ethos of its predecessors. It carried on that tradition of preparing women to work for social change.

### Methodology and Literature Review

The history of the training schools uncovers two theological institutions established specifically to prepare women for ministry at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Researching and recording diaconal history reveals Canadian women's past roles and contributions to church and society. This thesis expands our collective understanding of Canadian church history, and women's educational history in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The methodology of this thesis is influenced by the fact that diaconal history has not been a thoroughly documented part of either church history or women's history. While a small but growing body of secondary literature has begun documenting diaconal history in Canada, the main source for my research was primary archival material. Archival research allows previously unexamined materials to be explored and interpreted for significance to the topic of this thesis.

The bulk of my research took place in the United Church of Canada archives at Victoria College in the University of Toronto. Primary sources for this research included minutes from the various committees related to each training school, course calendars, curriculum files, and so on. Other sources of importance included files, documents and committee minutes related to the deaconess orders of the two denominations, and files, documents and committee minutes related to the Women's Missionary Societies of the two denominations. I also reviewed the Acts and Proceedings of the General Council of the Presbyterian Church of Canada and the Journal of Proceedings of the Methodist Church of Canada.

While it is interesting and exciting to review primary sources there are some limitations to this kind of inquiry. Prior to the common use of the typewriter, many women's organizations hand wrote their minutes. Reading this handwriting accurately is a research challenge. Not all primary sources have been saved for archival preservation,

and some that have been kept are not in good condition. These facts did not prohibit research for this project in any way, but did create some limitations to the establishment of a complete record of the life and history of the Methodist National Training School and the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home.

The secondary literature relating to the history of the two training schools falls into three broad categories: denominational resources and studies that reference diaconal ministry, Canadian academic research on topics related to the training schools and other academic research.

Since its inception in 1925, the United Church of Canada has published many resources and studies related to diaconal ministry. Those that make reference to the history of diaconal ministry, however, focus primarily on the years post church union and make only brief reference to the Methodist and Presbyterian training schools prior to union. Other church resources include in their literature some references to church experience prior to 1925 but have limited usefulness. While they provide insight into how the training schools were remembered from the date of their publication, it was not the purpose of these resources to provide an accurate historical record of the Presbyterian and/or Methodist training schools.

In terms of Canadian academic research, a small but significant amount of scholarship has contributed to our understanding of diaconal history. However, none of this literature focuses specifically on the history of the Methodist National Training School and the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home. Mary Anne MacFarlane's thesis analyzes the working conditions of deaconesses in the United

Church of Canada from 1925 to 1964.<sup>7</sup> While she does mention the two training schools prior to union, the focus of her study is the post union United Church era. Diane Haglund<sup>8</sup> and John D. Thomas<sup>9</sup> address the same historical period as this project, but the focus of their research is more generally on the work of deaconesses from 1890 to 1925, not specifically on the training schools. Their research also reflects a negative bias towards measuring the “success” of the deaconess movement in general.

More recent works by Canadian historians Ruth Compton Brouwer<sup>10</sup> and Rosemary R. Gagan<sup>11</sup> deal with the pre-union time period within the Presbyterian Church and Methodist Church respectively, however, both focus primarily on the Women’s Missionary Society movement in the respective denominations. Even in the encompassing work edited by Elizabeth Gillan Muir and Marilyn Fardig Whiteley which specifically addresses the roles of women within the Christian churches in Canada, including deaconess and women’s missionary work in the Methodist and Presbyterian churches, no mention is made of the training schools in their literature.<sup>12</sup> While these historical works enlarge our collective understanding of diaconal history and women’s history in church and society in Canada, none focus specifically on the role of the

Presbyterian and Methodist training schools and their unique contributions to that

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<sup>7</sup> Mary Anne MacFarlane, “A Tale of Handmaidens: Deaconesses in The United Church of Canada 1925 To 1964” (M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1987).

<sup>8</sup> Haglund, “Side Road On The Journey To Autonomy: The Diaconate Prior to Church Union,” 206-297. In Women, Work & Worship in the United Church of Canada, Shirley Davy, ed. (United Church of Canada, 1983).

<sup>9</sup> John D. Thomas, “Servants of the Church: Canadian Methodist Deaconess Work 1890-1926,” Canadian Historical Review, LXV, 3, 1984: 371-395.

<sup>10</sup> Ruth Compton Brouwer, New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

<sup>11</sup> Rosemary R. Gagan, A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925 (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1992).

<sup>12</sup> Elizabeth Gillan Muir and Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, eds., Changing Roles of Women within the Christian Church in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995). One chapter by Mary Anne MacFarlane focusses on deaconesses in the United Church of Canada from 1925 to 1945.

history.

In terms of other academic research, the large Rosemary Radford Ruether and Rosemary Skinner Keller text<sup>13</sup> documents well the American experiences of deaconess and missionary work and the role the training schools played in the development of that work. Their research focus, however, is specifically on the United States of America; no mention is made of the Canadian experience or the international diaconal movement of that same era.<sup>14</sup> Most of the literature dealing with the social gospel movement in Canada makes only brief reference to deaconess work or the WMS movement. It does not place the work in the broader context of an international movement that was part of, yet distinct from, the social gospel movement itself. Furthermore, no reference is ever made to the unique role of the training schools in terms of furthering the movement through the specialized training of women to do the labour of Christian social reform.<sup>15</sup>

This thesis documents the history and development of the Methodist and Presbyterian Training schools. In so doing, it contributes to and broadens the current scholarship regarding Canadian church history, women's history, and diaconal history. It makes a specific contribution to the history of theological education for women in Canada.

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<sup>13</sup> Rosemary Radford Ruether and Rosemary Skinner Keller, eds., Women and Religion in America, Vol. 1: The Nineteenth Century (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1981).

<sup>14</sup> Rosemary Skinner Keller, "Lay Women in the Protestant Tradition" in Women in Religion in America, Vol. 1, 242-293.

<sup>15</sup> For example: Phyllis D. Airhart, Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition In Canada (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 76.

## Chapter One

### Impact and Interaction of the Historical Contexts

When the Methodist National Training School and the Presbyterian Deaconess and Missionary Training Home were established in 1893 and 1897 respectively, Canada was struggling economically and politically. Instead of the prosperity and growth imagined at the time of Confederation in 1867, the country had experienced economic depression, drought and political instability. The suppression of the 1885 Northwest Rebellion stabilized the political climate in the west, but persistent economic depression and drought across the prairies continued to plague Canada's fortunes throughout the 1880s and 1890s.<sup>1</sup> Between 1867 and 1900 Canada experienced a population decline, as homesteaders from eastern Canada consistently bypassed Manitoba in favour of settling in the more stable and prosperous western United States.<sup>2</sup> The two training schools emerged in the midst of these difficult years.

Although Canada's fortunes began to improve at the turn of the century and finally reflect the economic prosperity promised with Confederation, the training schools were not established in response to prosperity and social change but in anticipation of it.<sup>3</sup> Between 1900 and 1913 Canada experienced almost uninterrupted economic growth and underwent the kind of economic revolution usually associated with nineteenth century industrialization in other nations.<sup>4</sup> Called the "Laurier Boom," this economic upswing was brought on by industrialization of Canadian business, the development of Canada's

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<sup>1</sup> John Webster Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era, updated and expanded (Welch Publishing Company, Inc. Burlington, Ontario, Canada, 1988), 48.

<sup>2</sup> Grant, 47.

<sup>3</sup> Phyllis D. Airhart, Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada (McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston, 1992), 63.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.



natural resource industry, and the long awaited immigration to the Prairies when homesteading land was no longer available in the United States.<sup>5</sup> These changes in Canada's fortune revolutionized the very fabric of Canadian society, and created theological, social and intellectual ferment alongside economic change. Industrialization and corporate capitalism reshaped everyday Canadian life. Assembly line production transformed the workplace, industrialized the economy and increased the need for workers in larger urban centres. At the same time, an expansion of the middle class was brought on by the increase in so-called white collar employment. Technology impacted and revolutionized the domestic sphere as well the workplace. With the invention of relatively inexpensive consumer items, such as the washing machine, economically privileged women were freed from certain time consuming domestic drudgery. All this led to social change, social dislocation and the eventual need for social reform in Canadian society; having been established years prior, the training schools were well placed to respond.

Three movements strongly influenced the Methodist and Presbyterian churches in Canada in their decisions to establish training schools for women. Maternal feminism, the international diaconal movement, and the social gospel movement all contributed to opening the door of theological education for women in Canada at the end of the nineteenth century. Maternal feminism, the term used to describe the ideology which encouraged women to participate in the social reform movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, used the language of domesticity to motivate women to define a public role for themselves.<sup>6</sup> Through its rhetoric that women could be the

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<sup>5</sup> Grant, 48.

<sup>6</sup> "Maternal Feminism" from the TimeLinks web page <<http://timelinks.merlin.mb.ca/referenc/db0015.htm>>

domestic saviors of the world, maternal feminist ideology created the rationale for the establishment of theological training centres for women. Although a Canadian maternal feminist ideology eventually emerged, American maternal feminist ideology directly impacted the establishment of the training schools. The international diaconal movement, particularly the diaconal movement in the United States, provided concrete examples as well as precedence for the Canadian Methodist and Presbyterian churches to create training opportunities for women within their denominations. The Canadian social gospel movement also emerged after the establishment of the training schools. Ultimately it was the ongoing interaction between the training schools and the social gospel movement that had the deepest impact on the vocational and educational ethos of the schools themselves. The training schools prepared church workers who embodied the social gospel mandate of each denomination. They bridged the social gospel movement, the diaconal movement and the newly emerging field of secular social work. In such a way, the two schools made a significant contribution to the Methodist and Presbyterian churches in Canada. This chapter discusses each movement and its interaction and impact on the development of the training schools.

### Maternal Feminism

Maternal feminism is the ideology which encouraged women to participate in the social reform movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the United States and Canada. Using the language of domesticity and images of motherhood, maternal feminist rhetoric motivated economically privileged women to define a public

role for themselves for the purpose of improving society.<sup>7</sup> The rise of the maternal feminist movement was slower in Canada than in the United States, due largely to Canada's mainly frontier and rural nature and pre-industrial economy until the beginning of the twentieth century. However, maternal feminist ideology filtered across the border from the United States and influenced the establishment of the training schools long before the Canadian social and economic revolution happened.

The American Civil War was a significant factor in the development of maternal feminist ideology in the United States. American women on both sides of the conflict came together in new ways through the organization of benevolent work for soldiers. The combined experiences of purposeful work and the spirit of cooperation among women created a momentum to continue women's organized benevolence work beyond the war.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, once the conflict was over, almost an entire generation of women were left without opportunity or obligation to marry due to the near annihilation of an entire generation of men. Many women also had benefitted from the increased educational opportunities available to them prior to the war.<sup>9</sup> With organizational skill and experience gained from wartime benevolence work, increased educational opportunities both before and after the Civil War, and freedom from the necessity of marriage, American women were poised to participate in society in ways entirely different from the past. At the same time, the spiritual division and correlation between being female and spiritually pure evolved into a belief that women's higher spiritual values well placed them to be redeemers of the world. This theological development

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<sup>7</sup> "Maternal Feminism" from the TimeLinks web page < <http://timelinks.merlin.mb.ca/referenc/db0015.htm> >

<sup>8</sup> Dana L. Robert, American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1996), 129.

<sup>9</sup> Robert, 129-130.

provided church support for the opening of doors for women's participation in social and political concerns.<sup>10</sup> These factors all contributed to the creation of an American maternal feminist ideology.

Maternal feminism in Canada was influenced by the American examples, but also stemmed from its own particularities. While the American context emerged from years of women organizing "women only" war work and entailed a surplus population of single educated women, the Canadian context of a small population and a frontier and hinterland geography created the necessity for strong institutional church involvement in any benevolence work in order to provide cohesion and stability. Prior to and in the years immediately following Confederation, the rural and frontier nature of central Canada and the west, along with extremely limited transportation facilities confined women's activities to their local congregations.<sup>11</sup> By the early twentieth century, however, the growth of industrial capitalism changed Canada's hinterland context. Increased urbanization, industrialization and immigration created visible social and economic problems. Canadian scholar Rosemary Gagan suggests that economically privileged Canadian women had freedom from domestic drudgery, increased access to education and the financial resources to embrace domesticity as a distinct social vocation both inside and outside the home. She argues that homemaking as a social vocation sent women into the public realm to reform it through social housekeeping and social reforms.<sup>12</sup> Maternal feminist ideology was born in Canada.

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<sup>10</sup> Ruether, Rosemary Radford and Rosemary Skinner Keller, eds. "Introduction" in Women and Religion in America, Volume 1: The Nineteenth Century, A Documentary History. (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1981), xiii.

<sup>11</sup> Rosemary R. Gagan, A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925. (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 12.

<sup>12</sup> Gagan, 13.

As in the United States, the church was the primary location for Canadian women seeking public involvement. Unlike the United States, however, women's organisations in Canada were not independent agencies begun by autonomous women's groups, but were usually organized within individual denominational structures. The maternal feminist enterprise in Canada stemmed from social transition in a country larger in terms of geography than population, with no surplus population of women due to war and no truly autonomous women's organisations. Prior to the actual emergence of maternal feminism in Canada, however, Methodist and Presbyterian churches had a strong denominational interest in replicating American women's highly successful enterprises for social reform. Supporters of the training schools were influenced by the maternal feminist rhetoric from their American counterparts and adopted it to further their own efforts.

Maternal feminist ideology opened the doors of the training schools and created the opportunities for women to become theological students, hold key leadership and staff positions, and work side by side with fellow laymen and male clergy on administrative boards. This occurred at a time when women were not encouraged to consider attending male-oriented theological colleges. Maternal feminist ideology created rationale which allowed the churches to comfortably support and encourage the work of the diaconal movement in general and the work of the training schools specifically.<sup>13</sup> The paradox of the establishment of the training schools - that these schools were created to train and theologically educate women for ministry careers - was not debated by supporters, but presented as a reasonable Christian response to the changing needs of the

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<sup>13</sup> Gagan, 7-8.

world. The establishment of training schools, and the development of theological education and training specifically for women in Canada, was made possible due to the ideals of maternal feminism, which encouraged women to move beyond their previously limited domestic sphere.

Contrary to my argument that maternal feminism ideology provided the founding rationale for the establishment of the training schools, scholars such as Diane Haglund and John Thomas argue that maternal feminism actually negatively impacted the diaconal movement in this time period. In separate articles on the history of the diaconate in Canada prior to United Church union, Haglund and Thomas both identify maternal feminist ideology and its narrow vision of the appropriate sphere for women's work as a key factor in creating subordinate relationships between deaconesses and the church.<sup>14</sup> The diaconate was a "side road to autonomy," according to Haglund, because maternal feminism limited the sphere women could work within, created a subordinate relationship between deaconesses and the church, and ultimately resulted in deaconess work as a "dead-end" career for women.<sup>15</sup> Thomas also claims deaconess work was a failure in the Methodist Church and blames maternal feminism for that failure.<sup>16</sup> Thomas cites the Methodist decision to base city mission labour on gender not talent, along with the church's high expectations on the deaconess order with little recompense offered in return, and the fact that the deaconesses themselves did not equate their ministry to clergy but to female missionaries, as examples of the failed enterprise. He

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<sup>14</sup> Diane Haglund, "Side Road on the Journey to Autonomy: The Diaconate Prior to Church Union," 206-297. In Women Work & Worship in the United Church of Canada, Shirley Davy, ed. (United Church of Canada, 1983). John Thomas, "Servants of the Church: Canadian Methodist Deaconess Work, 1890-1926," Canadian Historical Review, LXV, 3, 1984: 371-395.

<sup>15</sup> Haglund, 226-227.

<sup>16</sup> Thomas, 372.

concludes that the maternal feminist strategy of deaconess work in the time of social reform was simply “misspent energy”.<sup>17</sup> Both scholars identify the limiting vision of maternal feminist ideology and the existence of struggles within the movement at the time of church union as further evidence of the failure of the diaconal movement itself.

While it is true that both the Presbyterian and the Methodist deaconess orders were struggling with serious employment issues by 1925, with the Methodist deaconess order having been in deep crisis since 1922, neither Haglund nor Thomas seem to consider in their arguments that the deaconess orders did not disappear with church union but survived the ecclesiastical merger. If maternal feminism caused such failure within the deaconess orders then the chaos of church union would have been an opportunity to end the movement. Given that the two training schools merged into a new educational institution for women in 1926, as did the two deaconess orders and the two women’s missionary societies, and that a committee was established in the new United Church structure to address employment issues related to women workers in the church, I suggest an alternative interpretation of the maternal feminist ideology. Namely, it was successful. It opened the door to a movement deemed significant enough to survive the chaos of church unification, despite the movement struggling with serious employment issues at the time of union.

### International Diaconal Movement

The deaconess tradition traces its origins to the early centuries of the Christian Church. There are biblical references to the work of deacons (male) and deaconesses

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<sup>17</sup> Thomas, 395.

(female). The Apostolic Constitutions (fifth century) make reference to deaconesses and their work.<sup>18</sup> The deaconess tradition suffered near demise following the suppression of the orders throughout the Christian Church; examples of this include the Latin (or Roman) Church in the sixth century and the Greek Church in the twelfth century. Full suppression was unsuccessful, however. Both before and after the sixteenth century reformational period there are indications that small groups of women lived in Christian communities. The movement re-emerged in a significant way in 1836, when a Deaconess House was established in Kaiserswerth, Germany. The house was founded in response to the changing social conditions of an industrialized German economy, bringing with it the need for women's involvement in social reform. The renewed movement spread throughout Europe and began to informally organize. The first Kaiserswerth General Conference of Boards of European Deaconess Houses took place in 1861. By 1885, the formal ordering of women's work in the Protestant tradition was addressed at a meeting of the Alliance of Reformed Churches. In 1889 the churches in the Alliance officially agreed to create an Order of Deaconesses.

What emerged was not a unified and highly structured international organization but a variety of individual deaconess associations, sisterhoods and other expressions of deaconess vocation throughout the worldwide Protestant churches. Early denominational participants included the Church of Scotland, the Presbyterian Church (South), the Dutch Reformed Church, various Lutheran churches in the United States, the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, the Methodist Church in Canada and the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Each denominational organization and association

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<sup>18</sup> "Report of Committee on an Order of Deaconesses" in the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1908. 312-315.



created its own structures, regulations and educational requirements. Consequently, between 1889 and 1897, over one hundred and fifty institutions were created worldwide to train deaconesses.<sup>19</sup> The international diaconal movement is best described at the end of the nineteenth century as a loose coalition of denominationally individual responses to the changing social and economic world of the time.

One of the most influential training institutions for the Canadian training schools was the Chicago Training School for City, Home and Foreign Missions (CTS), founded (almost single-handedly) by Lucy Rider Meyer in 1885. Lucy Rider Meyer's life is itself an example of the context which gave rise to American maternal feminist freedoms and missionary impulses to create social change. Lucy J. Rider was born in 1849 in Connecticut. She was well educated. She graduated from a Vermont theological seminary for women in 1867, attended Oberlin College the year it opened to women in 1870, followed by time at the Women's Medical School in Philadelphia, preparing for foreign medical mission work.<sup>20</sup> After her fiancé died, she left medical school but later attended Boston School of Technology where she specialized in science and became a professor of chemistry.<sup>21</sup> She also became increasingly involved in the Sunday School movement, and was chosen to be a delegate to the World's Sunday School Convention in London, England in 1880.<sup>22</sup> While abroad for that convention, she took time to visit Germany and observed the deaconess movement. She returned to the United States committed to the idea of establishing a permanent school for young women to train them for leadership in

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<sup>19</sup> "Report of Committee on an Order of Deaconesses" in the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1908. 313.

<sup>20</sup> Irva Colley Brown, In Their Time: A History of the Chicago Training School (Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary, 1985), 4.

<sup>21</sup> Brown, 4.

<sup>22</sup> Brown, 4.

Christian work.<sup>23</sup> By this time Rider was well connected through her work with the Sunday school movement. She sought support for her enterprise and eventually found it with the Chicago Preachers Meeting and the Methodist Women's home and foreign missionary societies.<sup>24</sup> During this time Rider met and married Josiah Shelley Meyer, a man who became her lifelong partner in the implementation of her dream of a school for Christian women.<sup>25</sup> The Chicago Training School opened in the fall of 1885 (mere months after their marriage) with no money for staff, no furniture and four students.<sup>26</sup> It had a threefold purpose - to give instruction in the Bible, to prepare women missionaries for service, and to encourage and develop city missionary work.<sup>27</sup> Rider Meyer and CTS were eventually responsible not only for the training school itself but also for the development and organization of forty other institutions in the United States. Needless to say, Lucy Rider Meyer and CTS provided key support to the development of the Methodist Training School in Canada.

The story of Rider Meyer and the establishment of the CTS demonstrates the positive impact the American context had on Canada's diaconal movement and the development of its own training schools. The Canadian diaconal movement itself was not birthed from an independent women's movement as was the case in the United States, but from Canadian supporters witnessing the success of that movement and individuals within that movement such as Rider Meyer, and seeking to emulate it on Canadian soil even before the full impact of industrialization, urban growth and increased immigration was felt in Canada. The American context created concrete examples for Canadian

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<sup>23</sup> Brown, 6.

<sup>24</sup> Brown, 9.

<sup>25</sup> Brown, 8.

<sup>26</sup> Brown, 10.

<sup>27</sup> Brown, 13.

churches of what was possible before it was even needed in Canada.

Canadian Methodists and Presbyterians were familiar with the earlier impact of industrialization, urbanization and immigration in the United States, as well as the consequent theological, intellectual and social responses to such issues. In part, this informed the establishment of the training schools. The movement to open the training schools came from supporters within the Methodist and Presbyterian churches who had significant awareness of the work being done in the United States. In particular, supporters of the Toronto Methodist Deaconess School developed an ongoing relationship with Lucy Rider Meyer. Meyer provided input into the staffing of the school, for example, and also contributed much of her time raising public awareness regarding the work of the school in Toronto. In contrast with the Methodist school, the Ewart Training Home began through the hard work and independent spirit of the Presbyterian Women's Foreign Mission Committee (Western Division), in cooperation with the Presbyterian Foreign Mission Committee. Aware of other deaconess training schools in Toronto and the United States, the WFMS (WD) wished to establish their own training school which would impart the distinct view of the Presbyterian church.<sup>28</sup> In 1908, the international diaconal movement was considered important enough by supporters to refer to it as rationale to the General Assembly for the establishment of a Deaconess Order but for broadening scope of the Ewart Missionary Training Home. While the training schools that developed in Canada were immersed in the Canadian context, it is important to note that the timing of their establishment suggests that, in many ways, they originated in anticipation of the need for social reform, not in direct

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<sup>28</sup> Ruth Compton Brouwer, New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 37.

response to it.

### Social Gospel

The social gospel movement did not become part of the Canadian Protestant church fabric until the early 1900s.<sup>29</sup> Not uniquely a Canadian movement, the social gospel movement was part of a wider attempt in Europe and North America to respond to social and economic suffering by applying Christian social insights to emerging forms of collective social responses and reforms. The social gospel movement strongly impacted the development of Canadian evangelical Protestant theology.<sup>30</sup> The uniqueness of the social gospel movement within the context of other religious social reform movements of the same period was the elevation of social salvation. Historian Phyllis Airhart argues that social salvation through social reforms became of equal importance to and not necessarily derived from individual salvation.<sup>31</sup> Scholar Richard Allen argues that the social gospel was a call to individual and collective salvation through the realization of the Kingdom of God in the fabric of society.<sup>32</sup>

The Canadian program of the social gospel was initially “relatively innocuous,” according to John Webster Grant.<sup>33</sup> It called for the conversion of industrial leaders to consecrate their wealth to the good of others and it preached “the impregnation of society with the teachings of Jesus.”<sup>34</sup> Despite the insistence on concern for labour and the poor,

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<sup>29</sup> Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28 (Toronto and Buffalo, University of Toronto Press, 1971), 4.

<sup>30</sup> Allen, 3-4.

<sup>31</sup> Phyllis D. Airhart, Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada (Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 104.

<sup>32</sup> Allen, 4.

<sup>33</sup> John Webster Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era, Updated and Expanded (Burlington, Ontario, Welch Publishing Company, Inc. 1988), 102.

<sup>34</sup> Grant, 102.

and the increasing radicalism of a small group of religious leaders (which included Salem Bland), the social gospel movement in Canada (as in the United States) remained a relatively bourgeois phenomenon led by male Protestant religious leaders.<sup>35</sup> While most Canadian denominations were interested in the social problems of the day, the Methodists were most enthusiastic; the Presbyterians shared concern for social righteousness, but were less confident that a changed environment would transform humanity.<sup>36</sup> This difference of enthusiasm likely contributed to unique institutional distinctions between the training schools.

The social gospel movement in Canada did not impact the creation of the training schools given that the training schools were both well established by the time the movement emerged. Key thinkers in the Methodist church, for example, turned towards the social gospel long after the opening of the Methodist Training School. Salem Bland, who became a significant Canadian social gospeller, did not move from his belief in individual salvation towards a social gospel until he accepted a teaching position at Wesley College in Winnipeg in 1903, and came face to face with the problems of immigration in the West.<sup>37</sup> This experience, along with his struggle to integrate new ideas regarding biblical criticism led to his development as a social gospeller. S.D. Chown, who eventually became General Secretary of the Methodist Church and consequently chair of the Methodist Deaconess Society and Training School Board of Management, was appointed Secretary of the newly formed Department of Temperance and Moral Reform in 1902, at which point he encountered transforming ideas that integrated evangelism,

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<sup>35</sup> Grant, 103.

<sup>36</sup> Grant, 102.

<sup>37</sup> Airhart, 78.

social reform and social scientific evidence into a social gospel.<sup>38</sup> This experience created another social gospel proponent.

The Canadian Methodist Church had also been influenced by the city mission movement prior to the development of the social gospel movement. The Methodists were convinced that the city mission offered “a promising way to evangelize neglected urban areas.”<sup>39</sup> Wealthy Canadian Methodist churches funded such ventures. Phyllis Airhart, in her book *Serving the Present Age*, gives the example of the All People’s Mission in Winnipeg and the Fred Victor Mission in Toronto. All People’s Mission became well known in social gospel history as the place where J.S. Woodsworth served as superintendent beginning in 1907. In fact, the mission was started long before Woodsworth got there, when a Sunday School Teacher named Dolly Maguire organized a class for immigrant children.<sup>40</sup> The mission moved to a building near the CPR station and erected a large sign outside welcoming people in eight languages. After 1893, the year the Methodist Training School opened, the mission began to hire additional staff (deaconesses) to provide a broad range of social and religious services including Sunday School classes, prayer meetings, house to house visits, relief aid to the sick and poor, an employment bureau, mothers’ meetings and night school. When Woodsworth undertook the role of superintendent in 1907, these services continued to be expanded. The Fred Victor Mission, established in 1894 in Toronto by H.A. Massey in memory of his son Fred Victor, provided gospel meetings, social activities, cheap lodgings for the homeless, and a medical dispensary. This mission became the largest employer of deaconesses in

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<sup>38</sup> Airhart, 87.

<sup>39</sup> Airhart, 75.

<sup>40</sup> Airhart, 75-76.

the Methodist Church. While Airhart mentions the opportunities created by these missions for Christian service and deaconess work, she provides no analysis of the role of the training school. Nor does she discuss the role deaconess workers may have played in the integration of evangelism, city mission work and the eventual prominence <sup>of the</sup> social gospel in the Methodist Church.

While the Presbyterians did not embrace the social gospel as vigorously as their Methodist counterparts, the social gospel did impact their denomination significantly, although, as with the Methodists, not until years after the establishment of the training school. Most interesting to this research is the work of Sara Libby Carson who worked under the Presbyterian Church to develop settlement houses after 1902.<sup>41</sup> By 1920 there were at least thirteen settlements in Canada, all formed under the impulse of the social gospel with Carson either directly involved as organizer or consultant.<sup>42</sup> Later, when the University of Toronto established its Department of Social Service in 1914, the settlement house at the university provided the context for its practical work and Carson became part of the lecturing staff.<sup>43</sup> Both the Methodist and the Presbyterian schools developed joint certificate programs with the Department of Social Service, and Carson was one of the long time training school guest lecturers for the Presbyterians. Partnerships between the training schools and the early days of the department of social service at the University of Toronto, as well as connections to the settlement house movement also points to the initial connection between the development of the field of social work, the diaconal movement and the social gospel in Canada.

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<sup>41</sup> Allen, 11.

<sup>42</sup> Allen, 12.

<sup>43</sup> Allen, 12.

While the social gospel as a historical movement did not impact the establishment of the training schools, it did impact the work of training school graduates and therefore, it influenced the ongoing development of the schools' educational preparation. Because the administrative committees of each school had overall responsibility for curriculum development and teaching staff as well as placement of graduates and field oversight of their work, the training schools were able to continually adapt their educational programs to respond to the changing needs of society. As the movement developed the schools integrated new social scientific theory as well as emerging social gospel theology formally into their curriculum and training program. This interaction between the training schools and the social gospel movement had significant impact on the vocational and educational ethos of the training schools and ultimately impacted the significance of the training schools themselves within their respective denominations. The training schools became the educational centres within their denominations for preparing workers to embody the social gospel agenda.

In summary, the Methodist National Training School and the Presbyterian Deaconess and Training Home were initially established in response to American maternal feminist rationale and the concrete examples provided by the American diaconal movement. Because the training schools came into existence before Canada's Laurier Boom and the need for significant Canadian social reform measures, they were well positioned to respond once increased immigration, urbanization and poverty became pronounced in the Canadian context. Because the administration of the training schools was part of the overall administrative body for the deaconess movement in each



denomination, the training schools were able to provide an active response to the complex social struggles facing Canadian church and society. In particular they were able to adapt their educational programs in response to the social gospel movement and the broader social service movement. The training schools and its graduates provided the Methodist and Presbyterian churches in Canada a way to respond to the social gospel agenda in practical, responsive and socially transformative ways.

## Chapter Two

### The Methodist National Training School

This chapter outlines the history of the Methodist National Training School from the time of its inception in 1894 to 1925, when the Methodist Church in Canada united with the Presbyterian and Congregational churches in Canada. In addition to outlining its formation, an overview of its curriculum, teaching staff, enrollment and administrative and supervisory functions will be provided. Its relationship with the wider church will also be discussed. Because the overall administrative body for the Methodist deaconess movement included oversight, supervision and administration of the Methodist National Training School, the school was well positioned to regularly adapt its educational program in response to ongoing feedback from its graduates in the field. Through creative partnerships with other institutions, the Methodist National Training School provided its students with an innovative educational program that was well-grounded in the most recent theories in education, social work, and biblical and theological studies. It integrated practical field education throughout the program. Particularly in response to the emerging social gospel movement and the complex social struggles facing Canadian church and society, the Methodist National Training School provided an educational program which equipped women (and some men) to respond to the social gospel agenda in practical, responsive and concrete ways.

The Methodist Deaconess Home, as it was first called, opened in Toronto in 1894. One year earlier - in 1893 - the General Conference of the Methodist Church in Canada approved the organization of deaconess homes by their Annual Conferences. This

decision opened the door for a small group of influential Toronto Methodists, including the Massey family.<sup>1</sup> These supporters had been greatly impressed by the emerging American Methodist deaconess movement and were eager to create such opportunities for young Canadian Methodist women. They were quick to encourage Toronto Conference to take up the deaconess cause. Toronto Conference subsequently approved the establishment of a Toronto deaconess home (to be a residence for deaconesses, students and probationers), a Board of Management to oversee the home's good works and create a deaconess training program, and a Deaconess Aid Society to support the entire enterprise.<sup>2</sup> Consisting of twenty-one members (seven clergy - all male, seven women and seven laymen), the Board of Management had a general mandate of overall control of deaconess work. This included the management of the deaconess home and school, the power to issue deaconess certificates to duly qualified women over the age of twenty-two who had successfully completed the training and two years of service, and oversight of deaconesses in the field, including providing yearly reports to Annual Conference for their annual reappointment to their fields of service. The Board of Management was also responsible for raising funds to cover all expenses. From the very beginning of the training school, supervision and oversight of deaconess education and deaconess work and appointment was an integrated task. The Board of Management met in late September 1893 to begin organization of the training school. The deaconess home and school officially opened its doors in May 1894.

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<sup>1</sup> The Massey family, a wealthy Toronto family, were not only deeply influential in initiating the establishment of the Toronto Deaconess Home but they were also financially very supportive. Throughout its history various Massey bequests and financial donations covered the ongoing expenses, mortgages and budget deficits of the deaconess movement in general and the training school specifically.

<sup>2</sup> "Work of Deaconesses" in the Journal of Proceedings of the Fourth General Conference of the Methodist Church, 1894. 305.

This Toronto group was greatly influenced by the American Methodist deaconess movement and its training centre, the Chicago Training School (CTS). They were assisted throughout their endeavors by Lucy Rider Meyer, founder of CTS. Meyer visited Toronto regularly, giving public addresses on their behalf to increase sympathy and support for the deaconess cause.<sup>3</sup> She also advised on matters of staff appointments through her connections with the Chicago Training School. Meyer's involvement and support of the Methodist training school continued throughout much of its history. In 1908, she turned the sod for the newly named National Training School on St. Clair Avenue as construction was to begin.<sup>4</sup> The connections with Meyer and CTS benefitted the ongoing development of the Methodist National Training School, and were the most significant ties that the training school had to the international diaconal movement.

The Board of Management secured the services of Alice M. Thompson of the CTS to be superintendent when the training school opened in 1894. Thompson was described as "an experienced and thoroughly competent person for the position of superintendent."<sup>5</sup> A deaconess candidate from Chicago accompanied Thompson, and attended the training school and lived in the home.<sup>6</sup> The superintendent's role at this time was to supervise deaconesses who had completed their training and were living in

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<sup>3</sup> Minutes of the Deaconess Society Board of Management, September 25, 1893, in Deaconess Society; Board of Management Minutes Volume 1 1893-1900. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1900 Fonds, 78.101C Box 1, file 1. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church - Annual Report; 1908-1909. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1900 Fonds, 78.101C Box 4, file 34. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Minutes of the Deaconess Society Board of Management, March 5, 1894, in Deaconess Society; Board of Management Minutes Volume 1 1893-1900. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1900 Fonds, 78.101C Box 1, file 1. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Minutes of the Deaconess Society Board of Management, August 31, 1894, in Deaconess Society; Board of Management Minutes Volume 1 1893-1900. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1900 Fonds, 78.101C Box 1, file 1. 26.

the home.

When the Deaconess Home and Training School first opened, the residence was located at 28 McGill Street and classes were held at Carleton Street Church, a few blocks away. Any women belonging to any Christian church could be admitted into the school on the same basis as Methodist deaconess candidates, namely at the discretion of the board.<sup>7</sup> Non-Methodist students were required to give the same amount of practical work under the direction of the Methodist Church. If, however, they wished to work for their own denomination, they were charged an extra two dollars per month in addition to the regular three dollars per week for board. Candidates for mission fields were also accepted as students. Day student admission was an option for women wishing to attend classes but not live in the home; they were admitted without charge to the school provided they gave the regular amount of practical work - three afternoons per week and Sunday work. Women whose circumstances did not allow them to commit the entire time to practical deaconess work required by the program had the option of seeking associate status. Associates were to give as much time as they were able to deaconess work and then allowed to attend lessons with the other students. The category of associate was eventually eliminated in 1896 and its criteria was integrated into a new definition of "Day Student," which came to mean women who attended lectures and classes but did not do practical deaconess work.<sup>8</sup> These changes coincided with other administrative changes that took place that same year, namely, the resignation of

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<sup>7</sup> Report of the Deaconess Board of Management, June 1894 in Deaconess Society; Board of Management; Minutes Volume 1 1893-1900. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 1, file 1. 20-21.

<sup>8</sup> Third Annual Report of the Board of Management of the Toronto Deaconess Home and Training School, 1896-1897 in UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 4, file 23. 10.

Superintendent Thompson and the appointment of E. Jean Scott as new superintendent. The responsibilities of the superintendent were expanded to include appointment and oversight of students' practical work.<sup>9</sup> These changes likely reflected the institution's need for increased structure as it expanded.

There were specific requirements for students entering as deaconess candidates. Deaconess candidates were required to be between the ages of twenty and forty, have positive recommendations from their pastors, Sunday school superintendents and two influential Christian women of their church, a health certificate and a good common school education.<sup>10</sup> Once in the home, students were to observe the established rules and regulations of the superintendent, and were encouraged to bring their own bedding. Deaconess candidates were required to give two years of continuous probationary service before being accepted as a deaconess. This was to be a time of careful training. It included the training school's designated course of study, an extended reading list and practical work done either through the deaconess home or in a congregation.<sup>11</sup>

The training school course of study was divided into two sections; one for students who were training to become nurses, and the other for those who were not. For those not training to become nurses, the curriculum included the systematic study of the Bible, the discipline and theology of the Methodist church, history of the Bible, church history

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<sup>9</sup> Third Annual Report of the Board of Management of the Toronto Deaconess Home and Training School, 1896-1897 in UCC/VUA, the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 4, file 23. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Report of the Deaconess Board of Management, June 1894 in Deaconess Society; Board of Management; Minutes Volume 1 1893-1900. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 1, file 1. 20-21.

<sup>11</sup> Report of the Deaconess Board of Management, June 1894 in Deaconess Society; Board of Management; Minutes Volume 1 1893-1900. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 1, file 1. 20-21.

and a short course in physiology and geography.<sup>12</sup> The curriculum for those preparing to become nurses included theoretical instruction prescribed by the faculty of any standard training school for nurses, together with practical work in the hospital wards, under the direction of the head nurse.<sup>13</sup> Training school lecturers at this time included the superintendent, professors from Victoria College who also sat on the Board of Management, and Methodist clergy.<sup>14</sup>

The recommended reading lists for deaconess candidates provide insight into the perspective of the training program. The first year reading list included: *The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation* (James Barr Walker, 1855), *How to Study the Bible* (D.L. Moody, 1890), *The Life of Elizabeth Fry, With Extracts From Her Journal and Letters* (edited by her daughters, Katharine Fry and Rachel Elizabeth Cresswell, 1848), *Christian Perfection* (John Wesley, 1876), *Women and Temperance; or the Work and Workers of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union* (Frances Elizabeth Willard, 1883), *The Story of Methodism: Tracing the Rise and Progress of that Wonderful Religious Movement* (A.B. Hyde, 1887), *Deaconesses Ancient and Modern* (Henry Wheeler, 1889), *Deaconesses (Biblical), Early Church - European, American* (Lucy Rider Meyer, n.d.).<sup>15</sup> The first year reading list emphasized basic Methodist and evangelical theology, as well as social reform and women's leadership. It also provided an overview of deaconess culture and

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<sup>12</sup> "Report of the Committee on Deaconesses" in the Journal of Proceedings of the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada 1894, 306.

<sup>13</sup> "Report of the Committee on Deaconesses" in the Journal of Proceedings of the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada 1894, 306.

<sup>14</sup> Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Management of the Toronto Deaconess Home and Training School, 1897-1898 in UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 4, file 21. 4.

<sup>15</sup> "Report of the Committee on Deaconesses" in the Journal of Proceedings of the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada 1894, 306.

history.

There was a required reading list and a recommended reading list for second year deaconess candidates. The required reading list included: *The Life of St. Paul* (Rev. James Stalker, 1888), *The Life of John Wesley* (Watson, n.d.), *The Women of Methodism* (Abel Stevens, 1866), *Outline of the World's History* (Swinton, n.d.), *A Popular History of the Dominion of Canada from the Discovery of America to the Present Time* (William Henry Withrow, 1886), *Manual of Methodism* (Galbraith, n.d.), *How We Live; or The Human Body, and How to Take Care of It*; and the Bible, book by book. The recommended books were the following: *Manual of Christian Evidences* (Row, n.d.), *Deaconesses in Europe, and their Lessons for America* (Jane M. Bancroft, n.d.), *Abiding in Christ* (Murray, n.d.), and *Life of Collins, Socialism and Christianity* (Behrends, n.d.).<sup>16</sup> The required reading list immersed the students in biblical studies and methodism, provided an overview of world and Canadian history, and women's leadership in the Methodist church. It also provided basic information on the human body. The recommended readings indicate not only an awareness of the international movement of the diaconate and a sense that they are part of it, but also provided a solid foundation for what emerged as social gospel theology.

Thompson resigned from the position of superintendent of the deaconess home in September 1896 to return to the Chicago Training School in response to a request from Meyer.<sup>17</sup> The board once again consulted with their Chicago partner regarding another

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<sup>16</sup> "Report of the Committee on Deaconesses" in the Journal of Proceedings of the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada 1894, 306.

<sup>17</sup> Minutes of the Deaconess Society Board of Management, June 5, 1896, in Deaconess Society; Board of Management Minutes Volume 1 1893-1900. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1900 Fonds, 78.101C Box 1, file 1. 77.



superintendent. With Meyer's assistance, E. Jean Scott was appointed the next superintendent of the training home.<sup>18</sup> In their report to the General Conference in 1898, the Deaconess Committee stated that Scott was "stamping her own capacity for enthusiastic self-sacrifice, and her own lofty ideals of life and service deeply on the characters of those brought under her influence."<sup>19</sup> The emphasis on service and self-sacrifice in this statement demonstrates the kind of maternal feminist rationale supporters of the training school used to rationalize and justify both the work of the school and women's leadership in that work.

As the Methodist training school continued, its purpose became more clear - to provide education and training not only for deaconess candidates, but also for missionary students, and laywomen and, perhaps surprisingly, for laymen. The broader purpose was clearly articulated in its 1897-1898 Calendar:

The purpose of this school is to furnish Biblical and practical training for our Methodist young people who expect to enter city, home or foreign missionary fields, and also for those who desire better equipment for Sunday School work.<sup>20</sup>

This calendar also stated that the training school was open to both men and women who reside in the city and wished only to participate in the lectures and class work.<sup>21</sup> Other conditions of admission remained unchanged, including maturity (and not less than

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<sup>18</sup> Minutes of the Deaconess Society Board of Management, June 5 & June 26, 1896, in Deaconess Society; Board of Management Minutes Volume 1 1893-1900. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1900 Fonds, 78.101C Box 1, file 1. 77 & 81.

<sup>19</sup> "Report of Committee on Deaconesses" in the Journal of Proceedings of the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada 1898, 327.

<sup>20</sup> Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Management of the Toronto Deaconess Home and Training School, 1897-1898 in UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 4, file 21. 8.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

twenty years of age), good health, membership in an evangelical church, good recommendations and the rudiments of a common school education.<sup>22</sup> There continued to be no charge for instruction, but there was an annual fee of two dollars payable at the beginning of the fall term and a weekly charge of three dollars for students residing in the home.<sup>23</sup>

The regular course of study for deaconesses and other Christian workers continued to be a one year program. Additions to the program included a class on how to conduct meetings; methods in industrial, Sunday school, evangelistic and kindergarten work; physical culture; and lectures on sociology, applied Christianity, temperance, mission fields and elementary medicine.<sup>24</sup> The expected weekly practical work included one afternoon of house to house visitation under the general direction of city pastors, Saturday afternoon with the industrial schools and Sundays with the mission and church schools throughout the city.<sup>25</sup> The curriculum - particularly the courses in sociology and applied Christianity - and the field sites for the practical work give evidence of the training school's involvement in the the earliest days of the social gospel movement. Students were exhorted to appreciate the privileges of the school as they existed only because their teachers gave their time freely. In return, the school only expected the students to "manifest the spirit of Christ, and strive in every respect to make the school

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<sup>22</sup> Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Management of the Toronto Deaconess Home and Training School, 1897-1898 in UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 4, file 21. 8.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. 11-12.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 9.

a success.”<sup>26</sup>

By 1898, the Toronto Deaconess Home and School, as it was now officially known, had outgrown their facilities. The Board of Management purchased property on Jarvis Street in Toronto through a generous bequest from the Hart A. Massey, Esq. estate and the liberal aid of supporters in the city of Toronto.<sup>27</sup> The Board of Management was feeling optimistic about their work and boasted in their annual report that year that the deaconess home and training school was now one of the best on the continent; it had facilities for practical training of deaconesses, evangelists, home and foreign mission workers, Sunday school teachers and anyone else part of their own denomination - or any other denomination - who sought special instruction and preparation for Christian philanthropic work.<sup>28</sup> At this time, the training school had a staff of thirty-one instructors; they included scholarly and distinguished ministers, teachers and specialists from the city of Toronto. Throughout the history of the Methodist training school, all teaching staff and instructors taught on a voluntary basis. Throughout the school’s history, the teaching staff continued to increase in numbers - reaching as high as forty-five in the early 1920s - and eventually included deaconesses and other laywomen on the staff roster.

The initial intention of the Methodist Church was for deaconess homes and schools to be established across the country. The 1902 annual report of the deaconess committee encouraged each Annual Conference to make provision for the training of

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<sup>26</sup> Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Management of the Toronto Deaconess Home and Training School, 1897-1898 in UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 4, file 21. 9.

<sup>27</sup> “Report of Committee on Deaconesses” in the Journal of Proceedings of the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada, 1898, 326.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

deaconesses either by establishing deaconess homes and training schools of their own, or by affiliating with the home already established. Each Annual Conference was also encouraged to appoint a committee to consider the aims, needs and extension of deaconess work.<sup>29</sup> The home and training school in Toronto was not intended to be the only institution. While there were deaconess homes in many cities across Canada, other training centres did not emerge as originally envisioned. It is unclear why this did not happen. Further study regarding the many Methodist deaconess homes that did exist across Canada, and whether other training schools were initiated would be beneficial. The training school in Toronto was eventually designated by the General Conference of the church to be the only Methodist training school in Canada.

There were no significant changes in the curriculum until 1905-06 when the areas of study were divided into seven departments and other courses expanded.<sup>30</sup> The seven departments were those of Bible study, history and doctrine, applied Christianity (which included sociology, temperance and missions), methods (which included Sunday school work, evangelistic work, kindergarten work, conducting meetings and field work), practical work (kitchen garden, domestic science, sewing and basket weaving), elementary medicine, and aesthetics (including music, voice culture, physical culture, and deportment).<sup>31</sup> The Department of Bible Study expanded its offerings to include new developments in biblical interpretation, analysis and theology. Other new additions included basket weaving within the department of practical work and music and

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<sup>29</sup> "Report of Committee on Deaconesses" in *The Journal of Proceedings of the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada* 1902, 175.

<sup>30</sup> Eleventh Annual Report of the Board of Management of the Toronto Deaconess Home and Training School, 1905 in UCC/VUA, *The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds*, 78.101C Box 4, file 31. 27-29.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

department within the department of aesthetics. Also new was the creation of a specific department called "Course of Study for Deaconesses only." This department had its own examiners.<sup>32</sup> The reading lists had been updated and reduced in number with four texts for each year. In the first year, new texts included *Friendly Visiting Among the Poor* (Mary Richardson, n.d.), *The Life of St. Paul* (Rev. James Stalker, 1888), *The Makers of Methodism* (William Henry Withrow, n.d.), and *The Burden of the City* (Isabella Horton, 1904). Horton's book was about deaconess work in city missions and settlement work. The four texts for the second year included: *The New Era* (Strong, n.d.), *History of Canada* (Clement, n.d.), *The Women of Methodism* (Abel Stevens, 1866), and *Socialism and Christianity* (Behrends, n.d.).<sup>33</sup> None of the second year texts were new selections.

In the 1906 the General Conference officially established the Deaconess Constitution.<sup>34</sup> The newly created Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church was responsible for promoting the establishment of deaconess homes in various centres, establishing a Rest Fund (an emergency fund for tired or ill deaconesses), advancing the general interests of the work, and also conducting a training school.<sup>35</sup> In other words, the training school was no longer to be under the umbrella of the Toronto Annual Conference, but now had a national purpose. Its mandate was to give a course of practical and theoretical instruction for deaconesses, women's missionary society

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<sup>32</sup> Eleventh Annual Report of the Board of Management of the Toronto Deaconess Home and Training School, 1905. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 4, file 31. 30.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Report of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church in Journal of Proceedings of the Seventh General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada, 1906. 272-274.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

candidates, and to prepare women for other forms of Christian work.<sup>36</sup> The management and administration of the affairs of the society, including the training school, were to be vested in the General Conference General Board of Management of the Deaconess Society.<sup>37</sup> No changes were made to the size of the board; its membership remained at twenty-one members, but there was now to be national representation on it. The superintendent of the training school was not an officer of the board, but she was part of the Executive Committee. The responsibility of the executive was wide-ranging, from providing general supervision of the work of the deaconess movement to planning for its extension, from considering matters referred by the Board of Management to providing for the stationing of deaconesses. In addition the executive was responsible “for any exigencies that may arise between sessions of the Board.”<sup>38</sup> The supervision and oversight of the training school continued to be integrated with general supervision, promotion and oversight of deaconess work, stationing of deaconesses and pastoral support of the deaconess community. The Deaconess Committee Board of Management remained the supervising body until the time of union.<sup>39</sup>

Article two of the 1906 Deaconess Constitution stated that “the purpose of the training school shall be to give a course of practical and theoretical instruction for Deaconesses, Women’s Missionary Society candidates, and preparing women for other

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<sup>36</sup> “Report of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church” in *Journal of Proceedings of the Seventh General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada*, 1906. 272-274.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Journal of Proceedings of the General Conference of the Methodist church of Canada* 1906, 273.

<sup>39</sup> The name itself was changed to The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church in 1914 at the recommendation of the Hamilton Deaconess Aid Society and a number of Deaconesses. From the “Report of Committee on Deaconess Movement” in the *Journal of Proceedings of the Methodist General Conference* 1914, 292.

forms of Christian work.”<sup>40</sup> The training school maintained its primary focus of training deaconesses. At the same time it continued to be open to any suitable candidates - male or female - “without distinction of sex, and without payment of any fee, except the small sum of two dollars on entrance to cover incidental expenses.”<sup>41</sup> The role of the superintendent, however, was broadened to include the additional title of Principal, and Superintendent Scott became the Principal of the training school as well as the superintendent.<sup>42</sup> While this change only acknowledged the reality of the present responsibilities of the superintendent - supervising students in the home, providing oversight of their educational progress, as well as providing general administrative oversight and supervision of the training program itself, it did provide a significant shift in professional status, if not financial compensation, for a woman providing educational leadership in the church at that time. The school also became the official Methodist training school for the national denomination and would change its name to the National Training School to reflect that position.<sup>43</sup>

By the next year, however, the training school began to experience further changes. Superintendent Scott (as she was still referred to in board minutes) resigned to marry a Methodist pastor in the United States and the assistant superintendent, Ora McElhenie, was promoted to acting superintendent and principal. The Board of Management began

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<sup>40</sup> “Report of the Committee on Deaconess Work” in the Journal of Proceedings of the Seventh General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada 1906, 272.

<sup>41</sup> “Report of Committee on Deaconesses” in the Journal of Proceedings of the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada 1898, 327.

<sup>42</sup> Toronto Deaconess Home and Training School, 12th Annual Report; 1906, in UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 4, file 32. 29.

<sup>43</sup> Minutes of the Board of Management, June 7, 1907 in Board of Management Minutes Volume 2 1900-1904. In UCC/VUA. The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 1, file 2.

to plan the building of a newer facility more suitable to the needs of the school. Lack of space in the Jarvis Street location, increasing numbers of students and the enlarged national perspective of the training school led to the decision to construct a new building on the corner of St. Clair and Avenue Road. The building for the new National Training School was designed specifically for the growing deaconess movement in the Methodist Church. Officially opened in the fall of 1911, it could accommodate up to one hundred students (compared to the twenty-three that the Jarvis Street facility offered). The new building housed large classrooms and sitting rooms, a chapel, a dining hall, comfortable bedrooms, a library, a household science room (designed to teach institutional cooking and kitchen supervisory skills) and a gymnasium. Spacious balconies at the rear of the building overlooked lawn and tennis courts.<sup>44</sup> The Jarvis Street location became a boarding house under deaconess management once the school relocated; Barbara House, as it came to be called, provided a comfortable Christian home for young girls who were away from home and working in the city shops and factories at minimum wage.<sup>45</sup>

In the midst of the excitement of the new facilities, recently appointed superintendent and principal McElhenie (promoted from acting superintendent and principal) resigned her position; her health had become compromised due to the stress and strain of supervising the move into the new building.<sup>46</sup> Upon her unexpected

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<sup>44</sup> Methodist National Training School Calendar; 1923-1924. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 5, file 51. 7.

<sup>45</sup> Annual Report of the General Board of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church, 1910-1911 in Annual Report of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church Volume 2, 1906-1914. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 4, file 18. 5.

<sup>46</sup> Annual Report of the General Board of Management of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church, 1911-1912 in Annual Report of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church; 1906-1914, Vol. 2. In UCC/VUA. The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 4, file 18. 18.



departure, the Board of Management made the decision to expand the position of superintendent even further to reflect the continuing expansion of the deaconess movement. The Rev. George J. Bishop, DD was appointed principal of the training school, superintendent of the Toronto deaconess home (the residence of the new training school) and also superintendent of the entire deaconess movement.<sup>47</sup> His experience previous to holding this position included a “lengthy pastorate and fine business ability.”<sup>48</sup> It would appear that only a churchman was able to fulfill this expanded role.

The training school underwent further changes in 1914 that reflected its changing status and relationship with the wider Methodist Church. In that year it was recommended to the General Conference, and approved, that the training school “have the same relationship to our Educational Society concerning co-operation and support as do our other theological institutions.”<sup>49</sup> The training school now held the same educational status as other Methodist theological institutions, and therefore was able to access similar financial support from the wider church. This equal status remained unchanged until union. At the same time the training school’s objective was broadened to include the training of social service workers as well as deaconesses, candidates for missionary work and any others desiring to engage in other forms of Christian work.<sup>50</sup>

Once the National Training School opened in the new building, lay men and lay

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<sup>47</sup> Annual Report of the General Board of Management of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church, 1911-1912 in Annual Report of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church; 1906-1914, Vol. 2. In UCC/VUA. The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 4, file 18. 18.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> “Report of Committee on Deaconess Movement” in the Journal of Proceedings of the Methodist General Conference 1914. 293.

<sup>50</sup> Annual Report of the General Board of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church, 1915-16, in Annual Reports of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church Volume 3; 1914-1920. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 5, file 19. 7.

women were no longer explicitly welcomed to take classes. It is not until the 1922-23 academic year that the training school calendar once again explicitly invites lay men and women to attend National Training School lectures. What is unclear in the documentation is whether lay men and women had been excluded intentionally and then welcomed once again, or if it was simply a printing omission. Once the training school became equal in status to other theological institutions, perhaps it attempted to both consolidate its position of importance in theological education and also establish a more “professional” reputation by focussing on the education of women alone.

Although who was welcome to attend the training school was in some question with the opening of the new building, its educational approach was clearly articulated. In the introduction of the 1910-11 calendar the purpose of the school is stated to be preparation for Christian service, not literary or scientific study.<sup>51</sup> While this seems to minimize the significance of Christian service and contrast its preparation to more rigorous forms of study, the calendar also stated that a good foundation in biblical interpretation, Christian doctrine, church history, methods of Christian work as well as studies in English literature and general history were essential in preparation for such work.<sup>52</sup> In later years, three required areas - a systematic and comprehensive study of the Bible, the promotion of a personal spiritual life, and a good understanding of the practical and scriptural methods of Christian work (including visiting the various missions, and social and settlement work carried on in the city of Toronto) - were identified as essential

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<sup>51</sup> Methodist Church National Training School Calendar, 1910-1911. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 4, file 35. 14.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

requirements to properly prepare students for Christian service.<sup>53</sup> The combination of practical training, academic scholarship and spiritual development were critical elements in the educational preparation for Christian service. The emphasis on the service orientation of the training over literary and scientific study belies what the training program actually provided to its students. The tendency in training school literature to minimize academic scholarship and emphasize practical training, while in some ways reflecting the training school's uniquely integrated approach to theological education, is more accurately an example of supporters using maternal feminist rhetoric to reassure the church that women were not receiving a full theological education.

The Rev. Dr. Bishop died suddenly in June 1915 from pneumonia and Rev. Hiram Hull, BA was appointed as his successor.<sup>54</sup> During Hull's tenure more changes and additions were introduced to the school curriculum. Taking advantage of the new department of Social Service at the University of Toronto and advances in educational pedagogy, courses were offered in social service and religious pedagogy, and a new training program was developed for Christian Homemakers.<sup>55</sup> Beginning in 1918, vocational formation became part of the curriculum in a new way. Supplementing the reading lists were courses on the history and development of deaconess work, the character and qualifications of a deaconess, and the place of deaconess work in relationship to the

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<sup>53</sup> Methodist National Training School Bulletin 1916-1917. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 5, file 45. 14.

<sup>54</sup> Annual Report of the General Board of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church, 1914-15 in Annual Reports of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church Volume 3; 1914-1920. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 5, file 59. 4.

<sup>55</sup> Annual Report of the General Board of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church, 1915-16 in Annual Reports of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church Volume 3; 1914-1920. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 5, file 59. 21-22.

wider church.<sup>56</sup> Immersion in the field of social reform and creating sensitivity to working with diverse communities continued to be included in the curriculum. Courses such as “Evangelization of the Immigrant” included training in the social and religious heritage of some of the “leading foreign national groups” in Canada and their association with Methodist institutions.<sup>57</sup> Practical sociology included an overview of sociological research and theories.<sup>58</sup> Courses related to work with children included educational and psychological development theory and practical applications.<sup>59</sup> Through the development of partnerships with other educational institutions, the training school was able to integrate the most up to date research and scholarly study into its curriculum. A newly created Correspondence Studies program allowed deaconess and missionary students to take advance courses before attending the training school and residence, with the hope of lightening the heavy course load or allowing more time for field work.<sup>60</sup>

By the 1922 General Conference the optimism regarding the endless potential of the deaconess movement in the Methodist Church was clearly declining. A memorial signed by twenty-six deaconesses in active work throughout the country was served to the General Conference. This memorial indicated a high level of crisis felt by those in the deaconess community regarding their work and place in the church. The memorial stated that deaconess work was not occupying the place of importance in the life of the church

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<sup>56</sup> Methodist National Training School Bulletin 1916-1917. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 5, file 45. 22.

<sup>57</sup> Methodist National Training School Bulletin 1916-1917. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 5, file 45. 22.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid. 23-25.

<sup>60</sup> Methodist Church National Training School; Correspondence Studies Brochure; 1916. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 5, file 43. 3.

that it ought to have and that the numbers of active deaconesses had been decreasing since 1909. The deaconesses requested that the General Conference either enact legislation which would place the deaconess order in a position to do more effective work or disband the order of deaconesses.<sup>61</sup>

In response to the memorial, a General Conference Commission was established to look into the management and policy of deaconess work in the hopes of allaying the discontent evident in the memorial.<sup>62</sup> The General Conference recommended that “a lady be appointed as principal of the National Training School and superintendent of Deaconess Work.”<sup>63</sup> This action responded to discontent expressed by the signers of the memorial, with the leadership of Rev. Hiram Hull and what appeared as his “lack of interest in and sympathy with their work.”<sup>64</sup> The commission interviewed deaconesses regarding their experiences and sought direct feedback on possible improvements to the training program.<sup>65</sup> The commission was conscious throughout their work that any future union with the Congregational and Presbyterian churches would require reconsideration of any recommendations.<sup>66</sup> The final report of this commission had a direct impact on the organisations, curriculum and teaching staff of the National Training School.

As a result of the Commission of Inquiry’s findings, the recommended standard of

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<sup>61</sup> “Report of Committee on Deaconess Work” in the Journal of Proceedings of the Methodist General Conference 1922, 331.

<sup>62</sup> “Report of the Committee on Deaconess Work” in the Journal of Proceedings of the Methodist General Conference 1922, 331.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> “Report of the Commission of Inquiry to the General Board of Management of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church” March 1923, in UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 1, file 8. 3.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. 1.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid. 6.

admission was raised to matriculation in a “recognized Canadian or other British University, or that of a Public School Teacher’s certificate recognized in any province of Canada, or their equivalent, except that in the case of candidates of mature age (above the age of twenty-one), or of exceptional promise, admission on trial may be granted.”<sup>67</sup> The course of study was confirmed at two years, or three for those with a lower educational standing than matriculation. In addition to a carefully defined and well balanced general course of study covering Bible, Christian doctrine and practical methods of Christian work, specialization in the second year of the program in the areas of religious education, social service, girls’ work and kindergarten was recommended. Language training and cross cultural education were recommended for those presenting themselves for home mission work with foreigners.<sup>68</sup> Wider opportunities for practical work in specialized areas, increased supervision and increased opportunities to test fitness for ministry were also recommended to help better prepare students for service.<sup>69</sup> Special provision to combine business education and training school studies was recommended for candidates wishing to become church secretaries.<sup>70</sup> Most significantly, the general board was urged to take immediate steps to arrange with Victoria College to take over the entire work of teaching in the training school, including the planning and directing of the various courses of study and the supervising of examination tests.<sup>71</sup> It was hoped that the large staff of Victoria College, augmented by cooperation with Knox College (the Presbyterian college),

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid. 8.

<sup>68</sup> “Report of the Commission of Inquiry to the General Board of Management of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church” March 1923, in UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 1, file 8. 9.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid. 9.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid. 10.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. 11.

could take on this task easily and inexpensively.<sup>72</sup>

Despite the General Conference's recommendation that a woman be placed in the position of principal, the Commission of Inquiry recommended the hiring of a man of high educational standing to the dual position of superintendent and principal. Most deaconesses and ministers interviewed by the commission had been in favor of a man being appointed to that position once it became known that Rev. Principal Hull would be resigning.<sup>73</sup> Appointment of an Assistant Superintendent of Deaconess Work was also recommended by the Commission, suggesting that she be "a woman of experience and executive ability, a licensed Deaconess and graduate of the Training School with high character, profound interest in the work, and be sympathetic, tactful and wise in her leadership."<sup>74</sup> Duties of this new position were to include the care and supervision of the deaconess order and Field Secretary when required - visiting deaconesses in the field to provide care and supervision.<sup>75</sup> Interestingly, the General Board of Management did not follow the commission's recommendation regarding the appointment of a male to the position of principal and superintendent. The board approached Winnifred Thomas, B.A., to fill the position of principal and superintendent. At the time Thomas held the position of Field Secretary with the Sunday Schools and Young People's Societies for the Methodist Church. Despite her own hesitancy, Thomas agreed to the appointment, stating that "with the support promised me, I shall undertake the work and give my best

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid. 11.

<sup>73</sup> "Report of the Commission of Inquiry to the General Board of Management of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church" March 1923, in UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 1, file 8. 11.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid. 12.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid. 12.

to it.”<sup>76</sup> Thomas was likely younger than any previous superintendents or principals, and concerned about her lack of experience. In the same letter, however, Thomas stated that at the next executive meeting, she wished to address the selection of an assistant, moving her aged parents into the school with her, and the need for at least one month of holidays before beginning her duties.<sup>77</sup> While her hesitancy due to feelings of inadequacy were likely sincere, she obviously had the confidence and conviction to state clearly what she needed to fulfill her duties.

Following the deaconess crisis of 1922, the 1922-23 calendar reflects the caution of the times. The calendar introduction stated that no promise or guarantee of employment upon completing the program can be given, especially in the field of social service. In addition, it stated that approximately twenty-five percent of graduates did not go into profession church work but returned to their home church better equipped for leadership as a result of their training.<sup>78</sup> Added to the course of study in 1922 was a course entitled “The Social Gospel of the New Testament and its Application to Modern Life.”<sup>79</sup> The correspondence course option continued. Laywomen and laymen were once again clearly invited to participate in day and evening classes.<sup>80</sup>

By 1923 Victoria College professors taught all the academic courses for the training

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<sup>76</sup> Letter from Winnifred Thomas to Rev. I. G. Bowles, member of the General Conference Board, member of the Training School Committee and Chancellor of Victoria College, May 14, 1923. Correspondence. UCC/VUA, Methodist National Training School 1898-1926 Fonds. Fonds 536, series 0, 98.104C Box 2, file 1.

<sup>77</sup> Letter from Winnifred Thomas to Rev. I. G. Bowles, member of the General Conference Board, member of the Training School Committee and Chancellor of Victoria College, May 14, 1923. Correspondence. In UCC/VUA, Methodist National Training School 1898-1926 Fonds. Fonds 536, series 0, 98.104C Box 2, file 1.

<sup>78</sup> Methodist Church National Training School for Christian Workers Bulletin; 1922-23. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 5, file 50. 4.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid. 21.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid. 3.



school students.<sup>81</sup> The Canadian School of Missions, established in 1921 between the Foreign Mission Boards of the Anglican, Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian churches in cooperation with Knox, Trinity, Wycliff and Victoria colleges, was open to students of the National Training School who were preparing for work with the WMS.<sup>82</sup> The Department of Social Service at the University of Toronto allowed students of the training school to attend lectures on topics such as Social Economics, The Social Treatment of Poverty, Community Organization, and Child Welfare in their department.<sup>83</sup> Partnerships with other educational programs allowed the training school to integrate emerging research and theory into the curriculum without duplicating resources within the institution.

The union of the Canadian Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational churches seems to have suddenly come upon the National Training School. Although there were some general references to the possibility throughout minutes in the years leading up to 1925 (particularly in the work of the Commission of Inquiry), nothing is mentioned in the training school calendars regarding union until it had already been officially approved. The 1925-26 calendar showed a new name for the school, "The Methodist National Training School in the United Church of Canada." The calendar stated that the General Conference Board of the Deaconess Society looked forward to the full cooperation with the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home as they moved towards

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<sup>81</sup> Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the General Board of the Deaconess Society, October 25, 1923 in Deaconess Society, Board of Management Minutes. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 2, file 9, 7. and Methodist Church National Training School Calendar; 1923-1924. UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C-box 5 - file 51. 9.

<sup>82</sup> Methodist Church National Training School Calendar; 1923-1924. UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 5, file 51. 9.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid. 9, 15.

unification of their common task: to prepare women as missionaries and deaconesses in the service of the United Church of Canada.<sup>84</sup> For the academic session 1925-26 the schools continued as before with as much cooperation as possible until full coordination happened.<sup>85</sup> The calendar itself is quite brief, with only basic information offered on the programs available. The Methodist National Training School, an institution with a long history of adapting and changing to the needs of the day always with few resources and a limited budget, was on the cusp of one of the greatest transitions it had ever faced - full integration with a sister school.

For over thirty years the Methodist National Training School was a strong presence on the Canadian Methodist landscape. It provided practical theological training for significant numbers of Canadian women seeking to become deaconesses or missionaries or to prepare for other forms of Christian service. Its curriculum was continually adapted to respond to changing social conditions. By integrating practical training in city mission work, settlement work and other forms of social service, traditional theological studies alongside studies in the emerging field of social work, and spiritual and vocational development through residential living, the training program prepared women to participate in the social gospel movement in concrete ways. The 1922 deaconess crisis demonstrated that Methodist deaconesses were articulate and confident enough in their worth to stand together and demand action regarding serious

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<sup>84</sup> Methodist National Training School in the United Church of Canada Calendar; 1925-1926. UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C-box 5 - file 53. 1.

<sup>85</sup> Methodist National Training School in the United Church of Canada Calendar; 1925-1926. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 5, file 53. 1.

employment concerns. The educational approach of the training school (and the analysis skills and sense of community deaconesses would have developed as students) probably enabled such courageous collective action. The training school equipped its students to engage in actions for justice and create change.

The international diaconal movement played a significant role in the development of the Methodist National Training School. Its ongoing relationship with the Chicago Training School and Lucy Rider Meyer allowed the training school to find qualified staff in the early days, raise funds and school profile within Toronto, and have a model on which to base their school. The reading lists emphasized a historical overview of deaconess work, and eventually courses were developed on deaconess role and function. Maternal feminism opened the door for the school by rationalizing the specialized and necessary role women held for doing deaconess work. The first annual report of the training school in 1894-95 defended women's participation for such work as follows:

We are sure such a record of Christ-like service will be regarded as an ample reward for the time, thought and money expended in this youngest department of Methodist activity. These figures are valuable as indicating the zeal of our Deaconesses and the necessity for such work as that in which they are engaged, but they give a very inadequate idea of the sorrows which these visits have assuaged or the burdens lifted through their instrumentality.<sup>86</sup>

Emphasizing the need for Christ-like service to lift the hearts and spirits of the needy created the justification for the training school. Focussing on the practical, service-oriented nature of the training and the work of the deaconesses themselves silenced any remaining concerns.

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<sup>86</sup> Toronto Deaconess Home and Training School First Annual Report, 1894-1895. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 4, file 21. 4.

The social gospel movement interacted with the training school most significantly. The reading list, courses and practical training all demonstrate the training school's early participation in the social gospel movement and involvement in its development. Early reading lists included texts on applied Christianity and social gospel theology. The practical training focussed primarily on what came to be concrete symbols of the social gospel movement - city mission work, social and settlement work, and religious education in industrial and mission schools. Even congregational field sites emphasized the social gospel agenda through opportunities to visit the aged and infirm, work with children and youth mission programs and do congregational works of charity. Courses were developed that emphasized working respectfully with immigrants and a partnership with the University of Toronto Department of Social Service allowed students to take innovative courses in social service work. The training school itself understood its work to be part of a broader social movement: "The demand for such training has justified its establishment. Hundreds have graduated and have gone forth to bless the community with a broader outlook on the social movements of the times."<sup>87</sup> The Methodist National Training School trained women to be part of a broader social movement from its earliest days to the time of church union.

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<sup>87</sup> Methodist National Training School Bulletin 1916-1917. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds, 78.101C Box 5, file 45. 12.

### Chapter Three

#### The Presbyterian Deaconess and Missionary Training Home

This chapter outlines the history of the Presbyterian Deaconess and Missionary Training Home, originally known as the Ewart Training Home, from the time of its inception in 1897 to 1925 when the Presbyterian Church in Canada united with the Methodist and Congregational churches in Canada. In addition to outlining its formation, an overview of its curriculum, teaching staff, enrollment and administrative and supervisory functions will be provided. Its relationship with the wider church will also be discussed. From its beginnings until 1908, a joint committee of the Presbyterian Foreign Mission Committee and the Women's Foreign Missionary Society (western division) had administrative and supervisory responsibility for the training school. In 1908, however, following the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church's decision to establish a deaconess order, and consequently expand the role of the training school, the joint committee disbanded. A committee of the General Assembly was struck to provide oversight, administration and supervision for the new deaconess order, as well as the Presbyterian Deaconess and Missionary Training Home. In both administrative scenarios, however, the school was well positioned to continually adapt its educational program in response to ongoing feedback from its graduates - either in foreign mission fields or in Canada. Through creative partnerships with other institutions, the Presbyterian Deaconess and Missionary Training Home provided its students with an innovative educational program that was well grounded in the most recent theories in education, social work, and biblical and theological studies. As with the Methodist National Training School, the Presbyterian school integrated practical field education throughout its program.

The Presbyterian Deaconess and Missionary Training Home had fewer students, smaller financial resources, and was slower to embrace the social gospel into its curriculum than its Methodist counterpart, however. In the end, these subtle differences proved insignificant in comparison to the strong similarity in educational pedagogy between the schools. The Presbyterian training school, as with the Methodist school, provided an educational program which equipped women with the skills required to respond to the changing Canadian social context in practical, responsive and concrete ways.

The Ewart Training Home was established in 1897 by the Women's Foreign Missionary Society (Western Division) in cooperation with the Foreign Mission Committee, to provide training "for the benefit of ladies who would engage in home and foreign work."<sup>1</sup> Six years earlier, in 1891, the WFMS (WD) had decided that "it would be profitable for the 'society' at large to take a deeper interest in young women who offer their services for Foreign Missionary work."<sup>2</sup> The WFMS (WD) wanted to increase their role in the recruiting and selecting of women workers.<sup>3</sup> They encouraged auxiliaries and mission bands to recruit appropriate applicants. They met with colleges to discuss the development of a biblical training course, and appointed a committee in each city where this training course was offered to organize respectable boarding for young women participating in them.<sup>4</sup> In so doing, the WFMS (WD) laid the groundwork for its future

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<sup>1</sup> WFMS (WD) Report in the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1897. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Meeting, April 14-15, 1891 in Minutes of Annual Meetings of the Presbyterian Church in Canada Women's Missionary Society Western Division, Vol. 1, 1877-1897. In UCC/VUA, Fonds 127, 79.205C Box 4, file 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ruth Compton Brouwer, New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 36.

<sup>4</sup> Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Meeting, April 14-15, 1891 in Minutes of Annual Meetings of the Presbyterian Church in Canada Women's Missionary Society Western Division, Vol. 1, 1877-1897. In UCC/VUA, Fonds 127, 79.205C Box 4, file 1.

role in the training of female missionaries.

By their 1892 annual meeting, the WFMS board was “unanimous in their opinion that a Missionary Training Home will be of great value, as it will be eventually helpful both to the young women who are training for work in our mission fields, and also to the [Board] view of their responsibility in being asked to recommend to the [Foreign Mission] Committee those offering themselves for work in the foreign fields.”<sup>5</sup> For the next few years, however, little progress was made due to lack of funds and ongoing negotiations with the Foreign Mission Committee as to what kind of educational facility might best suit their needs.<sup>6</sup> Finally in April 1897 at the twenty-first gathering of the WFMS (WD) a motion was approved that \$800 be granted to establish and maintain a training home in Toronto during the coming year.<sup>7</sup> Much of its initial funding for the training home came from the estate and legacy of Catherine Ewart. Ewart had been closely identified with the WFMS; she had been their president for sixteen years, and had just been elected president for the seventeenth time days before her death.<sup>8</sup> In her will, she had made provision for a bursary fund to be used by the proposed training home for deserving candidates wishing to attend the home. Due to the perseverance of the WFMS (WD) and the determination and generosity of Ewart, the training home for female missionaries became a reality.

When Ewart Missionary Training Home opened in Toronto in 1897, it had received

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<sup>5</sup> Proceedings of the Sixteen Annual Meeting of the Women’s Foreign Missionary Society (WD), May 4, 1892, in Minutes of Annual Meetings of the Presbyterian Church in Canada Women’s Missionary Society Western Division, Vol. 1, 1877-1897. UCC/VUA, Fonds 127, 79.205C Box 4, file 1. 161.

<sup>6</sup> For a good summary of the political negotiations between the WFMS and the FMC regarding the establishment of a training home for women see Brouwer, 36-37.

<sup>7</sup> Proceedings of the Twenty-first Annual Meeting of the Women’s Foreign Missionary Society (WD), April 2, 1897, in Minutes of Annual Meetings of the Presbyterian Church in Canada Women’s Missionary Society Western Division, Vol. 1, 1877-1897. UCC/VUA, Fonds 127, 79.205C Box 4, file 1. 197, 199.

<sup>8</sup> WFMS (WD) Report in the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1897. 194.

the sanction of the General Assembly but was placed under the direct oversight of the Foreign Mission Committee (FMC). The newly created Joint Committee on Instruction, a cooperative venture between the Foreign Mission Committee and the WFMS (WD), consisted of three members from the FMC and four members of the WFMS, and had overall responsibility for and oversight of the training home and its program.<sup>9</sup> The Joint Committee of Instruction dealt with admissions, curriculum and program development, examination and recommendation for graduation to the WFMS (WD) and the FMC for foreign service. In addition to its participation on the Joint Committee of Instruction, the WFMS had full financial responsibility for the training home's annual expenses and oversight of its daily management.<sup>10</sup>

The Joint Committee on Instruction also had oversight of the superintendent of the training home. The superintendent's role, as in the Methodist training school, was to live in the home and provide supervision and guidance to the students and be responsible for their formation. Anna Ross was the first superintendent of the training home serving briefly from 1897 until her retirement in 1899. The Joint Committee facilitated the appointment of a replacement by passing on letters of application to the WFMS board for their suggestions and input.<sup>11</sup> The WFMS board provided two suggestions for serious consideration by the committee. From those, the Joint Committee selected Mrs. E. Livingston from Winnipeg for an annual appointment renewable upon mutual agreement

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<sup>9</sup> Brouwer, 37.

<sup>10</sup> The financial support began as an annual grant of \$800 in 1897, rose to \$1000 and then was to be whatever amount was required by the Home. For examples of this refer to minutes of the Annual Meetings of the WFMS 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901 in UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Women's Missionary Society Western Division, Minutes of Annual Meetings, Vol. 2, 1898-1909. Fonds 127, 79.205C Box 4, file 1. 6, 22, 43, 59.

<sup>11</sup> Minutes of the Joint Committee, June 13, 1899, in Minutes of Joint Committee on Instruction 1897-1908. UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. Fonds 130/0/0, 79.175C Box 1, file 1. 51-53.



between herself and the committee.<sup>12</sup> As superintendent, Livingston received twenty dollars monthly and the board covered half of her travel expenses from Winnipeg.<sup>13</sup> She continued as superintendent until June 1913.

With the opening of the training home, women seeking a foreign missionary appointment had to complete a six month course and residency in the home.<sup>14</sup> The six month course included biblical, theological and practical coursework taught on a voluntary basis by Knox College professors, other clergy, the training home superintendent, and staff from other institutions. The curriculum included courses in the Old and New Testament, theological doctrine, church history, missions, and Sunday school work. Practical work was integrated into the academic courses. Other course work included elocution and voice culture, taught by staff from the Toronto Conservatory of Music.<sup>15</sup> Medical lectures were given by staff from Toronto Nursing-at-Home Mission and by medical doctors. Daily Bible study was led by Superintendent Ross. Classes were open to "all ladies who wish to attend," with the exception of elementary book-keeping which was offered exclusively for training home students.<sup>16</sup> Knox College supported the new institution by providing the

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<sup>12</sup> I have been unable to find documentation which indicates what her first name was. She is always referred to as E. Livingstone or Mrs. Livingstone.

<sup>13</sup> Minutes of the Joint Committee, June 23, 1899 in Minutes of Joint Committee on Instruction 1897-1908. UCC/VUA, Presbyterian church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. Fonds 130/0/0, 79.175C Box 1, file 1. 54-55.

<sup>14</sup> WFMS (WD) Report in the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1897. 195.

<sup>15</sup> This class began in the second year of the Training Home, took place in the Conservatory building and was taught by one of their advanced students, Miss Proudfoot. Minutes of the Joint Committee, December 12, 1899, in Minutes of Joint Committee on Instruction 1897-1908. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 1. 67-68.

<sup>16</sup> Ewart Woman's Missionary Training Home of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Western Division) Curriculum, 1898-99, in Ewart Missionary Training Home Curriculum, Time Table, Calling Cards 1898-99. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 2, file 1.

services of their lecturers and teaching staff as well as classroom space.<sup>17</sup> In the beginning the lectures were mostly one hour in length and were held separately from Knox's theological classes. The training home lectures took place later in the afternoon so that students were free throughout the day to do their practical work and Bible study.<sup>18</sup>

By 1901 the training home extended its session to ten months. Six months were devoted to study and limited practical work out of the training home, followed by four months of practical work in congregations in the city. This change was in response to the challenge students experienced in balancing the demands of academic work with the demands of practical training. The Joint Committee was unwilling to reduce the requirements of the program in any way; practical training was an equal priority to scholarly preparation in the training home program.<sup>19</sup> This ten month program resolved the concerns of student overload and, in the end, provided more thorough training than had been possible in the six month model.<sup>20</sup>

In 1906 training home students joined the male students at Knox College for joint classes in systematic theology and church history. This integration began for practical reasons. It accommodated the retirement of a regular training home lecturer and reduced the work load of his replacement and other Knox College academic staff who volunteered

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<sup>17</sup> In the minutes of a meeting of the Joint Committee on Instruction on Tuesday March 31, 1898, Knox Senate is acknowledged and thanked for the services of lecturers and classroom space. In Minutes of the Joint Committee on Instruction 1897-1908. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 1. 20-21.

<sup>18</sup> Ewart Missionary Training Home Time Table of Lectures 1898-1899, in Ewart Training Home Curriculum, Time Tables, Calling Cards 1898-1899. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 2, file 1.

<sup>19</sup> Minutes of the Joint Committee May 23, 1901 in Minutes of Joint Committee on Instruction 1897-1908. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 1. 90-91.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

their time.<sup>21</sup> Integrating with the Knox College program automatically increased training home students' workload; training home courses were one hour per week and Knox College courses were three hours per week.<sup>22</sup> During this time, the women wrote the same exam papers as did the men. However, by the spring of 1908, when the scope of the training home officially expanded to include deaconess preparation as well, the academic staff at Knox decided to return to the practice of separate classes for the training home students. Separate classes, however, did not mean a return to an easier course load for training home students. While one professor did return to the practice of creating separate exam papers for training home students, others continued to give the same exam paper to the women as to the male theological students.<sup>23</sup>

In 1907 two overtures were presented to the thirty-third General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church that significantly changed the role of the training school and its accountability to the wider church. At the request of the WFMS Board, the Presbytery of Toronto presented an overture requesting that the General Assembly consider enlarging the scope of Ewart Training Home. Four rationales were given for such a request: an increased demand in the church for "consecrated women" to serve in foreign fields, hospitals, city missions and in congregational work; the good service Ewart Missionary Training Home had provided for many years with limited resources and increasing demands; the success of the training home being hampered by impressions that it existed only to train women for foreign mission work; and finally, because graduates of the home did not receive due

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<sup>21</sup> Minutes of the Joint Committee, September 20, 1906 in Minutes of Joint Committee on Instruction 1897-1908. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 1. 146-147.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Minutes of the Joint Committee, April 3, 1908 in Minutes of Joint Committee on Instruction 1897-1908. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 1. 159.

recognition from the church or promise of employment.<sup>24</sup> The General Assembly was requested to change the constitution of the home to broaden its scope and the support it could receive, and to approve some method of recognizing and designating the professional work of its graduates.<sup>25</sup> At the same meeting the Synod of Manitoba presented an overture regarding the institution of an order of deaconesses. This overture requested that steps be taken to set apart an order of women who would serve the church as nurses, parish visitors, dispensers of charity and “in any other way that may prove to be desirable”.<sup>26</sup> Both overtures were approved:

The General Assembly expresses its sense of the great importance of the development of the work of Christian women in the Church, both for the Home and Foreign fields; the Assembly approves of the steps being taken to broaden the scope of the Ewart Missionary Training Home; and the Assembly appoints a Committee to take these Overtures into consideration and report to next Assembly.<sup>27</sup>

A Committee on an Order of Deaconesses was established to address both overtures and report back to the General Assembly in 1908. The training home’s Joint Committee on Instruction met with the Committee on an Order of Deaconesses throughout the year to provide input regarding the training home as the report was prepared.<sup>28</sup>

The General Assembly of 1908 officially instituted an order of deaconesses.<sup>29</sup> It also

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<sup>24</sup> “Presbytery of Toronto Overture XXVI Re: Enlarging Scope of Ewart Training Home” in *The Acts and Proceedings of the thirty-third General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1907*. 347.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> “Synod of Manitoba Overture XXXIII Re: Instituting an Order of Deaconesses” in *The Acts and Proceedings of the thirty-third General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1907*. 353.

<sup>27</sup> *The Acts and Proceedings of the thirty-third General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1907*.

<sup>28</sup> Minutes of the Board of Management, November 5, 1908; April 5, 1909 in *Typed Minutes of the Assembly’s Board of Management for the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, 1908-1917*. United Church of Canada/Victoria University Archives, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home fonds, fonds 130/0/0, 79.175C box 1 file 3. 1 & 5.

<sup>29</sup> From the “Report of Committee on an Order of Deaconesses” in *The Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-fourth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1908*. 313.

broadened the scope of the Ewart Training Home which was to become an institution for the training of women for the missionary and deaconess work of the church. The assembly directed the Ewart Training Home to be a residence which would provide “helpful Christian influences” for the students during their training.<sup>30</sup> It also designated the home as a residence for women missionaries and deaconess on furlough, or for deaconesses engaged in work in its vicinity.<sup>31</sup> The General Assembly appointed a provisional board of management consisting of four ministers, four elders and seven representatives of the Women’s Missionary Societies of the church to have oversight and management of the training home.<sup>32</sup> The board was also given general oversight of deaconess work throughout the church, thereby integrating the life and work of deaconesses with the oversight and management of the training home. The training home was to continue to be supported financially by direct annual grants by the Home and Foreign Mission Committees, but also could be supported by congregations, associations, and individuals. The goal was to eventually create an endowment sufficient to maintain the work.<sup>33</sup> In September 1908, the Joint Committee appointed by the FMC and the WFMS (WD) handed over the home and its work to the General Assembly board.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> From the “Report of Committee on an Order of Deaconesses” in The Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-fourth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1908. 313.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 314.

<sup>33</sup> From the “Report of Committee on an Order of Deaconesses” in The Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-fourth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1908. 314.

At a meeting of the newly appointed Board of Management in the the late fall of 1908, it was decided that the Home and Foreign Mission Committees were to contribute \$850 each from the Home and Foreign Mission Committees (West) and \$150 each from the Eastern Committees as per the decisions of the General Assembly actions. See Minutes of the Board of Management, November 5, 1908 in Typed Minutes of the Assembly’s Board of Management for the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, 1908-1917. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 3. 1.

<sup>34</sup> “First Annual Report of the Board of the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home in the Presbyterian Church in Canada” in the Acts and Proceedings o the Thirty-fifth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1909. 244.

With the official broadening of the scope of the newly named Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, the 1908 General Assembly also approved a two year course of study for the deaconess and missionary training programs and the granting of diplomas to graduates for deaconess or missionary work.<sup>35</sup> The revised curriculum now included courses in biblical study, Christian doctrine, ethics, and the history, organization, and agencies of the Presbyterian church. A methods course, similar to the one offered at the Methodist National Training School, focussed on practical work in Sunday schools, young people's societies, visitation, and conducting meetings. Deaconess students also took courses in physiology, hygiene, nursing, domestic science, and philanthropic and sociological work. Missionary candidates took classes in comparative religions and Christian mission. In actuality, few curriculum changes were needed to accommodate the new two year Deaconess program as the "mental discipline and religious instruction given were almost of equal value to Home and Foreign workers."<sup>36</sup> The new curriculum continued to emphasize the importance of residing in the home, and combining practical work with academic study. The goal was to "supply many tests of character and adaptation to live and work comfortably with others," and enable the church to judge the fitness of candidates for both home and foreign field.<sup>37</sup>

Entrance regulations were established for the training home and for those entering the order of deaconesses. Candidates for training needed to be over twenty-two years of age

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<sup>35</sup> From the "Report of Committee on an Order of Deaconesses" in *The Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-fourth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada*, 1908. 314.

<sup>36</sup> "First Annual Report of the Board of the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home in the Presbyterian Church in Canada" in *The Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-fifth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada*, 1909. 244.

<sup>37</sup> "First Annual Report of the Board of the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home in the Presbyterian Church in Canada" in *The Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-fifth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada*, 1909. 244.

and younger than thirty-five; they needed to have attained at least an entrance standing in the high schools of Ontario; they needed to hold a certificate of membership in full communion of the church and be of excellent Christian character; and finally, they needed to have undergone a satisfactory medical examination. There was no fee for instruction in the home, but each resident of the training home paid three dollars weekly for board, lodging and light (not considered part of lodging). A woman residing in Toronto would be allowed to attend the classes for an enrollment fee of five dollars, and upon completion of the program, was entitled to receive the diploma. Any appointment to home, foreign or parish work, however, depended upon her residing in the home for one year. An exception was made for "godly women of mature years" who were thought to be "sober minded, and thoroughly tested in the school of experience."<sup>38</sup> Lectures were also open to anyone on payment of an enrollment fee of two dollars.<sup>39</sup>

In 1909 the Deaconess Committee was constituted. All deaconess work was placed under its oversight and supervision, including oversight of the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home. The provisional Board of Management from the previous year was absorbed into the new Deaconess Committee and membership continued to be balanced between clergy, laymen and representatives from the Women's Missionary Societies of the church.<sup>40</sup> Responsibilities of the Executive of the Deaconess Committee (also called the Board of the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home) included dealing with applications and requests from institutions for deaconess appointments, recommending deaconesses for designation and appointment, receiving annual reports from

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<sup>38</sup> From the "Report of Committee on an Order of Deaconesses" in The Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-fourth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1908. 314-15.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> "Report of the Committee on Order of Deaconesses" in the Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-fifth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1909. 243.

deaconesses in the fields, and dealing with all student applications to the training home.<sup>41</sup> The executive of the training home decided on the necessity of national representation on the Deaconess Committee, even though full attendance would not always be possible.<sup>42</sup> The General Assembly also endorsed the urgent need for a larger building.<sup>43</sup> The General Assembly expressed satisfaction with the first year's work of the newly named Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, the increase in the number of students in attendance who came from all parts of the country, and the systematic training of deaconesses which had been developed.<sup>44</sup>

A new building at 60 Grosvenor Street was purchased in 1910 and the name of the training home was changed to the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home.<sup>45</sup> In this same time period the Methodist Training School and Deaconess Home was building their large new building on St. Clair Avenue to facilitate increasing student numbers and changing their school name to the Methodist National Training School and Deaconess Home, also to reflect their broadened scope and national perspective. The development of the two training schools reflect the early nineteenth century period of institution building in Canada.

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<sup>41</sup> For Examples of this see Minutes of the Meeting of Executive of Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Committee, August 10, 1910 & February 24, 1911 & April 3, 1911 in Typed Minutes of the Assembly's Board of Management for the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, 1908-1917. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 3.

<sup>42</sup> "First Annual Report of the Board of the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home in the Presbyterian Church in Canada" in the Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-fifth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1909. 245.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, 246.

<sup>44</sup> Minutes of the Board of Management, June 16, 1909 in Typed Minutes of the Assembly's Board of Management for the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, 1908-1917. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 3. 17.

<sup>45</sup> "Report of the Deaconess Committee, Which is Also the Board of the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home of the Presbyterian Church in Canada" in the Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-sixth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1910. 259.



The Presbyterian training home continued to offer lay education even though the formal course of study for missionary and deaconess candidates was established. For example, a series of lectures on Sabbath School work (led by the Presbyterian Secretary of Sabbath Schools) was open to the public in the training home's first year of broadened scope.<sup>46</sup> Students received certificates of standing in all subjects they passed in an effort to encourage participation in the training home at any level. Diplomas were granted to those who completed the prescribed course of study.<sup>47</sup>

Openness, flexibility and responsiveness to issues of the day was a part of the training home ethos. In 1909, shorthand, typing and bookkeeping was newly offered and a committee was established to consider offering evening classes.<sup>48</sup> In their literature, the training home encouraged women already trained in shorthand, typing, or as nurses to consider deaconess training.<sup>49</sup> At the suggestion of the General Assembly's Social Service Secretary, Dr. J.G. Shearer (a major social gospel leader), weekly lectures on Social Service which focussed on "the city, its problems and social evil" was also added to the curriculum.<sup>50</sup> Practical training in the area of rescue work (ie. saving women and young

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<sup>46</sup> Minutes of the Assembly's Board of Management for the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, September 23, 1908 in Typed Minutes of the Assembly's board of Management for the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, 1908-1917. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 3. 1.

<sup>47</sup> Minutes of the Board of Management, April 5, 1909 in Typed Minutes of the Assembly's Board of Management for the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, 1908-1917. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 3. 9.

<sup>48</sup> Minutes of Executive, Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, July 8, 1909 in Typed Minutes of the Assembly's Board of Management for the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, 1908-1917. UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 3.

<sup>49</sup> Minutes of the Board of Management, February 5, 1909 in Typed Minutes of the Assembly's Board of Management for the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, 1908-1917. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 3. 5.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

girls from lives on the street and rehabilitating them to become good Christian wives and mothers) was also added to the training home program.<sup>51</sup> Other practical work continued to include Sunday morning services at industrial refuges (Christian boarding homes for young women working in factories), organizing mothers' meetings at city missions, attending rounds with mission nurses and spending time each week at the free medical dispensary.<sup>52</sup> Practical work always included visiting among the poor and sick. Occasionally students addressed WFMS and WHMS auxiliaries and Mission Bands about their training and work.<sup>53</sup>

The training home program was again adapted in 1912 to provide appropriate preparation for students who would be working in the diverse settings of foreign, home and social service fields. The program was divided into three preparation options: 1) training for foreign mission work, 2) training for deaconess work and 3) training for social service work. Three departments were developed, to be covered by the training program - a course of study, practical work and character preparation.<sup>54</sup> Teaching staff for the course of study continued to be volunteers who reflected the various areas of expertise required to deliver such a program; they included professors from Knox College, the University of Toronto (law and social services department), General Assembly secretaries,

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<sup>51</sup> Minutes of the Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Home, July 4 1911 in Typed Minutes of the Assembly's Board of Management for the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, 1908-1917. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 3.

<sup>52</sup> "Report of the Deaconess Committee, Which Is Also the Board of the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home of the Presbyterian Church in Canada" in the Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-sixth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1910. 260.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, 261.

<sup>54</sup> Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Home, May 2, 1912 in Typed Minutes of the Assembly's Board of Management for the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, 1908-1917. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 3.

and other clergy.<sup>55</sup> Students pursuing foreign missionary training took a church history course which included special reference to periods of missionary expansion and also to non-Christian religions. Other foreign mission courses included a survey of the foreign mission fields with reference to geography, anthropology and linguistics.<sup>56</sup> Students focussing on deaconess and social service preparation took a church history course which included special reference to modern social issues. Shorthand, typewriting, bookkeeping and household science continued to be available as optional courses.<sup>57</sup> The school year itself changed once again, from the six month term it had been since expansion in 1908, back to eight months. Six months of class study were once again followed by two months of intensive practical work.<sup>58</sup> Practical work was still expected of the students during the six months of class study, however, and all practical work was under the supervision of the superintendent.<sup>59</sup> Other changes included the addition of a preliminary oral exam and the requirement that each new student meet with the Committee on Studies upon entering the training home to select her course of study.<sup>60</sup> No changes in a student's course of study were permitted without the committee's permission.<sup>61</sup>

Even as the training home revised its program and increased its areas of specialization, it also continued to be flexible, accessible and responsive to the needs of the church. Shorter courses and specialized programming continued to be available on an individual basis. Any woman residing in Toronto was still permitted to attend classes in the home,

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> "Report of the Deaconess Committee and Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home" in the Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-eighth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1912. 281.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, 282.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, 280.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, 283.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, 282.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 282.

although to be appointed to home, foreign, or social service work residency in the home for at least one year was still required.<sup>62</sup> The board considered residency an integral part of student formation and development, but were under pressure from the Board of Social Service and Evangelism to waive the residency requirement as well as make the training program available to students across the country.<sup>63</sup> This pressure was in response to an increased demand for graduates specializing in social service in the church.<sup>64</sup> The training home board was sympathetic to the Board of Social Service's needs and agreed to adapt their residency requirements from one year to one session for those students specializing in social service work.<sup>65</sup> They also agreed that the first year of the program could be taken in any Canadian college.<sup>66</sup> They required the training home curriculum to be followed, and the student's practical work to be supervised by a local committee under the direction of the Assembly's Deaconess Committee.<sup>67</sup>

Livingston resigned as superintendent of the training home in June 1913, following a conflict she had with the board; she had served for fourteen years. The conflict emerged when the board promoted the housekeeper of the home, Mrs. Carmichael, to the position of Assistant Superintendent in September 1912, without, it would seem, consultation with

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<sup>62</sup> Exceptions to residency requirement continued to be made for mature women "thoroughly tested in the schools of experience."

<sup>63</sup> Minutes of an adjourned Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home April 10, 1913 in Typed Minutes of the Assembly's Board of Management for the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, 1908-1917. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 3. 8-10.

<sup>64</sup> "Report of the Deaconess Committee and Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home" in the Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-eighth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1912. 282.

<sup>65</sup> Minutes of an adjourned Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home April 10, 1913 in Typed Minutes of the Assembly's Board of Management for the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, 1908-1917. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 3. 9.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

Superintendent Livingstone.<sup>68</sup> Although they later changed Carmichael's title to Matron, likely to appease Livingstone, Livingstone tendered her resignation the following March, feeling that her services were no longer appreciated or required. The board tabled her resignation, and requested that she remain until the matter was investigated. In their investigation of the matter, they came to the conclusion that administrative changes were needed in the home, in response to the increasing demand in the church for deaconesses:

Inasmuch as changing conditions in both Home and Foreign lands will demand at an early date a large increase in the numbers of Deaconesses to be employed by the Church, it is recommended that the Board begin as soon as possible to adjust its equipment, curriculum and staff to meet the requirements of the future.<sup>69</sup>

The board was sympathetic regarding misunderstandings between staff when responsibilities are unexpectedly divided, and were willing to return to Livingston all her original duties and responsibilities for the present. But they were quite clear that administrative changes in the home were urgent and inevitable in order to meet the home's present and future needs. While requesting her to remain in her position of superintendent, they stated quite clearly that her term would be time-limited at their discretion, pending further staff changes.<sup>70</sup> They also expressed high appreciation for the faithfulness with which Livingstone had discharged her duties in all her years at the training home, and

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<sup>68</sup> Minutes of the Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home September 13, 1912, in Typed Minutes of the Assembly's Board of Management for the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, 1908-1917. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 3.

<sup>69</sup> Minutes of the Executive of the Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home April 3, 1913 in Typed Minutes of the Assembly's Board of Management for the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, 1908-1917. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 3. 2.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

“gratification with the satisfactory progress made during these years, and the hopeful outlook of the future.”<sup>71</sup> Livingstone, perhaps unable to imagine being part of further administrative changes that would impact her position, or perhaps still feeling hurt by the imposition of an assistant without consultation, thanked the board for their resolution of appreciation but insisted on resigning.<sup>72</sup> The board accepted her resignation without further discussion. In view of her fourteen years of service, Livingstone received from the board a cheque for \$500 and another resolution of appreciation.<sup>73</sup>

That the Board in accepting Mrs. Livingstone’s resignation as Superintendent of the Deaconess Training Home, records its appreciation of her faithful services during the years of her incumbency. Her capable management of the internal affairs of the home, her accurate estimate of the attainments and character of students, her affectionate interest and solicitude in their behalf whilst in residence and after graduation, along with the excellence of her annual reports have all contributed to the success and gratifying growth of the institution during the years of her administration.<sup>74</sup>

With Livingstone’s resignation, the board decided to release Matron Carmichael from her position, in order to proceed towards the future with a clean slate.<sup>75</sup> The General

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<sup>71</sup> Minutes of the Executive of the Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home April 3, 1913 in Typed Minutes of the Assembly’s Board of Management for the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, 1908-1917. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 3. 2.

<sup>72</sup> Minutes of an adjourned Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home April 10, 1913 in Typed Minutes of the Assembly’s Board of Management for the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, 1908-1917. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 3.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Minutes of the Executive of the Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home April 25, 1913 in Typed Minutes of the Assembly’s Board of Management for the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, 1908-1917. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 3. 2.

<sup>75</sup> Minutes of an adjourned Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home April 10, 1913 in Typed Minutes of the Assembly’s Board of Management for the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, 1908-1917. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 3.

Assembly instructed the board to secure a suitable replacement, and “after careful and diligent enquiry” the position was offered to Margaret A. Grant.<sup>76</sup> Originally from Springhill Nova Scotia, Grant was a teacher in the Alberni Indian School in British Columbia for the Women’s Home Mission Committee prior to her appointment to the Training Home. The board felt she was the best candidate for the position because of her commitment to mission work and her efficiency. It was reported to the General Assembly in the spring of 1914 that:

Miss Grant had proved herself a very successful teacher and organizer, and had shown her devotion to the Mission work of the church in connection with the Indian Mission school in Alberni, and her first session’s work has abundantly proved the wisdom of the selection made.<sup>77</sup>

At the suggestion of the board, and before beginning her appointment, Grant spent time visiting American institutions similar to the training home in order to orient her to the work.<sup>78</sup> She was superintendent of the training home from fall 1913 until June 1918.

During the 1913-14 academic session the training home connected with sister schools from other denominations. Perhaps most significantly, the training home hosted a social evening with the officers, staff and students of the Methodist training school.<sup>79</sup> It was reported to the General Assembly that “a very delightful evening of fraternal intercourse

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<sup>76</sup> “Report of the Committee on the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home” in the Acts and Proceedings of the Fortieth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1914. 201.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Minutes of the Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home September 19, 1913 in Typed Minutes of the Assembly’s Board of Management for the Ewart Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, 1908-1917. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 3.

<sup>79</sup> Report of the Committee on the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home” in the Acts and Proceedings of the Fortieth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1914. 201.

was spent which cannot but prove a blessing to both.”<sup>80</sup> Joint medical lectures offered to both the students of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home and the Church of England Deaconess Home (opened in 1893) were also considered a success in creating fellowship and “a broad sympathy with the efforts of this sister training home.”<sup>81</sup> It is evident that the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home valued opportunities for increased cooperation and understanding at the student, staff and officer levels long before 1925.

Regulations related to the deaconess order were officially constitutionalized by the General Assembly in 1914. The curriculum was agreed upon once again, and admission and candidacy requirements established. Information regarding the probationary period, uniform, designation service, and how appointments and designation would be made were outlined in the new regulations.<sup>82</sup> Throughout the years, further recommendations were approved but little in the way of essential changes were made to the 1914 document. Those changes that did take place were mainly in the area of raising admission standards for training, and in the development and revision of course work in order to keep pace with emerging scientific study in missions, social service, and religious education, or to accommodate needs of the students.<sup>83</sup>

An example of these kinds of changes took place in 1916 when the curriculum was

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<sup>80</sup> Report of the Committee on the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home” in the Acts and Proceedings of the Fortieth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1914. 201.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> “Report of the Committee on the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home” in the Acts and Proceedings of the Fortieth General Assembly, 1914. 201-208.

<sup>83</sup> “Report of the Deaconess Committee and Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home” in the Acts and Proceedings of the Fiftieth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1924. 178.



thoroughly revised once again.<sup>84</sup> Lectures were reduced in number and rearranged so that two exam periods were held, one at Christmas and one at the end of the session; this change was introduced to reduce the strain on students. In addition, all students - foreign field, social service and church or parish work - were now to take classes together.<sup>85</sup> The general academic course of study remained as it had been, but areas of specialization were eliminated. Practical work was also rearranged to bring it within the six months of the academic session, and was broadened to include observation of and participation in Sunday schools, young people's societies, city missions, dispensaries, and social services.<sup>86</sup> The practical work was now supervised by four specially qualified directors, who provided students with thorough training in each area of specialization - religious education, social service, parish work, and medicine and surgery.<sup>87</sup> Increased provision for physical culture and gymnasium time under skilled direction was made available to students to increase their physical vigor.<sup>88</sup>

The curriculum changes of 1916 were deemed successful. Two years later, in 1918, the health of the students was markedly better thanks to the physical culture program and the strain of final exams being relieved through having exams at the end of each session.<sup>89</sup> The board, however, once again reevaluated the work of the training home, especially in light of

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<sup>84</sup> "Report of the Deaconess Committee and Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home" in the Acts and Proceedings of the Forty-second General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1916. 209.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> "Report of the Deaconess Committee and Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home" in the Acts and Proceedings of the Forty-third General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1917. 175.

<sup>87</sup> "Report of the Deaconess Committee and Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home" in the Acts and Proceedings of the Forty-second General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1916. 209.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> "Report of the Deaconess Committee and Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home" in the Acts and Proceedings of the Forty-fourth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1918. 187.

the tenth anniversary of the enlarged scope of the institution, and also in light of the rapidly changing social conditions in Canada.<sup>90</sup> In a desire to provide responsive and appropriate training to students in the midst of social change, the board appointed a Committee of Survey. This committee was appointed to study the entire curriculum and make recommendations for a program which would meet the present and prospective needs facing training home students in the midst of a rapid social transition.<sup>91</sup>

As a result of the Committee of Survey's work, revisions to the curriculum were recommended and entrance requirements were adjusted; the category of special student was developed for those students wishing to prepare themselves for Christian service but not as a deaconess or missionary.<sup>92</sup> Specialized honour courses, mainly private reading courses, were established in the various departments, and occasional conferences or seminars in religious education, missions and social service were to be offered to students.<sup>93</sup> The superintendent role was revised to be administrative and educational leader for the training home and its board.<sup>94</sup> In other words, the superintendent's position became the position of principal. The committee imagined an individual with a university degree who would supervise the educational work of the training home, be part of the teaching staff, be responsible for the management and discipline of the training home, and conduct all correspondence and other administrative work.<sup>95</sup> Previously the superintendent position did not require a university degree, although experience in the church and strong Christian

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<sup>90</sup> "Report of the Deaconess Committee and Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home" in the Acts and Proceedings of the Forty-fourth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1918. 190

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, 192.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, 191.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid, 192.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid, 192.

character were essential. This change was more a shift in perception and power in terms of how the board and the church viewed the leader of the training home. While a woman had held the position of principal for the Methodist National Training School back in 1906, the Presbyterian church was slower to imagine a woman holding a strongly named leadership position. The positions of housekeeper and clerical assistant were also recommended additions to the staffing complement.<sup>96</sup>

Grant resigned as Superintendent in 1918 to accept a position with the YWCA in Halifax, Nova Scotia. This freed the board to seek a qualified candidate for the new position of Principal. Jean E. Macdonald, formerly principal of St. Margaret's College in Toronto with a B.A. from University of Toronto, was appointed beginning September 1918. The board was extremely optimistic that her scholarship and experience in educational work, her administrative skills and interest in Christian work, would both maintain the training home's high record and help successfully implement the recommended improvements.<sup>97</sup> She served as principal until 1926, and went on to serve as principal of the United Church Training School from 1926 to 1934.

The Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home was supportive and encouraging of other deaconess training opportunities. When Manitoba College was granted permission by the General Assembly in 1920 to prepare women for deaconess work, representatives from the training home met with Manitoba College to discuss matters of common interest in the training of deaconesses.<sup>98</sup> The deaconess committee

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<sup>96</sup> "Report of the Deaconess Committee, and Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home" in the Acts and Proceedings of the Forty-fourth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1918. 192.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid, 193.

<sup>98</sup> "Report of the Deaconess Committee and Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home" in the Acts and Proceedings of the Forty-Seventh General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1921. 205.

sought to encourage and facilitate coordination between the Toronto training home and the Manitoba training program by appointing Dr. Baird of Manitoba College to the Deaconess Committee and Board of the Training Home.<sup>99</sup>

The training program continued to be revised annually following the large scale curriculum review in 1918. The purpose of these revisions was to continue providing a program that would “know the problems of to-day’s need and help solve them by to-day’s best methods.”<sup>100</sup> Joint programs with other institutions were negotiated to take advantage of new scientific and practical social study.<sup>101</sup> Through a partnership with the Department of Social Service at the University of Toronto training home students could enroll in a two year social service course which would give graduates a one year certificate from the Department of Social Service as well as the training home diploma.<sup>102</sup> Arrangements with Knox College allowed training home students with a university degree to attend regular Knox College classes for their academic coursework.<sup>103</sup> The Canadian School of Missions Co-operation, a cooperative venture between the Anglican, Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian colleges also came to be a significant partner with the training home.<sup>104</sup> The School of Missions drew upon the experience and expertise of mission leadership from the four denominations for teaching staff. Foreign mission

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<sup>99</sup> “Report of the Deaconess Committee and Board of Management of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home” in the Acts and Proceedings of the Forty-Eighth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1922. 216.

<sup>100</sup> “Report of the Deaconess Committee and Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home” in Acts and Proceedings of the Forty-Sixth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1920. 209.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid, 207.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid, 207.

<sup>103</sup> “Report of the Deaconess Committee and Board of Management of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home” in the Acts and Proceedings of the Forty-Eighth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1922. 213.

<sup>104</sup> 1923-24 Calendar of The Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home in Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Calendars, 1918-1925. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 2, file 4. 13.

candidates from the training home could take their missionary course work with other mission students from the four denominations, while attending the training home. Partnering with the Department of Social Service, Knox College and the Canadian School of Missions in this way ensured that training home students had access to the most up to date and rigorous educational opportunities without duplicating resources within their own institution

In integrating new studies in missiology, theology, religious education, child development, and particularly social work theory with traditional theological courses and practical training students of the Presbyterian Deaconess and Missionary Training Home were uniquely prepared for participating in the social gospel movement. The field sites especially demonstrate the deep connection between training home preparation and the social gospel movement. Social service field sites included visits for observation and participation in institutions carrying out the work for “social betterment” throughout Toronto. These field sites included settlement houses, women’s and juvenile courts, children’s aid, nursing at home missions, and hospitals.<sup>105</sup> Even field sites for congregational preparation included observing methods of and participating in women’s organisations, mothers’ meetings, and mission bands, as well as visitation of the poor, the sick and the stranger (ie. recent immigrants).<sup>106</sup>

As with the Methodist Church, the question of reorganizing deaconess work (and possibly enlarging the scope of the training home) was considered by the Presbyterians. The 1922 annual report to the General Assembly alluded to the question of reorganization.

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<sup>105</sup> 1924-25 Calendar of The Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home. In Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Calendars, 1918-1925. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 2, file 4. 16.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

It was fully reported on the following year. Extensive study of the church's use of salaried women workers, types of workers needed in the church, and what educational requirements and essentials of training were necessary took place through conversations with the boards of home missions and social service, and ministers. It was decided not to pursue any course of action, given the "prevailing conditions of the time."<sup>107</sup> The specific issues in question were that university students were attracted to the "definite imperative of the Foreign Field," but few were vocationally attracted to church work in Canada, and that the church was not prepared to pay women well enough for their work and expertise.<sup>108</sup> The board believed that creating a program which would prepare young women for Christian service by allowing them to take a regular university degree with specific options through the training home would address these concerns.<sup>109</sup> Key to implementing the board's vision was reorganizing the administration of deaconess work and broadening the scope of the training home. Impending union with two other denominations interfered with the board pursuing this plan beyond the visioning stage.

As with the Methodist training school, no direct statement regarding the possibility or immanency of union with other denominations was made in the training home literature until after union became a reality. However, unlike the Methodist Deaconess Society and National Training School reports, the final two reports of the Deaconess Committee and the Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home read like final documents. Their 1924 report included a "review of the history of what the Presbyterian

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<sup>107</sup> "Report of the Deaconess Committee and Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home" in the Acts and Proceedings of the Forty-Ninth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1923. 226.

<sup>108</sup> "Report of the Deaconess Committee and the Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home" in the Acts and Proceedings of the Fiftieth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1924. 184.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

Church in Canada has done for the education of women for her missionary and deaconess service from its earliest days.”<sup>110</sup> The deaconess regulations were also resubmitted and a summary of the training home’s curriculum was provided.<sup>111</sup> The numbers of graduates serving as missionaries and deaconesses was tallied and a list of the one hundred and eighteen women designated to the Order of Deaconess between 1908 and 1924 was included; only two of these women were not graduates of the training home.<sup>112</sup> Of the two hundred and fifteen female missionaries listed as staff of the foreign mission in 1923, sixty-one had been students of the training home (and of that number only thirty were graduates of the program). The training home was obviously significant in developing the leadership of deaconesses in the Presbyterian church. The number of designated deaconesses grew to one hundred and thirty the following and final year - when graduates from Manitoba College as well as those who had retired - were included in the list.<sup>113</sup> These numbers did not include women who attended the training home as non-residents, voluntary workers or attended the church secretary training but did not become deaconesses.

As with the Methodist National Training School, nothing is directly stated in the 1924-25 training home course calendar regarding the possibility of union with the Methodist or Congregational churches. The calendar includes the same historical overview of what the Presbyterian Church in Canada did for the “education of women for her

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<sup>110</sup> “Report of the Deaconess Committee and the Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home” in the Acts and Proceedings of the Fiftieth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1924. 177.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, 178-181.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid, 181, 182, 188.

<sup>113</sup> “List of Those Designated to the Order of Deaconesses of the Presbyterian Church in Canada 1908-1925” in the Acts and Proceedings of the Fifty-First General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1925. 193-195.

missionary and deaconess service” as was found in the previous annual report.<sup>114</sup> The course of study continued to be divided into three courses - the general course, the general course with social service options, and the course for foreign mission students (in co-operation with the Canadian School of Missions).<sup>115</sup> It is noted in the calendar that the University of Toronto had discontinued the Department of Social Service certificate program; social service students would now only receive a training home diploma. No explanation as to why this partnership ended at this time is found in any documentation. Given how beneficial this partnership was for the training home, it is likely that the Department of Social Service discontinued the joint program. Such action would fit with a broader movement emerging at the time which sought to separate social service work from its foundational relationships with theological or ecclesiastical movements. It would fit with the professionalisation of social work and its need to distinguish itself from city mission work, settlement work, deaconess work and the social gospel movement in general. Further study in this area would be beneficial, both to answer the question as to why the partnership ended, and also to broaden our understanding of the foundational relationship between the Canadian social work movement and the deaconess movement. The 1924-25 calendar does contain one other interesting tidbit, namely that Winnifred Thomas of the Methodist training school offered a course on girl’s work that year, and Prof. Langford of the Methodist church’s Victoria College taught the religious education course.<sup>116</sup> This

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<sup>114</sup> 1924-25 Calendar of The Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home. in Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Calendars, 1918-1925. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 2, file 4. 8.

<sup>115</sup> 1924-25 Calendar of The Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home. in Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Calendars, 1918-1925. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 2, file 4. 14-15.

<sup>116</sup> “Report of the Deaconess Committee and Board of Management of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home” in the Acts and Proceedings of the Fifty-first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1925. 187.



indicates co-operation, albeit minor, with the Methodist church and training school prior to church union.

As with the Methodist training school, the first mention of union is in the 1925-26 calendar. A foreword regarding the first academic session under the United Church of Canada was included:

The Deaconess Committee and Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home looks forward with pleasure to the fullest possible co-operation with the General Conference Board of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church, until the final steps are taken in the unification of the work which is their common task - namely, the preparation of women as missionaries and deaconesses in the service of the United Church of Canada.<sup>117</sup>

Similar to the statement found in that year's Methodist training school calendar, it goes on to say that for the 1925-26 academic session, the two schools were to be maintained as prior to union, with the closest cooperation possible regarding courses of study until complete coordination of programming was possible. In the history of the Presbyterian Deaconess and Missionary Training Home, the name of the institution had changed three times, the school had moved twice, its mandate had been broadened at least once and its curriculum had been revised many times. Change, transition and evolution was part of the fabric of the training home. Such resiliency would serve the organization well as it prepared for perhaps the most significant transition it had faced to date - complete integration with a sister school.

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<sup>117</sup> 1925-26 Calendar of The Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home. in Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Calendars, 1918-1925. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 2, file 4. 3.

For twenty-eight years the Presbyterian Deaconess and Missionary Training Home was a significant presence on the Canadian Presbyterian landscape. It provided practical theological education for many women seeking to become deaconesses or missionaries or prepare for other forms of Christian service. Its curriculum was continually adapted to respond to the changing social conditions of the day. New courses in emerging theories of missiology, theology, religious education, child development and in particular social work, were offered alongside traditional academic theological courses. By integrating practical work (which focussed primarily on city mission work, social service and settlement work, and religious education in industrial and mission schools), academic work, and residential living in a supportive community of faith, the training home prepared women to respond to the social gospel in significant and powerful ways.

The international diaconal movement played a less direct role in the development of the training home than with the Methodist training school. When the WFMS (WD) began to consider establishing a training home, they looked to the Methodist school as a local example of how they could organize their own institution. There was awareness, however, not only of other Canadian training schools, but also of schools in the United States, as evidenced by the trip Grant took to visit various American training schools prior to beginning her position as superintendent in 1913. The international diaconal movement was an indirect influence in that supporters of the training home looked to the established work of other denominations - both Canadian and American - for support and direction for their own institution. Maternal feminist rationale also supported the development of the training home. The need for the "consecrated service of Christian women" to work with the poor, sick, friendless and unfortunate in various fields of mercy including city

missions, organized charities, hospitals and foreign mission sites is repeated throughout training home literature.<sup>118</sup> In focussing on the need in the church for women to serve in such selfless fashion removed focus from the training home's true purpose, which was to be a site of practical theological education for women. The training home interacted with the social gospel movement most significantly. The practical training, social service courses, and educational partnership with the Department of Social Service at the University of Toronto all demonstrate the deep connection between training home preparation, the work of the social gospel movement and broader movements for social reform. The training home prepared women to respond to the social gospel in significant, socially transforming ways.

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<sup>118</sup> As example, see the "Report of Committee on an Order of Deaconesses" in *The Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-fourth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada*, 1908.

Chapter Four  
The Impact of Church Union -  
The Creation of the United Church Training School

This chapter considers what happened to the Methodist National Training School and the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home following the creation of the United Church of Canada in 1925. Following union, the two schools continued as separate institutions for one year and, at the same time, worked together to create a new school. A new administrative structure was established for the deaconess movement. Supervision and oversight of women's work in the church was separated from supervision and oversight of their education, in order to address the issues of employment justice raised prior to union in the Methodist and Presbyterian churches. Despite concerns regarding the status of women workers in the church, however, the training school legacy was not lost in the institutional chaos of denominational merger (as it could have been). In 1926, both the Methodist National Training School and the Presbyterian Deaconess and Missionary Training Home ceased to exist. In their places, however, a new institution opened its doors - the United Church Training School (UCTS). The UCTS was designed specifically to continue the legacy of its predecessors. Its purpose was to provide a theological program designed uniquely for women, which combined traditional theological study with the latest social work and educational pedagogies, along with practical training in field sites which later became emblematic of the social gospel movement. Whether seeking to become deaconesses, home or foreign missionaries, or leaders through other forms of Christian service, the new United Church Training School continued to engage students in the educational tradition of the international diaconal movement, namely, that of preparing women for practical leadership in a changing society.

The union of the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational churches of Canada seems to have suddenly come upon the both the Methodist National Training School and the Presbyterian Deaconess and Missionary Training Home. Although there were some general references to the possibility of union throughout minutes of both training schools in the years prior to 1925, nothing specific is mentioned in either of their calendars until union had officially taken place. For both the Methodist and Presbyterian training schools, the first mention of union is in their 1925-26 calendars. The following forward was included in the Presbyterian's calendar:

The Deaconess Committee and Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home looks forward with pleasure to the fullest possible co-operation with the General Conference Board of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church, until the final steps are taken in the unification of the work which is their common task - namely, the preparation of women as missionaries and deaconesses in the service of the United Church of Canada.<sup>1</sup>

In the case of the Methodist training school, they had a new name - The Methodist National Training School in the United Church of Canada - and in their 1925-26 calendar, it was stated that the General Conference Board of the Deaconess Society looked forward to the full cooperation with the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home as they moved towards unification of their common task: to prepare women as missionaries and deaconesses in the service of the United Church of Canada.<sup>2</sup> For that first academic year following union, the two schools continued to function as before while, at the same

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<sup>1</sup> 1925-26 Calendar of The Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home. in Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Calendars, 1918-1925. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 2, file 4. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Methodist National Training School in the United Church of Canada Calendar; 1925-1926. In UCC/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds. 78.101C Box 5, file 53.

time, they began the process of full coordination of programming.<sup>3</sup> Change, transition and evolution had always been part of the fabric of the two training schools. This resiliency would prove to serve the organisations well as they prepared for complete integration with a sister school, perhaps the most significant transition they had faced to date.

The first meeting between representatives of the General Assembly's Deaconess Board of the Presbyterian Church in Canada and representatives of the General Conference Board of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church following union took place on April 27, 1925 at 60 Grosvenor Street.<sup>4</sup> The principals from both schools were also present. Their mandate was to determine the process of organizing the integration and cooperation of their previous work and to create a structure for their work within the new church. It was an enormous task. Each board had previously held the dual functions of administration and oversight for their denomination's deaconess organisations as well as the administration and oversight for their training school and its educational program. After considerable discussion, three recommendations were developed. First, that the two schools continue to operate in their present basis for the year 1925-26, with as much cooperation as possible regarding shared classes. Second, that each school publish its own calendar which would include a common statement regarding cooperation and union. Third, that the issue of women's employment in the church be addressed and that General Council be asked to assign a body of men and women with the task of "carefully considering immediately the whole question of the employed woman worker in

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<sup>3</sup> Methodist National Training School in the United Church of Canada Calendar; 1925-1926. In Ucc/VUA, The Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church 1893-1934 Fonds. 78.101C Box 5, file 53.

<sup>4</sup> "Minutes of the Executive of the Deaconess board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home", May 29, 1925 in Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Minutes 1924-1926. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 7. 13-15.

the Church and of defining clearly the policy of the United Church in this regard.”<sup>5</sup>

It is evident that no advance preparations had been made regarding the impact of church union on the two training schools. It is also clearly evident from the recommendations that the two boards were not going to submit to a quick transition. While integrating the work of two training schools was an institutional challenge, it was obviously not considered the most urgent issue at hand. The more pressing concern for the two boards was the issue of just employment conditions for women in the church. Significantly, there was no question at this time of either disbanding the deaconess order or closing the training schools; the only question concerned how to support the deaconess movement more effectively. The General Council of the United Church of Canada agreed with all three recommendations, and it established a commission to consider the issues of just employment conditions for women workers.<sup>6</sup> Without question, the training schools would continue - albeit in a new form - into the new United Church.

Shortly afterwards, the first official joint meeting of the two boards was held at the Presbyterian training home on June 26, 1925 to consider plans for the new Woman's School of Religion (as it was initially called) and to consider matters related to

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<sup>5</sup> A copy of minutes of the meeting of representatives of the General Assembly's Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home and of the General Conference Board of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church, April 27, 1925, is signed by W. Thomas (principal of Methodist National Training School) and attached to "Minutes of the Executive of the Deaconess Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home," May 29, 1925 in the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Minutes 1924-1926. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 7. 13-15.

<sup>6</sup> Minutes of First Meeting of the Deaconess Board and Board of Management of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, The United Church of Canada, June 26, 1925. Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Minutes 1924-1926. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 7. 16.

the future of the deaconess order.<sup>7</sup> A training school committee addressed immediate issues regarding uniting curriculum, the delivery of classes, and correspondence courses as far as possible in that first year.<sup>8</sup> A committee on entrance requirements developed curriculum, course options, graduation requirements, age of admission, and residency requirements for the new school.<sup>9</sup> A special policy committee developed policy and regulations for a permanent deaconess order. The joint meeting's task was to create a final report which would recommend how to implement all aspects of its previous mandates into the new structure. This report eventually had to be presented to - and approved by - the General Council Commission on Permanent Organisations in order to become part of the new church structure.<sup>10</sup> The issues of employment justice for women workers was now the task of the General Council appointed commission. Although the joint meeting was invited to send representatives to address any further concerns to that commission,

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<sup>7</sup> Minutes of the First Joint Meeting of the Assembly's Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home and of the General Conference Board of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church, June 26, 1925. Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Minutes 1924-1926. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 7. 22.

<sup>8</sup> Minutes of Joint Meeting of the Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home and the Executive of the General Board of Management of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church, October 16, 1925. Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Minutes 1924-1926. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 7. 25.

<sup>9</sup> Minutes of Joint Meeting of the General Assembly's Deaconess Committee and Board of Management of the Former Presbyterian Church and the General Conference Deaconess Board of the Former Methodist Church, November 27, 1925. Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Minutes 1924-1926. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 7. 26-27.

<sup>10</sup> Minutes of Joint Meeting of the Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home and the Executive of the General Board of Management of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church, October 16, 1925. Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Minutes 1924-1926. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 7. 25.



those specific issues were no longer part of their mandate.<sup>11</sup>

The joint committee had to decide how to use the two buildings owned by the training schools. The Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home building (at 60 Grosvenor), while the centre of the training home program and the site of supervision and some practical work, had largely functioned as a residence. Most training home classes took place at Knox College or other locations throughout Toronto, as was the case with the field sites. When numbers of training home students decreased, the training home opened their residence to university students preparing for medical missionary service or other student volunteer work, in addition to the regular training home students and deaconesses or missionaries on furlough.<sup>12</sup> The Methodist National Training School (at 135 St. Clair Ave. W.) had their residence within their school building; in residency were training school students, deaconesses, city missionaries, missionaries on furlough, and also paying guests.<sup>13</sup> The joint committee debated which building to continue using and how to use it. The outcome of the debate held a significant financial impact on the new school. Paying guests had provided the Methodist training school with significant income which, combined with support received from the WMS and the Toronto Deaconess Aid Society, had allowed the school to be almost fully self-supporting. Methodist members of

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<sup>11</sup> Minutes of the First Joint Meeting of the Assembly's Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home and of the General Conference Board of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church, June 26, 1925. Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Minutes 1924-1926. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 7. 23.

<sup>12</sup> Minutes of Joint Meeting of the Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home and the Executive of the General Board of Management of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church, Feb. 26, 1926. Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Minutes 1924-1926. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 7. 32.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

the joint committee were reluctant to give up that self sufficiency.<sup>14</sup> The Presbyterian Deaconess and Missionary Training Home, on the other hand, had never been self sustaining and for some time had required an annual grant (of approximately seven thousand dollars) from the budget of the Presbyterian church to cover their deficit.<sup>15</sup> Although continuing the practice of opening their residence for university undergraduates meant the possibility of maintaining a deficit position, Presbyterian members of the joint committee were reluctant to change that practice, as they considered it to be an extension of the training home's ministry. After much thought and discussion the joint committee decided that a new vision was essential, one that integrated both traditions. The joint committee also decided that eventually a new building would be essential, one which would be located in closer proximity to the United Church theological college. This new building could be designed to accommodate students for the Woman's School of Religion, undergraduate university students preparing for Christian service, and six to eight paying guests.<sup>16</sup> Until then, their temporary plan was to use the former Methodist building to accommodate the Woman's School of Religion, and to allow in residence deaconesses and missionaries on furlough or working in Toronto in addition to School of Religion students, only as space permitted. The former Presbyterian building continued to accommodate undergraduate university students preparing for church work to the fullest extent

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<sup>14</sup> Minutes of Joint Meeting of the Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home and the Executive of the General Board of Management of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church, Feb. 26, 1926. Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Minutes 1924-1926. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 7. 33.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

possible.<sup>17</sup>

This plan had a significant financial impact on the new school. Accommodating students, deaconesses, missionaries - and not paying guests - at the former Methodist site meant a loss of income. Continuing to use the Presbyterian home as a residence for university undergraduates meant a continuation of their deficit. Even with the former grants from the WMS and the Toronto Deaconess Aid Society, the joint committee faced a deficit of \$15,000 to \$20,000 in their first year, and needed to request a grant from the church.<sup>18</sup> Prior to union, one school had been almost self supporting, while the other functioned with a small deficit which was always covered by their denomination. The unified training school was confronted with the prospect of needing significant financial support from the new Board of Education.

In the joint committee's final report to the General Council Commission on Permanent Organization, the dual functions of the two previous boards of management - that of oversight and administration of a ministry and an educational institution - were identified as key issues that needed addressing in any considerations for the new organisations of the United Church of Canada.<sup>19</sup> Being entrusted with full and complete responsibility for the deaconess order, as well as the oversight of an educational institution primarily intended for the training and preparation of missionaries and deaconesses, had become two very large and overwhelming tasks for each of the previous boards. Their report states that

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<sup>17</sup> Minutes of Joint Meeting of the Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home and the Executive of the General Board of Management of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church, Feb. 26, 1926. Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Minutes 1924-1926. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 7. 33.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 34.

<sup>19</sup> Fourth Report, as finally presented to Committee of Commission 4 on Permanent Organization. Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Minutes 1924-1926. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 7. 43.

each group felt that, even apart from the issue of church union, the time had come for separating these administrative and educational functions.<sup>20</sup> With church union and the prospect of merging the two organisations, separating these functions became imperative.<sup>21</sup>

The recommendations in their report reflected these convictions. The joint committee recommended that membership from the two existing deaconess orders be merged into one new order. Recognition and designation of future members would be included in the responsibilities of the new order. More boldly, they further recommended that the General Council appoint a committee to study the question of the permanent policy of the scope and supervision of the deaconess order and other trained women workers and report to the next General Council. In this way they kept their concern regarding future organization, oversight and recognition of deaconess work in the church on the agenda of the new United Church.<sup>22</sup> The joint committee recommended that representation from the WMS, Deaconess Order and the existing training centres for women, groups who had direct experience of the work in question, be present on this committee.<sup>23</sup> Further, they recommended that this committee also hold responsibility for the care and direction of the deaconess order, and other trained women who were not members of the deaconess order until the report was delivered to General Council.<sup>24</sup>

Regarding the unification of the training schools, they recommended that a Woman's School of Religion (as it was first called) be developed out of the existing training centres

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<sup>20</sup> Fourth Report, as finally presented to Committee of Commission 4 on Permanent Organization. Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Minutes 1924-1926. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 7. 43.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

in Toronto. They further recommended that the new school be under the control of a Board of Management, subject to supervision of the Board of Education of the United Church, and that it be considered one of the acknowledged educational centres for training women.<sup>25</sup> The request for full representation on the Board of Education was referred back to General Council for further discussion. Had it been approved, it would have meant continued autonomy and recognition for the new school, as well as access to support within the new denomination's educational structure. The proposed Board of Management for the Women's School of Religion was to include the principal, a representative of the Board of Education and ten members appointed by General Council (preferably five men and five women) as well as representation from the WMS, boards of the Theological College(s) in Toronto, alumnae of the school, and the boards of home missions, foreign missions, social service and religious education.<sup>26</sup>

The function of the Board of Management was to recruit students, determine standards of admission in cooperation with the Board of Education, and provide courses of study for women preparing for service in the church as missionaries (home and foreign), social service workers, deaconesses, religious education leaders, Sunday school teachers and other types of volunteer workers.<sup>27</sup> The focus of the school was to offer training to lay as well as professional church workers. Debate had ensued within the joint committee regarding what direction staffing should take in the new school: should the previous arrangement of voluntary leadership and cooperation with other schools and organisations be continued, or ought the school secure a resident staff? In the end, it was

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<sup>25</sup> Fourth Report, as finally presented to Committee of Commission 4 on Permanent Organization. Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Minutes 1924-1926. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 7. 43.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 44.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 44.

decided to continue with the previous policy of cooperation with the theological colleges of the United Church (now including Emmanuel and Knox Colleges), the Department of Social Service at the University of Toronto, and the Canadian School of Missions.<sup>28</sup>

The joint committee also suggested to General Council that two distinct staff positions be created - General Secretary of the General Council's Committee on Employed Women Workers of the Church and Principal of the Woman's School of Religion.<sup>29</sup> It was further recommended that Winnifred Thomas, former principal of the Methodist National Training School, be appointed as General Secretary, and Jean E. Macdonald, former principal of the Presbyterian Deaconess and Missionary Training Home, be appointed as Principal. Close cooperation between the two positions was to be maintained, with Macdonald becoming a member of the General Council's Committee on the Employed Women Workers and Thomas becoming a member of the board and also joining the teaching staff of the Woman's School of Religion.<sup>30</sup> In the spirit of democracy and fairness, each position was to hold equal status and remuneration.<sup>31</sup> At the last minute, just prior to meeting with the General Council, the joint committee decided, without explanation, to change the name of the unified school from the Woman's School of

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<sup>28</sup> Fourth Report, as finally presented to Committee of Commission 4 on Permanent Organization. Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Minutes 1924-1926. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 7. 44.

<sup>29</sup> Minutes of the Joint Meeting of the Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and DEaconess Training Home and the Executive of the General Board of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church, April 23, 1926. Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Minutes 1924-1926. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 7. 40.

<sup>30</sup> Minutes of the Joint Meeting of the Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and DEaconess Training Home and the Executive of the General Board of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church, April 23, 1926. Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Minutes 1924-1926. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 7. 40.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

Religion to the United Church Training School.<sup>32</sup> It is unclear why this change took place, although it may have been a political strategy. In the face of General Council's reluctance to recognize the school as a theological college, and with the controversial issue of women's ordination emerging, emphasizing the "training" aspect of the new school may have been a maternal feminist strategy to employ reassuring rhetoric which would remind the church of the schools' former roles and legacies.

All recommendations, with the exception of the request to have representation on the Board of Education, were approved.<sup>33</sup> At midnight on the 30th of September 1926 the "powers, rights, authorities and privileges pertaining to the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church and pertaining to the Deaconess Committee and Board of the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home" ceased to exist. The doors of the new United Church Training School were officially opened.

UCTS was established with its own Board of Management. Its overall administration was separate from the supervision and oversight of women's work in the United Church. These functions were separated in the new denomination to address the large task the combined mandate had become in the Methodist and Presbyterian churches. There was concern regarding unjust employment conditions facing women workers in the church at the time of union, and additional committees were established to address those issues.

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<sup>32</sup> Minutes of Joint Meeting of the Deaconess Committee and Board of Management of the Missionary and Deaconess Training Home and the Executive of the General Board of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church, June 4, 1926. Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Minutes 1924-1926. In UCC/VUA, Presbyterian Church in Canada Missionary and Deaconess Training Home Fonds. 79.175C Box 1, file 7. 48.

<sup>33</sup> The request that UCTS be given the same representation on the Board of Education as other theological colleges had been referred by the Commission on Permanent Order to the General Council, who then referred the matter to the Board of Education. The Board of Education subsequently denied UCTS representation in 1928. The matter was referred back to the General Council for further consideration, and the Board of Education granted UCTS the right to corresponding membership later that year.

UCTS carried forward the legacy of its predecessors, the social gospel movement, and the international diaconal movement by offering practical theological training for women through a combination of traditional theological studies, studies in emerging scientific, sociological and educational theories, practical training in field sites representative of the social gospel movement, and vocational formation through residential living. It likely did not occur to training school supporters that the new church structure would not continue to support and value the new training school's work as equal to other theological colleges (as had been the case in the Methodist and Presbyterian churches). However, there appears to have been an educational bias in the new United Church structure that did not exist prior to union. The new Board of Education was unable to recognize UCTS as a institution similar to other theological colleges. Further study into why the Board of Education refused UCTS representation would be beneficial.



### Conclusion

The educational legacies of the Methodist National Training School and the Presbyterian Deaconess and Missionary Training Home did not disappear with church union in 1925, but continued on in a newly created institution, the United Church Training School (UCTS). The training schools shared educational ethos, based on preparing women for Christian service through an integrated program of theological studies, scientific research in education, social work and missiology, practical training, and vocational formation through communal living, continued as part of the new institution.

What changed with the founding of UCTS was the supervision and oversight of the new school. Separating the administrative responsibilities of the school from the general administrative oversight and supervision of women's work was an important strategy for raising the employment concerns of women workers in the church. The training school, however, struggled for institutional recognition in the new educational structure. The new Board of Education refused to recognize UCTS as either a secondary school or a theological college. The apparent educational and, most likely, gender bias of the Board of Education against the training school carried on for many years. While the relationship between the Board of Education and UCTS was eventually resolved, the institutional bias against identifying UCTS as a theological college was, arguably, never resolved. Further research and analysis into why the Board of Education refused to recognize the status of UCTS, and the historical impact of that decision on the relationship between UCTS and the church, would broaden and clarify our understanding of that bias. Was the decision, for example, based on

educational standards or gender expectations?

The ideology of maternal feminism and the international diaconal movement impacted the initial development of the Methodist National Training School and the Presbyterian Deaconess and Missionary Training Home. They provided both rationale and precedent for establishing training programs for women as a way to prepare them for practical Christian service. The social gospel movement, however, had the most significant impact on the educational ethos of the training schools, and provided a theological foundation for the unique educational approach of the schools. The training schools themselves had a significant impact on the development of the social gospel movement, especially in providing workers for the movement. The social gospel imperative, to establish the kingdom of God in society, called upon the churches to prepare Christian workers who could address the challenges of Canadian society in practical, responsive ways. Both training schools already provided an educational program which prepared women theologically and practically for Christian service; integrating the theological perspective into the curriculum was all that was needed.

The training schools responded to the social gospel movement at different points, however. The Methodist training school embraced the social gospel earlier than the Presbyterian school, as evidenced by the early inclusion of social gospel literature in its reading lists. Also there was a plethora of Methodist city mission sites for field work. The Presbyterian training school also included in their curriculum a lecture series on social service work, but at a later date than the Methodist book lists. It also had city mission field sites, but fewer in number than the Methodist school. This difference in response reflects a difference in denominational spirit and character. A Methodist

spirit of enthusiasm informed the Methodist training school's earlier integration of social gospel literature into their curriculum while a Presbyterian spirit of cautiousness informed the Presbyterian school's slower inclusion of social gospel material into its curriculum. The Methodist church itself embraced the city mission movement more enthusiastically than the Presbyterian church, and therefore opened more city missions. The difference in denominational spirit, however, did not impact commitment to the values of the social gospel movement once it was a part of the curriculum. The Presbyterian school may have embraced the social gospel movement in a manner more consistent with its more conservative, less enthusiastic character, but once the social gospel was part of its curriculum there was little difference in how each school integrated the values of the social gospel within their educational programs. For a time, both schools bridged the worlds of their denominations, the social gospel and the emerging secular movement of social work through their courses and field sites.

Ultimately the educational program and educational ethos of the two schools made their similarities stronger than their differences. The greater financial resources of the Methodist training school, along with their greater numbers of students, longer history and historic ties to the Chicago Training School and that spirit of enthusiasm did create a highly energetic institutional spirit. This enthusiastic institutional spirit, so different from their more cautious Presbyterian sister school, could have created a very unbalanced relationship of power between the two schools as they moved towards amalgamation. Yet, despite their poorer financial situation, fewer numbers, smaller facilities and cautious spirit, the Presbyterian training school brought with it a stoic tenacity that did not easily give in to the Methodist point of view. Because the two

educational programs were so similar in approach, however, in the end the contrasting denominational spirits did not adversely impact amalgamation discussions.

This study which documents the history and development of the Methodist and Presbyterian training schools is, in many ways, simply a beginning point for further study. Further research into the residential aspect of the training schools, including the lives of the students, would contribute to a fuller understanding of this history and reclaim for historical record the stories of many Canadian women's lives and their unique contributions to church and society. Further research into the residential aspect of the training schools may also reveal significant educational insights into the intersections between personal, political and vocational formation and the socialization process of living in community. Exploring further parallels between the social settlement, social gospel, and social work movements and the training schools would enhance our analysis of the historical location of the diaconal movement within other secular as well as religious movements in Canada. Further study and comparison between the two training schools (particularly the Methodist National Training School) and the Chicago Training School would broaden our understanding of the development of the training schools in relation to the larger historical context of the international diaconal movement. Similarly, further study and comparison into the training schools and other Canadian training schools, specifically the Church of England Deaconess Home, would contribute to our understanding of the training schools in relation to the Canadian diaconal movement.

The history of the training schools covers a time period when cultural and religious imperialism and racism permeated Protestant churches and their understanding of their

role in society. It is essential not to ignore such imperialistic colonialism but to consider honestly what role this context played in the history and development of the training schools. Further study and analysis into where and how racism and colonial imperialism impacted the development of the training schools is needed. Developing a critical understanding of the connections between racism, colonial imperialism, the church, its ministry and those it sought to serve will strengthen our understanding of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Canada, and perhaps shed valuable insight into our current contexts.

The Methodist National Training School and the Presbyterian Deaconess and Missionary Home each hold a unique place in the history of theological education for women. Established for women specifically, the training schools prepared women for deaconess work, missionary work, and other forms of Christian service, for over a quarter of a century. The dawning of a new United Church brought with it change and transitions for the schools as they merged into one institution. Their unique and separate legacies became a shared legacy, one committed to providing practical theological education for women working for social transformation and the betterment of their world.

Appendix A

Superintendents and Principals

The Methodist National Training School, 1894-1926

Alice M. Thompson	1894 - 1896
E. Jean Scott	1896 - 1907
Ora McElhenie	1907 - 1911
Rev. George J. Bishop	1911 - 1915
Rev. Hiram Hull	1915 - 1923
Winnifred Thomas	1923 - 1926
(secretary of the General Council Committee on Employed Women Workers of the Church 1926-1928?)	

The Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home, 1897-1926

Anna Ross	1897 - 1899
E. Livingstone	1899 - 1913
Margaret A. Grant	1913 - 1918
Jean E. Macdonald	1918 - 1926
(principal of UCTS 1926 - 1934)	

Appendix BNumbers of Graduates - A Comparison

<u>Year</u>	<u>Methodist National Training School</u>	<u>Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home</u>
1894-95	5	
1895-96	6	
1896-97	4	
1897-98	5	29 between 1897 and 1908
1898-99	5	
1899-1900	11	
1900-01	14	
1901-02	16	
1902-03	19	
1903-04	18	
1904-05	22	
1905-06	n/a	
1906-07	17	
1907-08	27	
1908-09	28	3
1909-10	41	n/a
1910-11	n/a	6
1911-12	n/a	5
1912-13	n/a	n/a
1913-14	30	8
1914-15	21	9
1915-16	26	8
1916-17	30	8
1917-18	n/a	9
1918-19	n/a	16
1919-20	n/a	4
1920-21	20	8
1921-22	15	7 (3)**
1922-23	n/a	10 (8)**
1923-24	n/a	5 (4)**
1924-25	n/a	3

\* As compared to 85 graduates in the first ten years of the Methodist Training School (1894-1903) and over 153 in the same time period (1897-1908).

\*\* The bracketed numbers indicate graduates from the Manitoba College Deaconess Course.

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