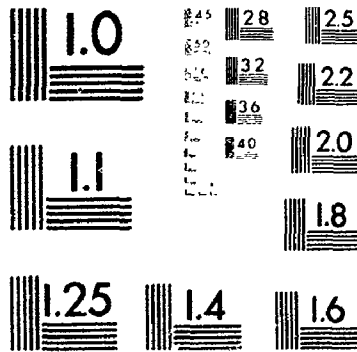


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SEEKING THE HIGHEST GOOD:  
SOCIAL SERVICE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, 1888-1937

by

Sara Z. Burke, B.A., M.A.

A thesis submitted to  
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research  
in partial fulfilment of  
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History  
Carleton University  
Ottawa, Ontario  
29 October 1993

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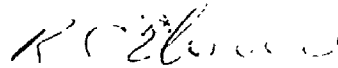
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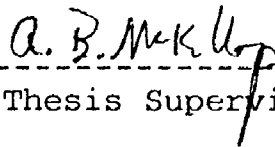
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Sara Z. Burke, B.A., M.A.,

in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy



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Find the highest good by serving your fellows  
through your intellect, your wealth, your position,  
or whatever talent you may possess.

Sir Robert A. Falconer (1910)

## ABSTRACT

During the late 1890s and early 1900s, many faculty members and students at the University of Toronto became convinced that they shared a unique responsibility to alleviate the problems of urban poverty. This thesis argues that between 1888 and 1937, a dominant social ethic gained widespread acceptance in the academic community, and that until World War II, it provided a framework for the University's official participation in social service.

By examining the social thought of a series of influential academics, the study traces the dissemination at the University of Toronto of an identifiable ethic or ideal; a combination of scientific and moral assumptions which originated in the distinct--but compatible--intellectual traditions of empiricism and British idealism. These convictions shaped the University's formal responses to the poverty crisis after 1900, and were incorporated into the policy of the University of Toronto Settlement in 1910, and into the curriculum of the new Department of Social Service in 1914.

Although this interpretation of social service remained dominant at Toronto until the late 1930s, its authority was contested by the growing influence of professional social

work among University women. The Toronto ideal conveyed a view of service which elevated the importance of educated men, while it devalued and ignored the social work activities of female students and graduates. Throughout the period, the construction of gender roles in social service segregated the reform interests of men and women, and ultimately affected the academic development of both social work and sociology at the University of Toronto.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION: BRIDGING THE GAP: IDEAS AND ACTION IN THE WRITING OF INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

In the summer of 1910, a young Methodist minister and his bride moved into a small semi-detached house on Adelaide Street West, in the centre of one of Toronto's crowded manufacturing districts. The building had been chosen to house the University of Toronto Settlement, and the minister, James M. Shaver, was a theology student at Victoria College who had been appointed the new agency's Resident Secretary. This was the University's first active response to the social problems in the city beyond its grounds. The Shavers, and the students who volunteered to work with them, were faced with a considerable challenge: how to translate into effective action the social thought that inspired the Settlement, or more simply, how to put an idea into practice. Years later, J.M. Shaver remembered his period at the Settlement as a time of great difficulty, when he and his young wife embarked on a venture for which neither had any previous experience.<sup>1</sup> Throughout their year at University Settlement, the Shavers continued to be

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<sup>1</sup>National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), John Joseph Kelso Papers, MG 30, C 97, vol. 33, file 187, J.M. Shaver to J.J. Kelso, 24 April 1934.

daunted by the challenge of fulfilling the vague aspirations of the Settlement's Board of Directors, and for the next decade, the work remained hesitant as the Board members searched for a model which would embody their social ideals. The struggle to realize those ideals was complicated by the fact that from the beginning the Directors and the resident workers did not agree on exactly how the Settlement would achieve its objective, nor did they always possess a common vision of what that goal should be.

The creation of University Settlement in 1910 can be seen as a conscious attempt by its advocates to apply the social views of British idealism to the problems generated by poverty. As an ethic, idealism dominated social thought at the University of Toronto by 1900, and was reflected in the arguments for reform used by students and faculty from a wide range of disciplines. According to its first publicity pamphlet, the Settlement's aim was "to bring the University Students into direct contact with those living amidst the unfortunate social conditions of our modern cities and thus broaden the one and elevate the other."<sup>2</sup> The rationale for the new agency rested on the idealist belief that the effects of industrialization had destroyed the natural ties of interdependence which traditionally held society

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<sup>2</sup>NAC, Kelso Papers, MG 30, C 97, vol. 6, file: Social Settlements, Central Neighbourhood House, pamphlet: The University Settlement, 1910-1911: Telling of the Opening up of the Settlement with Plans for the Winter Sessions.

together, and that social reform could only be brought about by the reestablishment of local community. Once the classes had been reconciled through the contact of individuals, the poor would have access to, and be influenced by, the higher culture of their educated neighbours. Over twenty-five years earlier, this same idealist emphasis on community, personal connection, and moral hierarchy had shaped the ideological foundation of Toynbee Hall, the first university settlement in the East End of London.<sup>3</sup> To this extent, the Directors of University Settlement seized on the settlement idea in its original form, and modeled their undertaking on Toynbee Hall.

University Settlement, however, was also the product of a second, equally persuasive influence at the University of Toronto. Since the appointment of W.J. Ashley as the first Professor of Political Economy in 1888, the idealist ethic had been inextricably linked to the development of empirical social research. At Toronto as elsewhere, young men and women were drawn toward the study of society by the sense of crisis which animated their generation. Under Ashley, and his successor James Mavor, students of political economy were trained to use empirical or "scientific" methodology to gather factual information on such current issues as municipal monopolies and female labour. Although research

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<sup>3</sup> Standish Meacham, Toynbee Hall and Social Reform, 1880-1914: The Search for Community (New Haven, Conn., 1987), pp. 1-61.

at Toronto was considered good in itself, it also was valued for its potential to facilitate what was assumed to be the natural progress of society. The information gained empirically was to be applied to satisfy moral purposes; ultimately the study of social problems would lead to their solution. By 1910, the political economists had gained considerable authority in University circles, and many students and faculty members believed that the improvement of society would inevitably result from the expert study of its problems. They trusted that factual information on social conditions needed only to be harnessed to the moral energy derived from idealism to bring about social reform. For those behind its establishment, University Settlement provided an exemplary opportunity for primary social research, while at the same time promising to realize the idealist goal of a reintegrated community. This was made clear in the first information pamphlet: after stating the Settlement's aim to broaden the students and elevate the poor through direct contact, the brochure explained that it was also an institution "where all kinds of social work and investigation could be carried on."<sup>4</sup>

While not inharmonious in theory, in practice the linking of fact to ideal produced quite different goals. As the University Settlement Board soon discovered, the

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<sup>4</sup>NAC, Kelso Papers, MG 30, C 97, vol. 6, file: Social Settlements, Central Neighbourhood House, pamphlet: The University Settlement, 1910-1911.

idealist pursuit of a reintegrated community actually was irrelevant to the empirical examination of local social conditions. Forming bonds of friendship between the Settlement's residents and their neighbours was not so much incompatible with statistical research, as completely unrelated to it. The work was further constrained by the fact that the evangelical Young Men's Christian Association had provided financial backing for the project, and that the Resident Secretary himself conceived of the Settlement as a forum for active evangelism as well as secular reform. By the end of the first year, the Directors seemed to be faced with a choice: either they could make University Settlement a laboratory for social study, and by doing so associate it with the network of applied sociologists and social workers at the Hull-House settlement in Chicago, or they could continue to pursue idealist ambitions within the parameters of the original British settlement movement. The decision eventually taken by the Board to preserve the initial idealist rationale for the Settlement, while simultaneously affiliating it with the emerging profession of social work, was a compromise which would have a significant impact on the disciplinary development of both social work and sociology at the University of Toronto.

By uniting the idealist reform impulse to empirical social analysis, the University established the framework for its participation in social service. During the fifty

years following Ashley's appointment, convictions derived from idealism and empiricism determined how a large number of the University's members interpreted their obligation toward the poor. These convictions were incorporated into the policy of University Settlement in 1910, and, by providing the basis for the curriculum of the Department of Social Service in 1914, were instrumental in shaping the academic nature of social work and sociology at Toronto.<sup>5</sup> As an intellectual history, the study traces the origins, acceptance, and influence at the University of Toronto of a dominant ethic or ideal; a complex mixture of moral and scientific intentions which, while not confined exclusively to Toronto, played a particularly crucial role in shaping the perceptions of its faculty and students. In March 1910, the idealist and empirical basis of the Toronto ideal was encapsulated neatly by the Toronto Mail, in its account of an address given by the President of the University, Robert A. Falconer, to the theological students at Victoria College. Advocating the organization of settlement houses to assist the poor, Falconer stressed that scientific training must be combined with "the humanitarian side" for effective social service. "President Falconer Gives Advice

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<sup>5</sup> Although this study explores the development of the two disciplines, it is not an institutional history of either the Faculty of Social Work or the Department of Sociology. For a survey of institutional histories in Canada, see Nancy M. Sheehan, "History of Higher Education in Canada," Canadian Journal of Higher Education, XV, No. 1 (1985), 26-38.

to Students," the Mail reported: "Join Science and Sentiment."<sup>6</sup>

The authority of the Toronto ideal was buttressed by arguments which were not unique to the Canadian situation, and which previously had been applied by British social critics and philosophers to conditions in their own country. The opinions explored in this study fall into the category of ideas identified by S.F. Wise in his article "Sermon Literature and Canadian Intellectual History" (1968), as "the intellectual commonplaces of an age," the root notions, assumptions, and images which, he contends, provide important links between systems of formal thought and the world of action.<sup>7</sup> The Toronto ideal served as this kind of link, forming a bridge between the ethical beliefs of British idealism as they were articulated by an elite group of academics, and the creation of a distinct type of social service which had meaning for a significant section of the University community. While they inspired social action,

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<sup>6</sup>University of Toronto Archives, Office of the Registrar, A73-0051/244(06), file: Settlement Work 1910-1942, clipping: Toronto Mail, 22 March 1910.

<sup>7</sup>S.F. Wise, "Sermon Literature and Canadian Intellectual History," in God's Peculiar Peoples: Essays on Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century Canada, ed. A.B. McKillop and Paul Romney (Ottawa, 1993), pp. 3-17. In a similar argument, Laurence Veysey outlines "collective mentalities" as a level of thought which lies between "social realities" and "formal systems of thought." Laurence Veysey, "Intellectual History and the New Social History," in New Directions in American Intellectual History, ed. John Higham and Paul K. Conkin (Baltimore, Md., 1979), p. 11.

however, idealist tenets, by their very nature, were difficult to establish in the practical organization of any project. The social thought which stimulated the creation of University Settlement and the Department of Social Service was anchored in the optimistic assumption that society could progress towards an ideal. In their plans for a better world, idealist thinkers characteristically failed to distinguish between this abstract ideal and the realities of modern society, or between "what ought to be" and what actually was. The confusion originated in an idealist philosophical tradition which described reality in prescriptive terms, and which confidently assumed that the essence of a thing--either political or social--was what it actually had the potential to become.<sup>8</sup> Yet it was this same prescriptive tendency which allowed philosophical idealism to have a profound effect on late-nineteenth century intellectual life in both Britain and Canada. As A.B. McKillop argues in A Disciplined Intelligence (1979), idealism enabled late-Victorian Canadians to reconcile the demands of critical inquiry and spiritual certainty by asserting the preeminence of the mind in understanding and

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<sup>8</sup> Stefan Collini, "Hobhouse, Bosanquet and the State: Philosophical Idealism and Political Argument in England, 1880-1918," Past and Present, No. 72 (August 1976), 107; Meacham, pp. 88-89.



organizing ultimate reality.<sup>9</sup> All the Toronto academics discussed below shared that fundamental inability to separate "ought" from "is," and consequently they all were obliged to seek compromises in their pursuit of an ideal community.

The discrepancy experienced by idealists between reform thought and social reality has provided a parallel problem for historians, a problem which, in fact, is central to the writing of social reform history. Since the late 1960s, reform history in English Canada has been studied almost exclusively by those historians who have been less interested in social theory, than in assessing the social and economic importance of reform activity. During the 1970s, the increasing influence of the "new" social history, and of Marxism and the New Left, caused many Canadian historians to reevaluate the traditional position that the actions of social reformers were based on humanitarian motives, and that they resulted in the progressive growth of the modern welfare state.<sup>10</sup> Some scholars were prompted by

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<sup>9</sup>A.B. McKillop, A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era (Montreal, 1979), pp. 171-203.

<sup>10</sup>For examples of this interpretation, see Richard B. Splane, Social Welfare in Ontario, 1791-1893: A Study of Public Welfare Administration (Toronto, 1965); Elisabeth Wallace, "The Origin of the Social Welfare State in Canada, 1867-1900," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XVI, No. 3 (August 1950), 383-93; and, in the area of the history of educational reform, Charles E. Phillips, The Development of Public Education in Canada (Toronto, 1957).

the contradiction between ideas and social reality simply to disassociate the study of reform ideology from those activities which actually affected working-class standards of living.<sup>11</sup> Other social historians attempted to account for the gap by questioning the intentions of the reformers themselves. By focusing on the importance of the motivations which, they believed, lay behind the rhetoric of reform, they skirted the entire problem of whether or not ideas were agents of social change. For most historians who challenged the sincerity of reform, the perceived discrepancy between the reformers' stated ideals and the implications of their actions was explained by a theory of social control.

Derived from Marxism, social control theory interpreted the motivations of reformers as rooted in self and class interest, and regarded social reform as a method of enforcing the adoption of bourgeois values and of suppressing the potential danger of the poor and delinquent. In the field of the history of education, the lead was taken by a group of "radical revisionists," centred at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, who published a series of articles and books rejecting the conventional position that the industrialized democratic state represented

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<sup>11</sup> Terry Copp, The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929 (Toronto, 1974); Michael J. Piva, The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto, 1900-1921 (Ottawa, 1979).

opportunity and equality.<sup>12</sup> Throughout the 1970s, studies by such revisionist historians as Susan E. Houston, Alison Prentice, and Harvey J. Graff contended that middle-class reformers in the nineteenth century created a public school system to control and indoctrinate working-class children.<sup>13</sup> By the end of the decade, most aspects of reform history had been reexamined in this way, and a number of studies had concluded that class interest formed a continuous theme in the activities of Canadian philanthropists, urban reformers, and child welfare workers.<sup>14</sup> During the early 1980s, however, social historians began to perceive that there were

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<sup>12</sup> J. Donald Wilson, "Some Observations on Recent Trends in Canadian Educational History," in An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History, ed. J. Donald Wilson (Vancouver, 1984), pp. 9-11; Neil Sutherland, "Introduction: Towards a History of English-Canadian Youngsters," in Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past, ed. Michael B. Katz and Paul H. Mattingly (New York, 1975), pp. xi-xxxii.

<sup>13</sup> Susan E. Houston, "Victorian Origins of Juvenile Delinquency: A Canadian Experience," in Education and Social Change, pp. 83-109; Alison Prentice, The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada (Toronto, 1977); Harvey J. Graff, The Literacy Myth: Literacy and Social Structure in the Nineteenth-Century City (New York, 1979).

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, John C. Weaver, "'Tomorrow's Metropolis' Revisited: A Critical Assessment of Urban Reform in Canada, 1890-1920," in The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social History, 2d ed., ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise (Ottawa, 1984), 456-77; Judith Fingard, "The Relief of the Unemployed Poor in Saint John, Halifax and St. John's, 1815-1860," Acadiensis, V, No. 1 (Autumn 1975), 32-53; T.R. Morrison, "'Their Proper Sphere': Feminism, the Family and Child-Centered Social Reform in Ontario, 1895-1900," Ontario History, LXVIII, Nos. 1 and 2 (March and June 1976), 45-74.

limitations inherent to an interpretation which relied on an analysis of middle-class motivation. As one educational historian, Ian Davey, has pointed out, social control theory oversimplifies class relations. Its assumption of a unified class interest does not accommodate contradictory attitudes towards reform among members of the middle class, nor an active interest in reform among the lower.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, by questioning the "true" intentions of reformers, historians necessarily become speculative, and in the end are forced to rely upon the subjective authority of their own value judgement.

While social historians have measured the significance of reform in relation to its effect on the working classes, historians of ideas have considered the value of social criticism in terms of its wider influence on Canadian social and political thought. Since intellectual history emerged as a separate discipline in the United States in the early 1940s, its practitioners have been careful to distinguish themselves from the "internalists," or historians of ideas, who analyze ideas for their inherent consistency as formal structures of thought. By comparison, intellectual historians, or "externalists," approach the study of thought from a functional perspective, and attempt to assess the importance of ideas by placing them in their historical and

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<sup>15</sup>Quoted in Wilson, p. 12.

social context.<sup>16</sup> Working from the premise that the external environment has a significant impact on the formation of ideas, intellectual historians have been troubled by questions concerning the importance which ideas, in turn, have on the process of historical causation.<sup>17</sup> If human thought is influenced by social factors, then what role does thought itself play in bringing about social change? Once such a question is asked, reconciling the divergence between theory and practice becomes a primary difficulty for those writing the history of social thought.

Richard Allen's history of the social gospel movement in Canada provides a useful example of this kind of difficulty. As both an ideological and a political movement, the social gospel incorporates the kind of widely-shared assumptions which could well be called commonplace, and, at the same time, it represents the power of those convictions to inspire a large number of people to take social action. In his preface to The Social Passion (1971), Allen acknowledges that throughout the book he has simply assumed, rather than proved, the existence of a link between thought and action. He writes: "To attempt to document so

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<sup>16</sup>A.B. McKillop, "Nationalism, Identity, and Canadian Intellectual History," in Contours of Canadian Thought (Toronto, 1987), p. 4; Terry Cook, "Nailing Jelly to a Wall: Possibilities in Intellectual History," Archivaria, No. 11 (Winter 1980-1981), 207-8.

<sup>17</sup>A.B. McKillop, "So Little on the Mind," in Contours, pp. 29-30.

elusive a matter as the relation of religious attitudes, ideas, and hopes to the actual course of social, political, and economic affairs may seem at times to beg a few questions. Nevertheless, at some points it appeared wiser to be suggestive than to ignore entirely what were important probable correlations."<sup>18</sup> Yet Allen's approach causes him to make sweeping generalizations about the significance of the social gospel which underestimate the importance of other equally distinct patterns of social thought. After mentioning, for instance, that thirteen settlement houses existed in Canada by 1920, he claims that "probably all of them [were] formed under the impulse of the social gospel," overlooking such diverse influences as British idealism and American social work.<sup>19</sup>

The broad intellectual influence of philosophical idealism has caused it also to receive considerable attention from historians of ideas since the late 1970s. In addition to the work of A.B. McKillop, recent studies by Ramsay Cook, Brian J. Fraser, and Michael Gauvreau have debated the role taken by idealism in forwarding the "secularization" of English-Canadian religious belief.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-28 (Toronto, 1971), p. xxiv.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>20</sup> Ramsay Cook, The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada (Toronto, 1985); Brian J. Fraser, The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915 (Waterloo, Ontario,

These histories contribute to an extensive body of British scholarship, which has explored the complicated interconnections between idealism, sociology, and New Liberal political theory.<sup>21</sup> While such studies have revealed the impact of idealism as a formal system of thought, its influence as a popular ethic has not yet been fully investigated by intellectual historians in either Britain or Canada. As early as 1980, Terry Cook raised this point in a review of A Disciplined Intelligence, suggesting that subsequent historians measure the concrete, practical results of the popularized creed of idealism.<sup>22</sup> It could be maintained, however, that this historical neglect is due largely to the fact that the same prescriptive characteristic which gave idealism such ideological weight, actually limited its ability, as a popular belief, to provide reformers with a workable agenda for social change.

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1988); Michael Gauvreau, The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression (Montreal & Kingston, 1991).

<sup>21</sup> Some notable examples of this scholarship are: Andrew Vincent and Raymond Plant, Philosophy, Politics and Citizenship: The Life and Thought of the British Idealists (Oxford, 1984); Reba N. Soffer, "Why Do Disciplines Fail? The Strange Case of British Sociology," English Historical Review, XCVII, No. 385 (October 1982), 767-802; Stefan Collini, Liberalism and Sociology: L.T. Hobhouse and Political Argument in England, 1880-1914 (Cambridge, England, 1979); Reba N. Soffer, Ethics and Society in England: The Revolution in the Social Sciences, 1870-1914 (Berkeley, 1978); Stefan Collini, "Sociology and Idealism in Britain, 1880-1920," Archives européennes de sociologie, XIX, No. 1 (1978), 3-50.

<sup>22</sup> Terry Cook, "Nailing Jelly to a Wall," 212-13.

Standish Meacham, one of the few British intellectual historians to explore the effect of ethical idealism on the late-Victorian reform movement, has concluded that the idealists ultimately failed to translate their ideals into social action. In Toynbee Hall and Social Reform (1987), Meacham claims that although the idealist ethic supplied the intellectual basis for the British settlement movement, the goals of personal connection and local community relied on an ideal vision of society which could not, in reality, be reached through the educational classes operated by the middle-class residents of Toynbee Hall.<sup>23</sup> Like Meacham's work, the present study attempts not only to connect ideas to actions, but to account for the disillusionment experienced by idealist reformers when they themselves tried to bridge the gap between social thought and practice.

The chapters of this study focus primarily on the social thought of a succession of influential academics at the University of Toronto, faculty members who, it is asserted, were responsible for establishing the moral and scientific ascendancy of the Toronto ideal. Chapters two and three examine the intellectual roots of the ideal in late-nineteenth century British thought, and consider how the idealist message gained acceptance at Toronto following the establishment of the Department of Political Economy in 1888. Chapter four discusses the creation of University

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<sup>23</sup> Meacham, pp. 86-129.



Settlement in 1910, and the early efforts of its Directors to find a satisfactory model for their disparate objectives of community reintegration and social research. Finally, chapters five and six look at the formation and development of the Department of Social Service after 1914, and analyze its Directors' determination to reject a technical or vocational view of social-work education in favour of a broadly-based academic program in the social sciences. The approach of the study is partly biographical, and the chapters are structured chronologically, beginning with the appointment of the economic historian W.J. Ashley in 1888, and ending with the retirement of the social philosopher E.J. Urwick from the University in 1937. Since this approach necessarily is determined by those who left the records--the male faculty members who held positions of authority in the University, and who articulated their views in addresses and publications--it raises the question of class, and, more significantly, the problem of gender.

Most of the academics discussed in this study were born into the British middle classes; all certainly shared a middle-class perception of the social problems which they addressed. The reforms and solutions they advocated were shaped by these views, with little or no reference to the values of those they sought to benefit. While investigations of working-class perspectives contribute much to an understanding of reform before World War II, a

discussion of the recipients of the University's social goals are beyond the scope of this study. The purpose here is not to assess the economic or social effectiveness of the reforms promoted by a few Toronto academics, but instead to uncover the process by which these ideas became meaningful for a large number of students, faculty, and alumni, and how, once popularized, they became incorporated into the structure of the University. Although the dominance of the Toronto ideal was sustained at Toronto until the late 1930s, its supporters were involved in an ongoing struggle to defend their authority from the challenges presented by the female-dominated profession of social work. As this struggle remained confined within the boundaries of middle-class thought and action, the contest for power was propelled not by the dynamics of class, but by the conflict of gender.

Influenced by poststructuralist theory, recent work in the history of gender has maintained that both femininity and masculinity are socially constructed concepts, and that each is defined in relation to the other. Since the late 1980s, new studies, particularly in the area of nineteenth-century British history, have explored the power relationships between men and women, and have searched for the shifting historical meanings by which the relative

categories of gender are determined.<sup>24</sup> In light of this new scholarship, it can be argued that at the University of Toronto the construction of gender roles in social service allowed the reform interests of men and women to be segregated and placed in contention. The Toronto ideal conveyed a vision of service which was inherently masculine, and from the late 1880s onward, ensuing generations of male students were taught that their manhood could be expressed most forcefully through the duties of active citizenship. Like Toynbee Hall, University Settlement was founded as a community of men, and was intended to provide male undergraduates with experience in volunteer social service which they could later apply to their life-work in other areas. Similarly, during that final Edwardian summer of 1914, the organizers of the Department of Social Service had hoped that the social-work program would attract those same bright young men to a permanent career in social service,

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<sup>24</sup>See, for example, Linda M. Shires, Rewriting the Victorians: Theory, History, and the Politics of Gender (New York, 1992); Michael Roper and John Tosh, ed., Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800 (London, 1991); Mary Poovey, Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England (Chicago, 1988); Joan Wallach Scott, Gender and the Politics of History (New York, 1988); Denise Riley, "Am I That Name?": Feminism and the Category of "Women" in History (Minneapolis, 1988); J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, ed., Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940 (Manchester, 1987). For a discussion of the theoretical positions taken by Joan Wallach Scott and Denise Riley, see Mariana Valverde, "Poststructuralist Gender Historians: Are We Those Names?" Labour/Le Travail, No. 25 (Spring 1990), 227-36.

and by doing so, would counteract the already noticeable prevalence of women in the new profession. Although women were excluded on both an ideological and a practical level from participating equally in the activities officially sanctioned by their University, female undergraduates and alumnae cultivated their own independent interest in social service, and, after 1900, increasingly looked to the field of American professional social work for authority.<sup>25</sup> The numerical dominance of women in social work was accelerated by wartime conditions, and by the 1920s, female students far outnumbered men on the staff of University Settlement, and in the enrollment of the Department of Social Service. Yet women's lack of access to sources of power in the University meant that their interests in social service often were ignored by the rest of the academic community, and in the records their activities generally suggest no more than a silent dissension from the views endorsed by Toronto's leading male academics. The strength of the Toronto ideal, therefore, can only be fully understood in terms of its success in subordinating the social-work interests of

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<sup>25</sup>Recent studies of late-nineteenth century philanthropy in both America and Britain have concluded that women often used their charitable activities to create power structures which were independent of those traditionally dominated by men. See Kathleen D. McCarthy, "Parallel Power Structures: Women and the Voluntary Sphere," in Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power, ed. Kathleen D. McCarthy (New Brunswick, N.J., 1990), pp. 1-31; and Martha Vicinus, Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920 (Chicago, 1985).

University women, and, throughout this study, the tension between these two gendered approaches to service forms a consistent, if only occasionally glimpsed pattern.

## CHAPTER 2

### BRITISH ROOTS: ARNOLD TOYNBEE, W.J. ASHLEY, AND THE NEW POLITICAL ECONOMY, 1888-1892

For young men attending the University of Toronto in the late-nineteenth century, the creation of the Department of Political Economy in 1888 was an important step in the formulation of an ethic which would place them at the very centre of their college's new ambitions for social reform. Through the teachings of the first Professor of Political Economy, W.J. Ashley, male students at Toronto were exposed to currents of social thought which earlier in the decade had prompted young men from Oxford and Cambridge to regard the alleviation of Britain's poverty as their own particular responsibility. The sense of this responsibility was conveyed in the compelling arguments of those idealist intellectuals and reformers who looked to the philosopher T.H. Green for explanations, and to the economist Arnold Toynbee for inspiration. Like all idealists, Green and Toynbee were optimistic, and they convinced their supporters that progress was an inevitable result of human evolution. Following Toynbee's lead, a group of young British economists, which included W.J. Ashley, became determined that empirical research could be applied to solve the social

problems produced by industrialization. Armed with an idealist faith in social improvement, men from the universities became confident that their class and gender required them to play a unique role in hastening the reformation of British society. At the University of Toronto, the idealist ethic encouraged a generation of young men to turn their attention to the practical problems of Canadian society. By doing so, it helped to transform the University's perception of masculinity, a view which until the late 1880s had been defined by the competitive and sporting elements of male undergraduate culture.

#### British Idealism and the University Settlement Movement

The establishment of Toynbee Hall in 1884 was one of the most significant of the many efforts at social reform which proliferated in Britain during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Although the Victorian conscience had long been alive to the social criticism of Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin, and Matthew Arnold, by the 1870s a vast section

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<sup>1</sup> Social reform in late-nineteenth century Britain has received considerable attention from social and intellectual historians, who have approached the subject from a wide variety of perspectives. See, for example, E.P. Hennock, "Poverty and Social Theory in England: The Experience of the 1880s," Social History, I (1976), 67-91; Gareth Stedman Jones, Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship Between Classes in Victorian Society (New York, 1971); José Harris, Unemployment and Politics: A Study in English Social Policy, 1886-1914 (Oxford, 1972); and more recently, Gertrude Himmelfarb, Poverty and Compassion: The Moral Imagination of the Late Victorians (New York, 1991); and Jane Lewis, Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England (Stanford, 1991).

of the middle and upper classes began to criticize the fact that poverty was so widespread in Britain's emerging industrial democracy. To use Beatrice Webb's famous phrase, "a new consciousness of sin"<sup>2</sup> had grown up among the privileged classes, inspiring a particularly intense reaction in philanthropic and academic circles. One of the founders of Toynbee Hall, Henrietta Barnett, conveyed this sense of guilt with characteristic bluntness while addressing a meeting of the London Charity Organisation Society in 1884. "Which of us," Barnett challenged, "having once seen a Whitechapel alley at five o'clock on an August afternoon, and realizing all it means, besides physical discomfort, could go and enjoy our afternoon tea, daintily spread on the shady lawn, and not ask himself difficult questions about his own responsibility--while one man has so much and another so little?"<sup>3</sup> The fervent, almost obsessive concern with "outcast London" culminated in a flurry of reform activity during the early 1880s, and students at Oxford and Cambridge, among others, were inspired to take social action.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Beatrice Webb, My Apprenticeship (New York, 1926), p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> Henrietta O. Barnett, "What Has the C.O.S. to do with Social Reform?" in Practicable Socialism: Essays on Social Reform, by Samuel A. Barnett and Henrietta O. Barnett (London, 1888), p. 169.

<sup>4</sup> The public preoccupation with London's East End during the 1880s is analyzed imaginatively in Judith R. Walkowitz, City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in



By the late 1870s, a strong tradition of public service had developed in the two universities, and was epitomized by the earnest young men coming out of Balliol College, Oxford.<sup>5</sup> This spirit of disinterested service was inspired by the manly public school ideal cultivated in the 1830s by Thomas Arnold at Rugby, and later mythologized as "muscular Christianity" in the novels of the Christian Socialists, Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes.<sup>6</sup> The emergence of a distinct Balliol ethic, however, was largely due to the leadership of Benjamin Jowett, Master of Balliol. For Jowett, the purpose of a university was to instil into undergraduates a sense of duty and purpose and, by doing so, to train them to take a leading role in the future of their country. During the 1860s and 1870s, Jowett's vision shaped the identity of his college, in sharp contrast to the ideal of pure scholarship encouraged by Mark Pattison, Rector of Lincoln.<sup>7</sup> Jowett's insistence on duty was reinforced by the most prominent of Balliol's tutors, the idealist philosopher T.H. Green.

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Late-Victorian London (Chicago, 1992).

<sup>5</sup> Standish Meacham, Toynbee Hall and Social Reform, 1880-1914: The Search for Community (New Haven, Conn., 1987), pp. 1-23.

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of the "Arnoldian outlook," see John Tosh, "Domesticity and Manliness in the Victorian Middle Class: The Family of Edward White Benson," in Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800, ed. Michael Roper and John Tosh (London, 1991), pp. 44-73.

<sup>7</sup> Meacham, p. 8.

At a time when the evangelical faith of many students was being challenged by scientific research and biblical criticism, Green offered an alternative Christian theology, based on idealist metaphysics, which stressed the importance of an outward demonstration of good works over an inner search for salvation.<sup>8</sup> He taught that it was every man's primary obligation to foster his "higher self" through service to others. Only by realizing this higher self could a man communicate with God, the God which, Green believed, was immanent within all men. Through both his teaching and his personal example, he asserted the importance of citizenship in maintaining an integrated community, and the necessity for men of the educated classes to combat such disintegrating forces as poverty and ignorance. For Green, the reintegration of community could only be brought about by the formation of bonds of personal connection between those who were advantaged in society, and those who were in need of service.<sup>9</sup> The Balliol ethic was directed ultimately at the reformation of social and political life, and the principal intellectuals of the College--Jowett, Green, and

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<sup>8</sup>Melvin Richter, The Politics of Conscience: T.H. Green and His Age (London, 1964), pp. 19-30; see also Fred Inglis, "The Long Summer: Idealist Radicals and the Oxford and Cambridge Intelligentsia--T.H. Green and William Morris," in Radical Earnestness: English Social Theory, 1880-1980 (Oxford, 1982), pp. 26-51.

<sup>9</sup>Meacham, pp. 12-16; Andrew Vincent and Raymond Plant, Philosophy, Politics and Citizenship: The Life and Thought of the British Idealists (Oxford, 1984), p. 94.

the historical economist Arnold Toynbee--all looked to a rejuvenated British liberalism to bring about that transformation.

Green's message gained acceptance far beyond the academic community in which he lived, and perhaps was disseminated most widely in the novels of the nineteenth-century writer, Mary Arnold Ward. Although known to the public only by her married name, Mrs. Humphry Ward, she was born into the distinguished Arnold family whose surname would become synonymous with high-minded Victorian morality. Her position as a grand-daughter of Thomas Arnold of Rugby, and a niece of the social critic Matthew Arnold, gave her a privileged opportunity to cultivate a wide range of acquaintances in British intellectual life.<sup>10</sup> In 1872, Mary Arnold married Humphry Ward, then a fellow and tutor of Brasenose College, and became part of "young married Oxford," self-consciously up-to-date with Liberty gowns and William Morris wallpapers.<sup>11</sup> This society was shaped by the ethos emerging from Balliol, and, like others, Mary Ward was captivated by the exhortations of Jowett, Green, and Toynbee

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<sup>10</sup>The most recent biography of Mary Ward is the critical portrait by John Sutherland, Mrs. Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian, Pre-eminent Edwardian (Oxford, 1990); for an analysis of Ward's work as a social reformer, see Lewis, chapter four in Women and Social Action; also the account by Mary Ward's daughter, Janet P. Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward (London, 1923).

<sup>11</sup>Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections (London, 1918), pp. 119-20.

to lead "a useful life." "Their minds were full," she remembered, "of the 'condition of the people' question, of temperance, housing, wages, electoral reform; and ... by the help of the weapons of thought and teaching, they regarded themselves as the natural allies of the Liberal party which was striving for these things through politics and Parliament."<sup>12</sup> The idealism of Green and Toynbee had a significant impact on Ward's intellectual development, and she would later play a decisive role in mythologizing their thought through her more famous novels. Both men appeared as heroic characters in her writings: Green was portrayed as the magnetic Oxford tutor Henry Grey in Robert Elsmere (1888), and Toynbee gained saintly status as the doomed Edward Hallin in Marcella (1894).<sup>13</sup> In each book, Ward offered idealist remedies for what she saw as the contemporary religious and social crisis. The novels were tremendously popular in Britain and North America, with Robert Elsmere selling over 240,000 copies and Marcella over 100,000.<sup>14</sup> Writing from the Grange in Toronto after the publication of Robert Elsmere, the journalist Goldwin Smith

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 133.

<sup>13</sup> Mrs. Humphry Ward, Robert Elsmere (London, 1888; Oxford, 1987); and Marcella (London, 1894; New York, 1985).

<sup>14</sup> Rosemary Ashton, introduction to Robert Elsmere, by Mrs. Humphry Ward (Oxford, 1987), p. vii; Sutherland, pp. 147-48.

assured Mary Ward that she was making a stir "even in this sequestered nook of the theological world."<sup>15</sup>

The fame of Ward's books was due in part to the appeal of Green's humanistic creed for a public anxious to alleviate the "class-consciousness of sin," and in the early 1880s, this public found its prophet in Arnold Toynbee. When he died in 1883 at the age of thirty, Toynbee had published little, and his reputation rested almost entirely on the personal influence he had exerted since 1878 as a tutor at Balliol, and as a public lecturer.<sup>16</sup> While an undergraduate in the 1870s, Toynbee had absorbed the Balliol ethic, and his study of economic history was the direct result of his interest in social reform. Like his tutor T.H. Green, Toynbee based his hope for social betterment on the belief that the classes could be united by a shared sense of citizenship. Lecturing extensively in the north of England and in London, Toynbee told his listeners--many of whom were working class--that the lowest levels of society needed to be taught the same standard of citizenship exhibited by the highest, and that state supported education and housing would be the means of achieving this goal.<sup>17</sup> In an address which he delivered in 1881, Toynbee claimed that

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<sup>15</sup> Quoted in Ward, Recollections, p. 249.

<sup>16</sup> "Arnold Toynbee," Toynbee Record, VII, No. 4 (January 1895), 51-56.

<sup>17</sup> Meacham, p. 17.

labour legislation and education already were breaking down the barriers thrown up by industrialization. "We are all now, workmen as well as employers," he urged, "inhabitants of a larger world, no longer members of a single class, but fellow-citizens of one great people."<sup>18</sup>

T.H. Green and Arnold Toynbee inspired Oxford men to devote their lives to elevating the working classes, but it was Henrietta and Samuel Barnett who provided a practical plan by which the idealist impulse could be brought to life. During the 1870s, Samuel Barnett was the minister of St. Jude's parish in Whitechapel, an impoverished section of London soon to become notorious for the Jack the Ripper murders. After 1875, the Barnetts began visiting Oxford regularly; partly to see old friends from Samuel's undergraduate days at Wadham College, and partly to interest university men in their work.<sup>19</sup> Among the group of young men who eventually gathered round them was Arnold Toynbee. "In the evenings we used to drop quietly down the river with two or three earnest men," Henrietta Barnett recalled in

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<sup>18</sup> Arnold Toynbee, "Industry and Democracy," in Lectures on the Industrial Revolution in England: Popular Addresses, Notes and their Fragments (London, 1884), pp. 201-2.

<sup>19</sup> Throughout their married life, Samuel and Henrietta Barnett worked in close collaboration. Introducing a collection of their essays in 1888, the Barnetts wrote: "Each Essay is signed by the writer, but in either case they represent our common thought, as all that has been done represents our common work." Samuel A. Barnett and Henrietta O. Barnett, introduction to Practicable Socialism, p. vi.

1918, "or sit long and late in our lodgings in the Turl, and discuss the mighty problems of poverty and the people."<sup>20</sup> The Barnetts invited these men to visit Whitechapel: many came to spend a few weeks, while some stayed longer by taking lodgings in the area after they left Oxford. The actual experience of "settling" among the poor had a strong appeal for those schooled by T.H. Green to seek their higher selves through duty, and a growing number of university men spent periods of time living in the East End. Shortly before his premature death in March 1883, Toynbee expressed this appeal in a lecture to a largely working-class London audience. For Toynbee, the act of settling fulfilled his desire to redress the sins of his class, involving as it did both a clear opportunity for service, and the need for conscious self-sacrifice. "We students, we would help you if we could," he declared. "We are willing to give up something much dearer than fame and social position. We are willing to give up the life we care for, the life with books and with those we love."<sup>21</sup>

The settling experiment of the late 1870s became increasingly popular as the poverty crisis in London's slums gained notoriety, and in November 1883, Samuel Barnett

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<sup>20</sup>Henrietta O. Barnett, "The Beginnings of Toynbee Hall," quoted in Canon Barnett: His Life, Work, and Friends, by Henrietta O. Barnett (London, 1918), vol. 1, pp. 302-3.

<sup>21</sup>Arnold Toynbee, "'Progress and Poverty': a Criticism of Mr. Henry George," quoted in Webb, p. 177.

travelled to Oxford with a plan for a permanent "settlement" of university men in Whitechapel. In October public opinion had been shocked by the anonymous publication of a sensationalist pamphlet, The Bitter Cry of Outcast London, which had exposed overcrowding and incest among the city's poorest inhabitants. Barnett's timing was perfect: he offered the students a practical scheme for social action just as their consciences were being stirred by the pamphlet's graphic images of social degeneration. By bringing educated men to live within sight of the poor, Barnett argued, the artificial isolation of the classes would be broken down, and the creation of a community unified by common interests would become possible. "Not until the habits of the rich are changed," Barnett warned, "and they are again content to breathe the same air and walk the same streets as the poor, will East London be 'saved.'"<sup>22</sup> Like Green and Toynbee, Barnett believed that male university graduates had a distinct role to play in the reestablishment of community, as only they could bring the influence of their class to bear on social problems, and provide the civic leadership necessary to bring about local reforms. The desolation of the East End, in his opinion, resulted not merely from physical poverty, but from the complete absence of cultural stimulation. Above all else,

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<sup>22</sup> Samuel A. Barnett, "University Settlements in East London," quoted in J.A.R. Pimlott, Toynbee Hall: Fifty Years of Social Progress, 1884-1934 (London, 1935), p. 272.



university men could share with the poor their own knowledge; their enjoyment and appreciation of art, literature and music. "Culture spreads by contact," Barnett would later write. "The friendship of one man of knowledge and one man of industry," he claimed in 1905, "may go but a small way to bring together the Universities and the working classes, but it is such friendship which prepares the way for the understanding which underlies co-operation."<sup>23</sup>

By February 1884, a committee had been established to take action on Barnett's plan, and it seemed appropriate to many that the Toynbee Memorial Fund at Oxford should provide the financial backing for the construction of the settlement. Although most of the energy for the project came from Oxford, and Balliol in particular, the settlement idea soon received additional support from a small but important group at Cambridge. Modeled on buildings at the two universities, Toynbee Hall was designed to resemble a residential college--complete with a quadrangle--which would stand as a physical reminder of the culture it represented.<sup>24</sup> In January 1885, the new settlement house was officially opened under the Wardenship of Samuel

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<sup>23</sup>Quoted in Henrietta Barnett, Canon Barnett, vol. 1, p. 312.

<sup>24</sup>Asa Briggs and Anne Macartney, Toynbee Hall: The First Hundred Years (London, 1984), pp. 8-9, p. 22; "The Early History of Toynbee Hall," Toynbee Record, V, No. 1 (October 1892), 2-4; Alon Kadish, Apostle Arnold: The Life and Death of Arnold Toynbee, 1852-1883 (Durham, N.C., 1986), p. 226.

Barnett, and until he gave up the position in 1906, the policy of Toynbee Hall was shaped by Barnett's convictions.

The idealist social ethic conveyed a definition of masculinity in which active citizenship and service became the highest expressions of manliness. During Samuel Barnett's long tenure as Warden, he ensured that Toynbee Hall existed as an exclusively masculine community, and, apart from the presence of Henrietta Barnett, only men were allowed to live in the settlement. The Balliol ideal of service assumed that the future of Britain depended on the unselfish dedication of educated, middle-class men, who would automatically, by virtue of their class and gender, take up key positions in public life. The most vital element of the original settlement idea, in fact, was the belief that the problems of poverty needed to be addressed by men rather than by women. Since the 1860s, charitable work in the East End had been carried out mainly by middle-class women, volunteering their time to act as rent collectors for the housing reformer Octavia Hill, or as visitors for the Charity Organisation Society.<sup>25</sup> It was the perception of the Barnetts and their circle that reform efforts would always remain marginalized unless slum conditions could be brought to the attention of the men destined to hold economic and political power. Henrietta

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<sup>25</sup>For a discussion of the work of Octavia Hill and the Charity Organisation Society, see Lewis, pp. 24-82.

Barnett herself put it succinctly: "If men, cultivated young thinking men, could only know of those things they would be altered[.]"<sup>26</sup> Throughout the late 1880s and 1890s, Toynbee Hall flourished in its role as a kind of residential college in the East End, where successive generations of young university men gave lectures on literature or philosophy, or served on the local poor law board, before going on to pursue their careers in civil service, religion, politics, or law. As settlement houses spread throughout Britain, however, women seeking professional training in social work began to outnumber the kind of "young thinking men" attracted to Toynbee Hall.<sup>27</sup> In Samuel Barnett's view, this development threatened the usefulness of the movement in the most fundamental way, by possibly discouraging the involvement of those who moved in the masculine world of power. In 1897, for example, he complained to his brother that a meeting of settlement workers ("a striking lot over whom the Toynbee Hall men towered") had included a large number of women. "The women were many--too many, I think, for the movement," he wrote.<sup>28</sup> Henrietta Barnett later

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<sup>26</sup>Henrietta Barnett, "The Beginnings of Toynbee Hall," quoted in Canon Barnett, vol. 1, p. 302.

<sup>27</sup>Monthly Calendars, Toynbee Record (1888-1906); Martha Vicinus, "Settlement Houses: A Community Ideal for the Poor," in Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920 (Chicago, 1985), 215-18; Meacham, 47; Vincent and Plant, 147.

<sup>28</sup>Samuel Barnett to Francis G. Barnett, 4 April 1897, quoted in Canon Barnett, vol. 2, pp. 50-51.

explained her husband's comment: "[T]he novelty of Toynbee was not so much that men lived among the poor, but that young and brilliant men had chosen to serve them in ways based on thought. It was the fear that men, still shy in their new role, would retire if the movement was captured by women that made Canon Barnett anxious to keep the Settlement movement primarily for men."<sup>29</sup>

During the 1880s and 1890s, the figure of Arnold Toynbee increasingly came to symbolize the complex mixture of manly purity, moral certitude, and self-negation which lay at the heart of the Balliol ethic and the reform movement it produced. Henrietta Barnett later claimed that it would have been more appropriate to name Toynbee Hall after one of the earlier East End "settlers" than after Arnold Toynbee. She pointed out that although Toynbee had been a "loved and welcome visitor," in no sense had he been a true settler, like the handful of men who actually took permanent lodgings in the 1860s and 1870s.<sup>30</sup> For most of his contemporaries, however, the association of Toynbee with the original settlement went far beyond the simple financial fact that his memorial fund supported the project. After his death, the name and character of Arnold Toynbee became imbued with meaning for a growing number of admirers. Toynbee's manliness, his exceptional nobility of character,

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<sup>29</sup>Henrietta Barnett, Canon Barnett, vol. 2, p. 51.

<sup>30</sup>Henrietta Barnett, Canon Barnett, vol. 1, p. 98.

and his martyrdom to the idealist cause of social union, were images which continually occurred in memoirs and biographies.<sup>31</sup> In a lecture at Toynbee Hall in 1894, for example, Alfred Milner described his late friend in typical terms: "He had a noble and striking countenance, combining the charm of boyish freshness with the serene dignity of a thoughtful manhood--a face of almost Greek regularity of feature." Toynbee's death, according to Milner, was the consequence of his exhaustive round of lecturing to working-class audiences. "If ever a man wore himself out in the service of mankind, it was Toynbee," he asserted.<sup>32</sup> In a remarkably similar passage published that same year, Mary Ward echoed Milner when she introduced her Toynbee character, Edward Hallin, in the novel Marcella. "To many a Trinity man in after life," Ward wrote, "the memory of his slight figure and fair head, of the eager slightly parted mouth, of the eyes glowing with some inward vision ... standing amid his seated and often dissentient auditors, came back vivid and ineffaceable as only youth can make the image of its prophets."<sup>33</sup> Like Arnold Toynbee, Edward

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<sup>31</sup>Most accounts of Arnold Toynbee's life have been written by his contemporaries. See F.C. Montague, Arnold Toynbee (Baltimore, 1889); Alfred Milner, Arnold Toynbee: A Reminiscence (London, 1895); Gertrude Toynbee, Reminiscences and Letters of Joseph and Arnold Toynbee (London, 1911); for a more recent biography, see Kadish.

<sup>32</sup>"Arnold Toynbee," Toynbee Record, VII, No. 4 (January 1895), 53.

<sup>33</sup>Ward, Marcella, p. 45.

Hallin collapses from the stress of public speaking and dies shortly afterward. Hallin's martyrdom is explicit: on his deathbed the character despairs of ever bringing working men to accept his message of brotherhood and class cooperation.

The masculine ethic which had inspired Toynbee Hall was imported to the University of Toronto in 1888, when W.J. Ashley was appointed its first Professor of Political Economy and Constitutional History. By the late 1880s, it was beginning to be perceived at Toronto that the University could perform a much broader public role, and, as at Oxford, male students began to be seen as future leaders in their country's economic and political life. It was hoped that the new Department of Political Economy, in particular, would help prepare young men to take up these key positions, and therefore establish important contacts between academia, and the worlds of business and politics. Ashley's authority would be decisive: by injecting the empirical study of political economy with the moral convictions of idealism, he inspired male Toronto students to seek a public career, providing an outlet for their ambition while satisfying their growing sense of social responsibility.

#### W.J. Ashley and the New Political Economy

W.J. Ashley arrived in Toronto at the beginning of an important period of growth for the city's University, in which not only the campus itself was to expand but the University's mission, as understood by its faculty and

students, was to undergo radical change. Under the Federation Act of 1887 a new Faculty of Arts was created, replacing University College as the central teaching body of the University. With the entrance of Victoria College into federation in 1890, the University of Toronto was restructured into a complex alliance of partially independent institutions under the dominant control of the University Senate and Council. In addition to the Faculty of Arts, the federation included the Faculty of Medicine, University College, Victoria College, St. Michael's College, and the two theological colleges, Knox and Wycliffe.<sup>34</sup> Physically, the University was also experiencing a period of rapid development. The Romanesque building of University College--which the novelist Anthony Trollope had described in 1861, shortly after its completion, as "a manly, noble structure"<sup>35</sup>--still dominated the park-like campus in the north of the city. During Ashley's four-year tenure in Toronto, however, several new buildings were under construction, including the Biology Building started in

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<sup>34</sup>N. Burwash, "The Development of the University, 1887-1904," in The University of Toronto and Its Colleges, 1827-1906, ed. W.J. Alexander ([Toronto], 1906), pp. 57-60; other histories include W. Stewart Wallace, A History of the University of Toronto, 1827-1927 (Toronto, 1927); Claude T. Bissell, ed., University College: A Portrait, 1853-1953 (Toronto, 1953); for an account of the architectural history of the University, see Douglas Richardson, A Not Unlikely Building: University College and Its History (Toronto, 1990).

<sup>35</sup>Richardson, p. 74.

1887, Wycliffe College in 1888, and Victoria College in 1889. University College itself was under reconstruction after 1890, due to a devastating Valentine's Day fire which left only the residence wing in the west of the building untouched. Although the University lost much to the fire, in particular the museum and library, the restoration of the south and east wings allowed the main building to be modernized, including some badly needed renovations to accommodate the growing numbers of female undergraduates.<sup>36</sup>

The establishment of the Department of Political Economy in 1888 was regarded by many to be an especially valuable addition to the new Faculty of Arts. The considerable excitement surrounding Ashley's appointment extended far beyond the University community, and was indicated by the wide range of people who braved the unfavourable November weather to hear his inaugural

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<sup>36</sup>Women were first admitted to University College in 1884, but the building was not substantially renovated to accommodate them until the fire of 1890. When the library was relocated to a separate building, much of its original space was designated as "Ladies Room," providing women with their own reading room, and a "retiring room" with an adjacent new lavatory. Richardson, p. 134. For a history of women at Toronto, see Anne Rochon Ford, A Path Not Strewn with Roses: One Hundred Years of Women at the University of Toronto, 1884-1984 (Toronto, 1985). The early academic experience of women at the University is discussed by Jo LaPierre, "The Academic Life of Canadian Coeds, 1880-1900," in Gender and Education in Ontario: An Historical Reader, ed. Ruby Heap and Alison Prentice (Toronto, 1991), 303-28.



address.<sup>37</sup> In the 1860s and 1870s, Benjamin Jowett had instilled a sense of purpose into Balliol undergraduates. By the end of the 1880s, a similar idea was beginning to take hold in the Canadian universities, and it was anticipated at Toronto that the study of political economy would help prepare young men to take up the responsibility of Canada's economic and political future. While giving his convocation address in October 1888, the President of the University of Toronto, Sir Daniel Wilson, revealed this outward perspective, stressing the value of political economy in equipping students to deal with contemporary social problems.<sup>38</sup> A more explicit statement of Wilson's rationale was given by the Minister of Education, G.W. Ross, two years after the creation of the new Department. "I was then organizing a department of political science," Ross reflected in 1890, "in the earnest hope that I would be able to afford to the undergraduates of our University a comprehensive course of training in economics and political philosophy, which would fit them for dealing with the many social and constitutional problems which require particular

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<sup>37</sup>The Varsity, VIII, No. 11 (4 February 1888), 132; The Varsity, IX, No. 1 (3 November 1888), 4-5; The Varsity, IX, No. 3 (17 November 1888), 23.

<sup>38</sup>University of Toronto Archives (hereafter UTA), James Loudon, B72-0031/010(W20), pamphlet: Address at the Convocation of the University of Toronto and University College, October 19, 1888, by Sir Daniel Wilson.

attention in a rapidly expanding country like Canada."<sup>39</sup> For both Wilson and Ross, it was an underlying assumption that male Toronto graduates needed this training because they would naturally be given influential positions within the public and private sectors.

The broadening conception of the University's role was reflected in a change in male undergraduate culture at Toronto during the 1890s, as University men altered their conception of rugged masculinity to incorporate a growing appreciation of the manliness of moral sincerity. The campus life of Toronto men in the late 1870s and 1880s has been nostalgically portrayed by W.J. Loudon in his series, Studies of Student Life. In Loudon's memories of the "Golden Age," male students--women, who were only admitted after 1884, are largely overlooked--seem preoccupied by poker games and "hazing," they seem to have little time for studying or attending lectures, and even less interest in the problems of the world beyond the University.<sup>40</sup> Loudon's images of a rough and disorderly student body are borne out to a great extent by other reminiscences of the period, and also by the routine discussion of student disturbances in the minutes of the University College Council or the

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<sup>39</sup>Quoted in Anne Ashley, William James Ashley: A Life (London, 1932), p. 54.

<sup>40</sup>See in particular, vols. I-V, W.J. Loudon, Studies of Student Life (Toronto, 1923-1928).

Literary and Scientific Society.<sup>41</sup> By the late 1880s, however, the unruly elements of student life had begun to coexist with a more serious attitude, which was represented in many University men by a heightened sense of moral purpose. Yet it is important to note that this attitude did not displace but rather developed alongside the rowdy aspects of campus life, and that it became incorporated into a larger perception of manly behaviour which revised ideas of masculinity in undergraduate culture.<sup>42</sup> One of the more prominent students at this time, William Lyon Mackenzie King, for example, could report in his diary in October 1894 that he had participated in a brawl brought on by the hustling of freshmen by seniors, and had distinguished

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<sup>41</sup>Such memoirs include, UTA, John Langton Family, B65-0014/003(01), Sir Daniel Wilson's Journal; UTA, William E. Lingelbach, B73-1124/001; UTA, Bessie Mabel Scott Lewis, B80-0033/001; see also UTA, University College Council, A69-0016/001(02), University College Council Minutes; and UTA, University College, A69-0011/002, University College Literary and Scientific Society Minutes. For a recent analysis of student behaviour, see Keith Walden, "Respectable Hooligans: Male Toronto College Students Celebrate Hallowe'en, 1884-1910," Canadian Historical Review, LXVIII, No. 1 (March 1987), 1-34, and "Hazes, Hustles, Scraps and Stunts: Initiations at the University of Toronto, 1880-1925," in Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education, ed. Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid (Kingston, Ontario, 1989), pp. 94-121.

<sup>42</sup>A.B. McKillop has argued that the presence of women at Toronto after 1884 encouraged men to turn to aggressive and "manly" organized sports, which helped them to preserve their sense of male exclusiveness. A.B. McKillop, "Marching as to War: Elements of Ontario Undergraduate Culture, 1880-1914," in Youth, University and Canadian Society, pp. 75-93.

himself by managing to throw down the College Registrar three times. And in another entry that same month, King could describe with equal satisfaction his work as the new Convenor of the City Missions Committee for the Young Men's Christian Association on campus.<sup>43</sup>

Thus W.J. Ashley took up his new position at the University of Toronto at a time when both students and faculty were reassessing their wider role in society; a time, most importantly, when the academic community was in a mood to be receptive to the idealist influence which he would exert. With the appointment of the twenty-eight year old Ashley, the study of political economy at Toronto was established in line with the new inductive and historical school of economics, a school which aggressively turned its attention to the problems of modern society. Ashley himself, however, had anticipated that some would be offended by his controversial views, and he perhaps was relieved that, due to poor acoustics, his inaugural lecture was lost to many of the prominent citizens who packed into Convocation Hall on November 9, 1888.<sup>44</sup> Although Ashley was able to report in a letter that his lecture was received politely, he added that he would only gradually learn what

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<sup>43</sup>William Lyon Mackenzie King Diaries, 1893-1931, Microfiche, Manuscript Version (Toronto, 1973), p. G6463, 5 October 1894, and p. G6469, 25 October 1894.

<sup>44</sup>The Varsity, IX, No. 3 (18 November 1888), 23.

people really thought.<sup>45</sup> It is not surprising that he expected a mixed reaction. The creation of a Chair in Political Economy had long been entangled in party politics, and had sparked considerable debate in the student newspaper, The Varsity, over the issue of hiring Canadian candidates.<sup>46</sup> Although Ashley was British, his lack of political affiliation in Ontario made him to some extent a neutral choice.<sup>47</sup> The contentious nature of Ashley's opinions, however, went much deeper than questions of political partisanship, as they fundamentally challenged the laissez-faire economic principle which was still sacred to many nineteenth-century Canadians.

An undergraduate at Balliol from 1878 to 1881, during the height of T.H. Green's influence, Ashley was drawn to the study of economic history by his interest in social

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<sup>45</sup>Quoted in Anne Ashley, William James Ashley, pp. 46-7.

<sup>46</sup>See for example, The Varsity, VIII, No. 11 (4 February 1888), 132. The debate in The Varsity was animated by the fact that one of the Canadian candidates, William Houston, was the Legislative Librarian and had been embroiled in university politics for years. The President, Sir Daniel Wilson, had continually opposed Houston's claims to the new position, noting in his journal in 1885 that the College could secure money for better purposes "than feeing a broken-down Grit political hack to teach what he calls 'Political Science.'" UTA, John Langton Family, B65-0014/003(01), Sir Daniel Wilson's Journal (10 November 1885), 96.

<sup>47</sup>When searching for Ashley's successor in 1892, the Minister of Education, G.W. Ross, decided that it was essential that the Chair be filled by someone from abroad. UTA, Edward Blake, B72-0013/001(12), G.W. Ross to Edward Blake, 22 July 1892.

conditions. After taking his degree with First Class Honours in History, he stayed on at Oxford, supporting himself as a private tutor, while studying political economy under Toynbee's direction.<sup>48</sup> Looking back in 1907 on the development of modern political economy, Ashley expressed his own debt to his teacher, describing him as the first to reveal "how the historical method could be applied to the interpretation of actual conditions."<sup>49</sup> He believed that Toynbee's concentration on the economic history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries grew directly out of his eager desire to address the problems of the present. In Ashley's opinion, the chief value of Toynbee's Industrial Revolution, which Ashley himself helped to edit and publish in 1884, "lay in its showing how impartial investigation of the past could be combined with ardent enthusiasm for social improvement."<sup>50</sup> Ashley's own insistence on an applied political economy, which justified its pursuit by confronting modern problems, was shaped largely by the guidance he received during the two years before Toynbee's death.

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<sup>48</sup> Anne Ashley, William James Ashley, pp. 11-23.

<sup>49</sup> W. J. Ashley, "The Present Position of Political Economy," Economic Journal, XVII, No. 68 (December 1907), 475. Ashley dedicated his first major work to the memory of Arnold Toynbee. See W. J. Ashley, An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory (London, 1888).

<sup>50</sup> W. J. Ashley, "Present Position of Political Economy," 482.

Like many British scholars of his generation, Ashley perceived the democratic state to be in a position of crisis, where political power was falling to an ignorant and discontented majority. As an economist, he turned away in disgust from what he called the "neat little body of compendious 'laws' and maxims"<sup>51</sup> belonging to the old political economy, and sought instead to make sense of industrial development. In company with other young historical economists following Toynbee's lead, Ashley attacked the supremacy of the classical Ricardian school, rejecting as fruitless the deductive method which presupposed fixed abstract laws of economic behaviour. These laws had been used for half a century to argue, in Ashley's words, that "everything in the industrial world was for the best,"<sup>52</sup> and that improvement through state legislation and trade unions was pointless. For the new economists, the democratic crisis created by the enlarged franchise made Ricardian economics valueless. Rather than force reality to conform to economic theory, they followed the inductive, or empirical method, and only generalized after direct observation of fact.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>W.J. Ashley, What is Political Science? An Inaugural Lecture Given in the Convocation Hall of the University of Toronto, 9th November, 1888 (Toronto, 1888), p. 17.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>53</sup>For a discussion of the inductive challenge to deductive methodology at Harvard, see the introduction by Robert L. Church, et al., in Social Sciences at Harvard.

The new political economy was above all to be an applied science; a discipline which could prove its utility by addressing the problems of industrial society. As Ashley explained in his inaugural lecture, all the younger economists shared a general assumption which could be simply stated: "a Political Economy is possible which shall be of real value to society."<sup>54</sup> Although the historical economists advocated the use of empirical or "scientific" methodology, their common belief that research should be directed toward social betterment necessarily prevented them from maintaining the scientists' supposedly detached position. The impossibility of separating "what is" from "what should be,"<sup>55</sup> Ashley argued, required the new economist to adopt some standard of reference. For Ashley, that standard lay not in individual morality but in the collective well-being of society. "The final test in any matter," he claimed, "must be the welfare of the State."<sup>56</sup> While not recommending the absolute extension of state legislation, the new economists utterly dismissed the laissez-faire principle, believing instead that the state

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1860-1920: From Inculcation to the Open Mind, ed. Paul Buck (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), pp. 1-17; for more specific reference to the role of W.J. Ashley, see Church's contribution, "The Economists Study Society: Sociology at Harvard, 1891-1902," pp. 18-90 in the same volume.

<sup>54</sup> Ashley, What is Political Science, p. 16.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.



had a positive duty to further society's collective as well as individual concerns. As Ashley boldly told his Toronto audience, "the state can justly claim, in the interest of the common good, to modify individual rights."<sup>57</sup>

For most young economists, this endorsement of collectivism and state intervention was rooted in an assumption--derived from idealism--that the state was an institution which should promote a sense of community and citizenship among all classes. By the end of the nineteenth century, the political theories of the British idealists, led by T.H. Green, had deeply influenced liberal thought, justifying new areas of state interference. The rejection of laissez-faire by the new historical school of political economy was, in this sense, part of a much wider movement which altered traditional British liberalism, and which, by 1911, had produced the legislative beginnings of the welfare state.<sup>58</sup> Although Ashley's insistence on the need for government intervention may well have worried some of the listeners to his inaugural address, the convictions of the first Professor of Political Economy remained within the sphere of "New Liberal" political thought then emerging in Britain. The collectivist elements of W.J. Ashley's social thought connected him, not to the socialist movement, but to the group of British reformers centred at Toynbee Hall.

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>58</sup> Vincent and Plant, pp. 1-2.

By the time Ashley came to Toronto in 1888, he was known quite openly as "Toynbee's disciple";<sup>59</sup> a reputation which gave him some prestige as the Toynbee myth gained strength in the 1890s. Ashley's allegiance to Toynbee as an economist was, if possible, reinforced by his admiration of those aspects of his teacher's image which became romanticized. Moreover, as one of Toynbee's most prominent students, Ashley himself contributed to the formulation of the myth. Reviewing a new biography of Toynbee by F.C. Montague in 1889, Ashley added some of his own personal reminiscences of hearing Toynbee lecture in Oxford on the industrial revolution. He remembered "how that slim, graceful figure seemed to tremble and his hands were nervously strained together, as he tried to make us realize how vast and awful a revolution it had been."<sup>60</sup> Ashley then contrasted this scene in Balliol Hall with one in a "dingy room in a miserable tavern." "The sensitive and overwrought scholar presented himself for the suffrages of his fellow-citizens," Ashley recalled, "and told them how much might be done even with our existing social machinery, if

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<sup>59</sup>UTA, Pamphlets: Testimonials in Favour of W.J. Ashley, M.A.: A Candidate for the Drummond Professorship of Political Economy in the University of Oxford, Lujo Brentano to W.J. Ashley, 2 November 1890.

<sup>60</sup>W.J. Ashley, review of Arnold Toynbee, by F.C. Montague, in Political Science Quarterly, IV, No. 3 (September 1889), 533-34.

those who guided it did but understand of what it was capable."<sup>61</sup>

The Toynbee legend was fed not only by the reports of his pupils but by the fictions of his circle, and often fiction seemed to reveal more of the "truth." The reciprocal relation of fact and fiction in the process of myth making is indicated by the similarity of Ashley's memories to Mary Ward's description of Edward Hallin, which appeared in her novel Marcella five years later. In 1900, the review of Montague's book was republished in a collection of Ashley's essays. Commenting on the review in his preface, Ashley noted revealingly: "From what I have said of Toynbee it will be seen that in my judgment the genius of Mrs. Humphry Ward had succeeded better in realising the sort of man he was than some of those who stood nearer to him in his lifetime."<sup>62</sup> This blending of the real with the legendary Toynbee in Ashley's perception is also evident in an account recorded by Mackenzie King, who became one of Ashley's graduate students at Harvard University. Having long been fascinated by the Toynbee cult during his undergraduate years at Toronto, in 1897, soon after he arrived at Harvard, King eagerly questioned his new professor about Arnold Toynbee. "He merely said that he was

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 534.

<sup>62</sup> W.J. Ashley, Surveys Historic and Economic (London, 1900), p. ix.

one of the characters in Marcella," King reported in his diary, obviously disappointed.<sup>63</sup>

While Ashley was inspired most directly by Toynbee's historical approach to economics, his position on the need for evolutionary rather than revolutionary social change also closely resembled that of other followers of T.H. Green. Throughout his life, Ashley consistently described himself as an "evolutionary socialist,"<sup>64</sup> but by this he did not intend to convey an affinity with the socialist movement.<sup>65</sup> Writing in 1886 to his future wife, Margaret Hill, Ashley outlined the major points of his economic faith, stating that he disagreed with the socialists on several key issues. He particularly resisted their emphasis on rapid and violent change, urging instead the gradual evolution of society through such "educating" influences as "trade unions, co-operation, wisely-administered poor law, [and] sanitary aid."<sup>66</sup>

Ashley's historical perspective convinced him that mankind was constantly progressing upward toward a higher level of social development, and that the role of the

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<sup>63</sup>King Diaries, Microfiche, Transcript Version, p. G652, 14 December 1897.

<sup>64</sup>Anne Ashley, William James Ashley, p. 36.

<sup>65</sup>W.J. Ashley is described, somewhat misleadingly, as a "socialist" by Robert L. Church. See, "The Economists Study Society," in Social Sciences at Harvard, pp. 66-67.

<sup>66</sup>Quoted in Anne Ashley, William James Ashley, p. 34.

reformer was to "hasten and assist the transition."<sup>67</sup> This view is evident in the first part of his Introduction to English Economic History and Theory, published in 1888, in which he argues that the English manor had evolved steadily from its servile origins, and had not been the revival of an earlier and degenerated co-operative system of farming.<sup>68</sup> During his four years at Toronto, Ashley openly supported organized labour, and in January 1892 he gave a typical public lecture on "Methods of Industrial Peace." According to The Varsity, which reported on the speech at length, Ashley explained that individual reformers should not try to alter the course of events; they should, however, be prepared to utilize the forces of change once they discovered their direction. He regarded trade unionism as just such a "spontaneous and inevitable development," marking it as the "strongest evolution of the period."<sup>69</sup> This emphasis on slow progress over violent conflict allowed Ashley, without alienating public opinion, to follow Toynbee in advocating reform. By 1890 the Chancellor of the University was able to report that the new Department of Political Economy had been favourably received, even among

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<sup>67</sup>Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>69</sup>The Varsity, XI, No. 15 (9 February 1892), 174-75.

the bankers of Toronto.<sup>70</sup> Ashley's views on social change were mainly determined by his acceptance of the idealist belief that the individual existed morally in relation to the larger community. In an article of 1912, Ashley explained that the work of social service must be "guided and restrained by the thought of the social bond--the thought of society as an organism or body of interconnected relations."<sup>71</sup>

W.J. Ashley's evolutionary socialism thus closely resembled the kind of gradual state intervention which was promoted by Samuel and Henrietta Barnett under the name of "practical socialism." By the early 1880s, the Barnetts had become disillusioned with the system of poor relief in the East End, which since 1869 had been regulated according to the strict "scientific" principles of the Charity Organisation Society. Although they had worked with the Charity Organisation Society throughout the 1870s, the Barnetts became impatient with its rigid distinction between "deserving" and "non-deserving" poor; a distinction which rooted the cause of poverty in the moral weakness of the

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<sup>70</sup>UTA, James Loudon, B72-0031/001(A19), pamphlet: Address at the Convocation of the University of Toronto, June 10th, 1890 by the Chancellor, the Hon. Edward Blake; for an account of the positive reaction by the Toronto press to W.J. Ashley, see C.A. Ashley, "Sir William Ashley and the Rise of Schools of Commerce," Commerce Journal (March 1938), 41.

<sup>71</sup>Quoted in Anne Ashley, William James Ashley, pp. 105-6.

individual. In 1883, Samuel Barnett published an article entitled "Practicable Socialism" in which he maintained that even the most respectable working man could at best only provide for the necessities of life, leaving no margin for pleasure, medical aid, or old age. The only remedy, Barnett asserted, was for the state to provide improved housing, education, medical treatment and old-age pensions.<sup>72</sup>

Barnett's recommendation of state intervention, however, was as qualified as that of Ashley: the change must evolve naturally without requiring a violent adjustment of the social system. "All real progress must be by growth," Barnett wrote, "the new must be a development of the old, and not a branch added on from another root."<sup>73</sup> This shift toward "practicable socialism" signified an important stage in the social welfare thought of the 1880s, offering as it did a middle ground between secular socialism and the older tradition of moral reform. Beatrice Webb recalled the impact in her autobiography: "The breakaway of Samuel and Henrietta Barnett ... from the narrow and continuously hardening dogma of the Charity Organisation Society sent a thrill through the philanthropic world of London."<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Samuel A. Barnett, "Practicable Socialism," in Practicable Socialism, pp. 191-203.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 194.

<sup>74</sup> Webb, p. 200.

The evolutionary approach to social change presupposed that the nature of human society was essentially moral, and that all developments ultimately would contribute to the good of mankind. For Samuel Barnett and W.J. Ashley, this conviction was grounded in their faith in the immanence of Christ, as both accepted the idealist belief that God was present within men and women, and could only be reached by living in the midst of humanity. Although Barnett never challenged the fundamental doctrines of his Church, by the late 1870s his experiences in the East End had led him to adopt an immanentist position similar to that of T.H. Green.<sup>75</sup> W.J. Ashley, by contrast, slowly came to this opinion after completely rejecting the evangelical tradition of his childhood. In 1886, Ashley explained to Margaret Hill that he was one of those who had been led to abandon all the belief with which he had started, but that the very questioning which had destroyed his faith had eventually convinced him that unbelief was equally deficient. Ashley's need for an ultimate explanation induced him to seek a spirituality which did not require him to accept the supernatural elements of orthodox Christianity, and--like so many others of his generation--he found reassurance in idealism. "If we suppose a prompting, inspiring, indwelling something which brings about moral growth," Ashley wrote in 1886, "we can hardly help believing that this Something must

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<sup>75</sup>Meacham, p. 31.



itself be moral."<sup>76</sup> For Ashley, the existence of an ultimate good within human society was represented by "the Christ of the Christian Church"; an historical Christ who had become for him "the highest example of Good in man."<sup>77</sup>

Ashley's loss of belief, and his gradual acceptance of a modified form of Christianity based on immanentism, was a pattern disturbingly familiar to many late Victorians. In 1888, Mary Ward captured the religious anxieties of the period in her novel, Robert Elsmere, and much of the book's power came from the fact that Ward herself had experienced Elsmere's struggle to reconcile belief with the revelations of biblical criticism. Like Ashley, Mary Ward eventually developed a religious position which regarded the historical Christ as proof of the potential for ultimate good inherent to the human race.<sup>78</sup> As Ward's novel illustrated, this new practical faith demanded an equally practical demonstration of good works, and Green's teachings, at Toronto as at Oxford, ultimately propelled young men to seek out their higher selves by offering the benefits of their education to those less fortunate in society.

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<sup>76</sup>Quoted in Anne Ashley, William James Ashley, p. 37.

<sup>77</sup>Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>78</sup>See Ward, A Writer's Recollections, pp. 162-70.

Establishing the Department of Political Economy

When he took up his appointment at Toronto in the fall of 1888, W.J. Ashley was given complete control over the curriculum of the new Department of Political Economy.<sup>79</sup> In keeping with his own training, he conceived the study of economics to have a significance far beyond its simple academic value. Even if the student went no further with his studies, the subject at the very least would improve his character by enlarging his outlook, and, as Ashley expressed it in 1893, "save him from the Philistinism of the market-place."<sup>80</sup> This confidence is displayed clearly in a letter Ashley wrote to Mackenzie King in 1906, thanking his former graduate student for a copy of King's recently published tribute to his friend Henry Albert Harper, The Secret of Heroism. The memoir was shaped by the idealism King had shared with Harper, and in responding to King, Ashley naturally linked Harper's "high-minded life" to the fact that he had been a graduate in political economy at Toronto.

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<sup>79</sup>National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), William Lyon Mackenzie King Papers, MG 26, J 1, vol. 5, pp. 4349-56, microfilm, reel C-1904, W.J. Ashley to W.L.M. King, 27 February 1906; Archives of Ontario (hereafter AO), R.G. 2, Department of Education, Series D-7, box 1, file: W.J. Ashley, "Syllabus of new Political Science Department by W.J. Ashley, October 1888."

<sup>80</sup>W.J. Ashley, "On the Study of Economic History," Quarterly Journal of Economics, VII, No. 2 (January 1893), 22.

"Among the things I aimed at in drawing up the curriculum," Ashley wrote,

& I am bewildered now to think how young I then was, only 28, and what a free hand I had--was to bring students into touch with some of the really great minds of the world. This was especially the case with the Political Philosophy. And all my experience at Harvard confirmed me in the belief that it was better to get men to read Plato & Aristotle & Locke & Rousseau than to turn them on to a brand new "Sociology." I can't help imagining that Harper's loftiness of thought was due in some measure to his intercourse with the great masters of political speculation in the ordinary course of his college work.<sup>81</sup>

Like T.H. Green, whose Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation was required reading for students in Toronto's "Political Philosophy" course, Ashley believed that young men above all should be taught to appreciate their responsibility to the state, and in this way become educated in the duties of citizenship. This perspective is evident also in the fourth-year "Economic Seminary" which he introduced in the Easter term of 1889, and modeled on the German seminar system. The Seminary addressed questions of both economic theory and history, generally placing the discussion of modern issues, such as poor relief or the prohibition of alcohol, next to examinations of the political thought of the "great masters." In a characteristic essay of 1890, one student used the work of T.H. Green to approach the subject of "State Interference

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<sup>81</sup>NAC, King Papers, MG 26, J 1, vol. 5, pp. 4349-56, microfilm, reel C-1904, Ashley to King, 27 February 1906.

with Trade," basing his argument on an exploration of the relations of the individual to the state.<sup>82</sup>

The moral training which Ashley's students were to receive through their contact with political theory was to be combined with empirical research into modern social problems. In 1889, Ashley initiated a series of studies on Canadian conditions, believing strongly that more knowledge on such subjects as local government, agriculture, and urban development was crucial to the future of the Dominion.<sup>83</sup> Between 1889 and 1892 three essays by students from Ashley's Economic Seminary were published under his editorship as Toronto University Studies in Political Science: "The Ontario Township," by J.M. McEvoy, "Municipal Monopolies and Their Management," by A.H. Sinclair, and "The Conditions of Female Labour in Ontario," by Jean Thomson Scott. In his first introduction, Ashley explained that two ideas lay behind the movement for a new political science; first that the state could be studied with impartiality, and secondly that "knowledge thus acquired by scientific observation and analysis will be of practical use." Reiterating the views which he had outlined in his inaugural address the year before, Ashley rejected the old political economists' belief

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<sup>82</sup>UTA, William James Ashley, L65-0033(02), Minute Book of the Economic Seminary, University College, Toronto, 1889-1892.

<sup>83</sup>UTA, P78-0321(01), Toronto University Studies in Political Science, First Series, No. 1-4 (Toronto, 1889-1895), p. 6.

that a body of abstract principles existed which needed simply to be applied to real life. For Ashley, the ultimate goal of political science was to bring about reform, and it could only achieve this practical aim if it became an empirical discipline which used historical methodology. Further development, he asserted, must "take the direction of the discovery by the methods of history, of statistics and observation, of the main facts of the political and economic world around us."<sup>4</sup>

In June 1892, Ashley accepted a professorship in economic history at Harvard University, and his resignation caused some anxiety among officials at the University of Toronto. "It would be worse than the fire," President Wilson reflected in his diary, considering the gloomy possibility that Ashley would soon be followed to the United States by another influential scholar, James Mark Baldwin.<sup>5</sup> Ashley had given the Department of Political Economy a high standing in the University, and there was fear that his successor would be unable to maintain this prestige. Moreover, Ashley's early departure revived the politically

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 5. Ashley seems to have encouraged the work of female students: two women attended his "Economic Seminary," A.S. Willson and Jean Thomson Scott, and Scott's essay was one of only three which Ashley singled out for publication. UTA, William James Ashley, B65-0033(02), Minute Book of the Economic Seminary, 1889-1892.

<sup>5</sup>UTA, John Langton Family, B65-0014/003(01), Sir Daniel Wilson's Journal (26 June 1892), 210; AO, R.G. 2, Department of Education, Series D-7, box 1, file: W.J. Ashley, W.J. Ashley to G.W. Ross, 17 July 1892.

troublesome debate over hiring Canadian candidates. Throughout that summer, G.W. Ross repeatedly wrote to the Chancellor, Edward Blake, in England urging him to find the best available man with some experience,<sup>86</sup> and in October 1892, a British political economist, James Mavor, was appointed to fill Ashley's position. The new President, James Loudon, would later complain that he never knew who had recommended Mavor, but it seems obvious that Ashley himself was influential in determining the choice of his successor.<sup>87</sup>

Like W.J. Ashley, James Mavor had many acquaintances among leading reformers in Britain, and his correspondence is sprinkled with letters from such impressive names as Sidney Webb, William Morris and Patrick Geddes. Unlike Ashley, however, Mavor liked to mention his connections, and he quickly gained an enduring reputation for pretension and name-dropping. Even one of the more charitable faculty members in his Department, Vincent Bladen, remembered Mavor

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<sup>86</sup>UTA, Edward Blake, B72-0013/001(11), G.W. Ross to Edward Blake, 30 June 1892; B72-0013/001(12), G.W. Ross to Edward Blake, 22 July and 8 August 1892.

<sup>87</sup>James Loudon's comment is partially explained by his frustration with the fact that the President then had little influence in appointing new faculty members. This frustration had probably been aggravated by the Senate's recent request that Loudon investigate James Mavor's efficiency. UTA, James Loudon, B72-0031/013(04), James Loudon to Richard Harcourt, 10 April 1903.

as a "poseur" and a "collector of personalities";<sup>88</sup> an observation which is to some extent borne out by Mavor's autobiography of 1923, My Windows on the Street of the World. Mavor's enthusiasm for collecting famous people, however, helped to get him appointed to the Chair at Toronto. When Ashley recommended him in 1892, Mavor had only recently switched from journalism to academia, and, although he studied at the University of Glasgow during the 1870s, he did not possess a university degree. Mavor's most valuable qualification at that time was the fact that he was well-known in the close world of British intellectuals, and as his references reveal, a wide range of prominent academics and public men were willing to testify to his ability.<sup>89</sup>

Mavor had made his reputation as a political economist in Glasgow in the 1880s. During that decade, the city was

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<sup>88</sup>UTA, Vincent Wheeler Bladen, B74-0038, interview by C. Roger Myers, 4 January 1974, transcript, University of Toronto Oral History Project, p. 44. Mackenzie King, who disliked Mavor after being refused a fellowship in political economy, heard the following description of him, which he gleefully recorded into his diary: "His presumption is limitless, his ability is practically nil & his power for irritating humanity is egregious." King Diaries, Microfiche, Transcript Version, p. G414, 18 July 1896. For a fictional account which makes the most of Mavor's image, see James Reaney, The Dismissal: or Twisted Beards and Tangled Whiskers (Erin, Ontario, 1978).

<sup>89</sup>UTA, Pamphlets: Letter of Application and Testimonials [of] James Mavor [for the] Lectureship in Political Economy, University College, Liverpool [1888]; see also UTA, Edward Blake, B72-0013/001(13), W.P. Byles, M.P. to Edward Blake, 10 September 1892; B72-0013/001(13), Edward Blake to R. Harcourt, 27 September 1892.

particularly distressed by the long depression which affected most of Britain, and, while working as a journalist, he had witnessed the destitution of many working-class families. He became drawn to the investigation of social conditions, gaining an opportunity to closely study slum life through his membership in the Kyrle Society. As Mavor explained in his autobiography, the goal of the Kyrle Society was similar in spirit to that of the settlement movement, "having for its general object promotion of sympathetic relations between the well-to-do and the struggling, not by means of charitable doles, but by means of instruction and advice."<sup>90</sup> By the late 1880s, the Kyrle Society had started taking over the proprietorship of various slum tenements, and, according to methods introduced by Octavia Hill in London, had attempted to improve both the moral and physical welfare of the occupants. Although Mavor learned much from his participation in the Society, he came to believe that its ameliorative efforts, however worthy, were limited and superficial. Mavor later maintained that all such approaches to social reform were flawed because they rested on the assumption that middle-class knowledge could be imposed onto the working class to bring about its moral and physical elevation. Comparing the settlement movement to the Russian V Narod movement of the 1870s, Mavor

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<sup>90</sup> James Mavor, My Windows on the Street of the World, vol. 1 (London, 1923), p. 156.



pointed out that both idealised the "toiling masses," and ignored the fact that the working class had its own knowledge and code of conduct. "The idea that they should be induced or compelled to adopt another kind of knowledge and other manners," Mavor wrote, "depends upon the presumption of the superiority of the latter kind of knowledge and manners, and therefore both movements handicapped themselves at the outset."<sup>91</sup>

Seeking a more penetrating approach to reform, in 1884 Mavor briefly joined the new Social Democratic Federation. He soon was repulsed by what he saw as the authoritarian tendencies of Marxism, and was among those who followed William Morris when he split from the Federation in December 1884 to form the Socialist League. Mavor had been attracted to the socialists because he believed that they were one of the few British groups thinking seriously about social questions, but by 1886 he had become disillusioned with the internal politics of the League and began gradually to detach himself from the movement.<sup>92</sup> Mavor's interest in political economy initially had been sparked by his concern over social conditions; after 1886 he increasingly came to regard its study as a more satisfying alternative to either

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p. 217.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., pp. 176-81; for a history of the socialist movement in Britain at this time, see Henry Pelling, The Origins of the Labour Party, 1880-1900, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1965), pp. 13-61.

socialism or the hierarchical reform efforts of the middle-class. Although Mavor did not share Ashley's admiration for the Toynbee ethos, both men regarded political economy as an empirical discipline which could be utilized to realize moral purposes. While Mavor rejected the class-based aspect of the settlement movement, he never repudiated the idealist ethic which had inspired it.<sup>93</sup> Remembering his years at Glasgow studying under the idealist philosopher Edward Caird, Mavor claimed that Caird's influence on all his students "was thoroughly wholesome in a mental and moral sense." Mavor wrote: "He deepened their view of individual and social obligation and assisted them towards estimating the relative importance of the elements which compose the total of life."<sup>94</sup> Mavor's political thought was complex and often contradictory, and historians have attempted to make sense of his shift toward capitalism in later life by referring to a corresponding change in his interests away

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<sup>93</sup>S.E.D. Shortt, in his study of James Mavor, "The Empirical Ideal," in The Search for an Ideal: Six Canadian Intellectuals and Their Convictions in an Age of Transition, 1890-1930 (Toronto, 1976), pp. 118-35, asserts that Mavor rejected idealism in favour of a rigid empiricism. A.B. McKillop has effectively refuted Shortt's argument, claiming that Shortt creates a simplistic idealism-versus-empiricism dichotomy which, by failing to distinguish between subjective and objective or Absolute idealism, assumes the two modes of thought are incompatible. See A.B. McKillop, "Moralists and Moderns," Journal of Canadian Studies, XIV, No. 4 (Winter 1979-80), 144-50.

<sup>94</sup>Mavor, My Windows, vol. 1, p. 59.

from social reform and toward economic research.<sup>95</sup> This view of Mavor's career, however, underestimates the fact that Mavor himself, like Ashley, believed his work in political economy to have a moral basis, and continued to regard social improvement as the ultimate outcome of empirical study.

In suggesting James Mavor for his position in 1892, Ashley was choosing a man who shared his own views on the social value of political economy, one who would ensure that the discipline at Toronto would continue within the new inductive and applied school of economics. Mavor's involvement with the reform community of Glasgow during the 1880s indicated that he also possessed Ashley's commitment to social change. The ties between the two economists were reinforced by the fact that in the 1870s Mavor had studied under Edward Caird, who himself had been a student of T.H. Green at Balliol College. Although Ashley had only recently come to know Mavor personally, as he explained in a letter to G.W. Ross in August 1892, he was convinced Mavor was the best man for the position at Toronto. Stressing Mavor's work with Caird and his ability to publish, Ashley argued that no other candidate possessed the same experience and high reputation in the field. "On turning over Mr. Mavor's

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<sup>95</sup> Shortt, p. 123; Paul Craven, "The Intellectual Formation of Mackenzie King," in "An Impartial Umpire": Industrial Relations and the Canadian State, 1900-1911 (Toronto, 1980), p. 44.

writings, and on talking to him and learning what manner of man he is," Ashley maintained, "it does seem to me an almost unhoped-for opportunity to get a really first rate Economist, and I should be greatly vexed if the opportunity could not be taken advantage of."<sup>96</sup>

Soon after Mavor's arrival in Canada, Ashley wrote to him from Harvard to express his satisfaction with the appointment, rejoicing, he claimed, both for Mavor's sake, and for the sake of the University of Toronto.<sup>97</sup> Ashley seemed confident that Mavor would share his interest in local conditions, and would maintain the connections which Ashley had established with such Toronto social agencies as the House of Industry and the Associated Charities. Commenting in February 1893 on a public lecture given by Mavor, Ashley praised the address, writing encouragingly: "The problem of poor relief is precisely what Toronto wants to think about."<sup>98</sup> In another letter later that year, Ashley remembered his own impatience with the existing state of welfare in the city. "They are mostly worshippers of routine," he wrote of the House of Industry Committee, and confided to Mavor, "I do trust you will be able to help

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<sup>96</sup>UTA, Edward Blake, B72-0013/001(12), W.J. Ashley to G.W. Ross, 31 August 1892.

<sup>97</sup>University of Toronto, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library (hereafter TFRB), James Mavor Papers, MS. COLL. 119, box 1A, file 59, W.J. Ashley to James Mavor, n.d.

<sup>98</sup>TFRB, Mavor Papers, MS. COLL. 119, box 1A, file 59, W.J. Ashley to James Mavor, 13 February 1893.

along things somewhat in Toronto."<sup>99</sup> Although there is no indication that the friendship developed further, Ashley continued for some time to support Mavor, and was to defend him against charges of incompetence in 1895 by giving evidence to the University Commission investigating the causes of the student strike.<sup>100</sup>

Like Ashley, Mavor had been drawn to the new school of inductive economics by his impatience with what he had seen as the inability of traditional Ricardian theory to deal with the critical problems of modern society. "The professional economists," he recalled in his autobiography, "were ... calmly reciting the economic litany as if the economic world had a kind of spiritual existence remote from the world of daily experience."<sup>101</sup> In an address to the Archdeaconry Conference in Cobourg, Ontario in November 1900, Mavor insisted that the role of the political economist was crucial in facilitating social progress. Asserting the historical school's main principle, he first denied that political economy could be expected to provide a definite policy which was applicable under any conditions. Instead, Mavor argued, the discipline allowed people to

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<sup>99</sup>TFRB, Mavor Papers, MS. COLL. 119, box 1A, file 58, W.J. Ashley to James Mavor, 17 December 1893.

<sup>100</sup>UTA, Edward Blake, B72-0013/002(03), George Wrong to Edward Blake, 24 April 1895. The Toronto student strike of 1895 will be examined in chapter three.

<sup>101</sup>Mavor, My Windows, vol. 1, p. 172.

understand those conditions, and by doing so, it indirectly influenced the empirical judgements upon which they depended for their public and private conduct. Mavor then maintained that the study of political economy improved the moral sensibilities of the student, and eventually produced a better citizen. "If we realize that after all the chief end is the building up of good character," he told his audience, "that this is at once, the most intellectual as well as the most economical process we shall be doing well by ourselves and by mankind."<sup>102</sup> In Mavor's conception, political economy trained young men to approach social problems logically using the scientific method, while at the same time awakening them morally to their future responsibilities.<sup>103</sup>

The curriculum of the Department of Political Economy, as it was designed by Ashley and maintained by Mavor for twenty years, aimed at producing cultured and well-rounded male citizens who would be fit to hold positions of influence. The "Political Philosophy" course at Toronto continued under Mavor's rule, and honours students were

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<sup>102</sup> TFRB, Mavor Papers, MS. COLL. 119, box 58A, file 14A, "On Social Progress and Spiritual Life," TMs, 14 November 1900.

<sup>103</sup> For a discussion of James Mavor's social thought, and his faith in the moral basis of political economy, see Alan Franklin Bowker, "Truly Useful Men: Maurice Hutton, George Wrong, James Mavor and the University of Toronto, 1880-1927" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1975), pp. 309-14.

still expected to come to terms with Ashley's "great masters."<sup>104</sup> The honours course in political economy remained broadly based, in contrast to the increasing specialization taking place in other areas of the University.<sup>105</sup> In 1901, when Mavor organized the Department's first diploma course in commerce, he selected a liberal-arts based curriculum based on the British system. This course was aimed at schooling young men for the top level of commercial enterprises, rather than creating the kind of technically proficient middle-level professionals produced by the American programs.<sup>106</sup> The scholarly research initiated by Ashley soon became the primary focus of the Department, as Mavor believed that the social scientist should provide both government and business with expert guidance on economic policy. Mavor himself conducted a wide range of studies on such subjects as government telephones in Manitoba, the Ontario Hydro-Electric Commission, European immigration, and wheat production in the Canadian north-west.<sup>107</sup> Between 1897 and 1906, he also directed a ground-breaking survey of living conditions among

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<sup>104</sup>For examples of the content of the "Political Philosophy" course under James Mavor, see UTA, Examinations 021 (1894) and 035 (1910).

<sup>105</sup>Bowker, p. 316.

<sup>106</sup>Ian M. Drummond, Political Economy at the University of Toronto: A History of the Department, 1888-1982 (Toronto, 1983), p. 38.

<sup>107</sup>Shortt, pp. 123-24.

wage earners in Toronto, collecting revealing statistics on the fragility of family budgets.<sup>108</sup>

The Department of Political Economy soon became one of the most prominent parts of the University, and throughout the 1890s and early 1900s, it attracted some of the most talented students to emerge from Toronto. As Daniel Wilson and G.W. Ross had anticipated, the Department did in fact produce a generation of graduates who gained significant positions in politics and the civil service. In addition to Mackenzie King, whose career is well known, these graduates included Hamar Greenwood, last British Chief Secretary for Ireland; S.J. McLean, Assistant Chief Commissioner of the Board of Railway Commissioners for Canada; and S.A. Cudmore, Chief General Statistician at the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.<sup>109</sup> Trained to apply their skills as political economists to the solution of contemporary problems, these men also shared an identifiable series of assumptions, derived from idealism, concerning the duty of the individual to the state. Both McLean and Cudmore also spent periods of time teaching political economy at Toronto, and, as the

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<sup>108</sup> TFRB, Mavor Papers, MS. COLL. 119, box 70, special subjects: living conditions in Toronto, 1897-1906.

<sup>109</sup> UTA, Department of Graduate Records, A73-0026/75(02), Sedley Anthony Cudmore; A73-0026/128(33-4), Hamar Greenwood; and A73-0026/288(16), Simon James McLean. These graduates can be seen as part of the group identified by Doug O'ram as the first "government generation." Doug O'ram, The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State, 1900-1945 (Toronto, 1986).



following chapter will claim, they became part of a group of young faculty members who were responsible for ensuring the endurance of the masculine ethic which had been first introduced by W.J. Ashley.

Unlike the male students at Oxford and Cambridge, however, the Toronto graduates of the 1890s did not attempt to reform society by taking a direct and personal role in social service. Although young men at Toronto were inspired by the idealist message to apply their knowledge to problems of poverty, their new sense of moral responsibility did not lead them to undertake any immediate plans for social action. It was not until 1910, over twenty years after Ashley's appointment, that men at the University united behind the formation of their own Toynbee Hall in Toronto, University Settlement. The fact that Toronto men were influenced by the idealist ethic of service, and yet were so slow to follow the lead of Oxford University, can largely be explained by the continued existence of the authority of evangelical Christianity among faculty and students at the University of Toronto.

#### The Authority of Evangelism

While Toronto's male academic community was in the process of redefining the University's wider role in society, its ideas of social service were still being determined by the evangelical attitudes of the mid-nineteenth century. During the 1880s, the sharpened sense

of moral awareness among the undergraduates became expressed by the growing strength of the University Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). The branch of the Association at the University of Toronto was the first student YMCA in Canada, and it originated in a series of prayer meetings, beginning in the fall term of 1871, which were held by a group of undergraduates every Saturday afternoon. At a prayer meeting in March 1873, the students formed themselves into the University College YMCA, recording into their constitution that their object was "the promotion of spiritual interests among the Students of this College."<sup>110</sup> As its constitution indicated, the student YMCA was similar to those Associations established in cities throughout Canada: the membership was predominantly evangelical, and its attention was focused on encouraging young men to devote their lives to Christ.<sup>111</sup> Although its mandate was still directed toward the spiritual welfare of the student body, by the late 1880s the University YMCA had also become ingrained into the secular side of campus life. In 1887 the student Executive decided that it was necessary to raise money to support a full-time secretary to coordinate such

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<sup>110</sup>UTA, University of Toronto, Student Christian Movement, B79-0059/002, YMCA Executive Minutes, 1871-1891, (29 March 1873).

<sup>111</sup>Murray G. Ross, The Y.M.C.A. in Canada: The Chronicle of a Century (Toronto, 1951), pp. 114-22; John Webster Grant, A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto, 1988), p. 173.

activities as inspecting boarding houses, providing receptions for students, and looking after the arrangements of the YMCA building which had been built on campus in 1885.<sup>112</sup>

The YMCA was concerned primarily with promoting evangelism among the students during its first fifteen years at Toronto. By the end of the 1880s, however, some members were starting to be influenced by new approaches to the problems of poverty. Under the supervision of the General Religious Work Committee, the University YMCA made its first tentative steps in the area of social service, supplying student teachers three times a week for the Toronto Newsboys' Home and sending volunteers to visit the General Hospital on Sunday afternoons. At its annual meeting in April 1889, the Executive suggested a more extensive effort, recommending to the members "that some mission work be undertaken in the city next fall." In December 1890, the Executive was given a thoughtful report on mission work by E.A. Henry, the convener of the new City Mission Committee, which had replaced the General Religious Work Committee. Stating that the undertakings of the Committee so far consisted in weekly visits to the Newsboys' Home, Henry went on to describe the considerable discussion that had ensued among Committee members over the purpose of their work. The

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<sup>112</sup>UTA, Student Christian Movement, B79-0059/002, YMCA Executive Minutes, 1871-1891, (17 December 1887).

previous year, he reported, the visits of the students had been devoted almost exclusively to "entertainment," such as readings, Bible stories, hymns and college songs. During their meetings, the Committee members had decided that this kind of simple entertainment was not enough, and that it was necessary to provide also "more solid instruction," such as practical teaching in arithmetic or geography. Henry concluded his report with the recommendation that the students try to convey to the boys that a "higher life" existed, and he indicated that this might be accomplished by the means of both spiritual uplift and practical instruction.<sup>113</sup> By suggesting that the newsboys be elevated through educational as well as spiritual means, the report was proposing a significant change in the YMCA's focus, and was attempting to redefine the Association's position on social service in ways which were fundamentally different from its previous involvement in Toronto's charitable work.

E.A. Henry's report clearly shows the influence of reform ideas which, by the 1880s, were beginning to transform philanthropic efforts in Toronto. The city's population had nearly doubled between 1861 and 1881, and its system of poor relief, run by volunteers and operated mainly through the House of Industry, was inadequate to alleviate

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<sup>113</sup>UTA, Student Christian Movement, B79-0059/002, YMCA Executive Minutes, 1871-1891, Report of City Mission Committee, 11 December 1890, submitted by E.A. Henry, Convener, inserted into minute book.

widespread distress. In 1881 the Associated Charities was established in Toronto, with the intention of applying the "scientific" approach to poverty which had been pioneered by the London Charity Organisation Society in the 1870s.<sup>114</sup> The Associated Charities was the first agency to systematically distribute relief in Toronto, and because of this its activities have been credited with discouraging moralistic attitudes toward charity, and, as a consequence, directly sparking both municipal involvement in public welfare, and the emergence of professional social work in Toronto.<sup>115</sup> While there is undoubtedly a clear structural link, here it should be noted that the principles of the Associated Charities were ideologically opposed to such collectivist action as government sponsored welfare. In Britain and Canada, the scientific charity movement based its policy on the importance of maintaining a moral distinction between the deserving and the non-deserving poor; in other words, in order to grant relief, visitors for

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<sup>114</sup> James Pitsula, "The Emergence of Social Work in Toronto," Journal of Canadian Studies, XIV, No. 1 (Spring 1979), 37. For a history of the Associated Charities, see James Pitsula, "The Relief of Poverty in Toronto, 1880-1930" (Ph.D. diss., York University, 1979).

<sup>115</sup> See Richard B. Splane, Social Welfare in Ontario, 1791-1893: A Study of Public Welfare Administration (Toronto, 1965); Tamara K. Hareven, "An Ambiguous Alliance: Some Aspects of American Influences on Canadian Social Welfare," Histoire sociale/Social History, I, No. 3 (April 1969), 82-98; Stephen A. Speisman, "Munificent Parsons and Municipal Parsimony: Voluntary vs. Public Poor Relief in Nineteenth Century Toronto," Ontario History, LXV, No. 1 (March 1973), 32-49.

the Associated Charities were required to ensure that in each case poverty did not result from moral degeneracy, such as drinking or laziness.

The foundation of the Associated Charities in Toronto in 1881, however, did represent an important move away from the penal approach to poverty, represented by the House of Industry, to one which sought to alleviate the environmental causes of distress. Whereas earlier systems of relief had been based on the assumption that poverty resulted from an individual's inherent weakness, charity organization principles recognized that poverty could also be connected to external conditions. The efforts of the charity visitors were directed at reforming the poor, rather than punishing them for what were regarded as their moral transgressions. Moral improvement now was seen only as the first step, a step which would naturally be followed by the physical improvement of a person's surroundings.<sup>116</sup> The environmental approach to poverty influenced many reforming activities in Toronto in the late-nineteenth century, and was exemplified by the social views of the first Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children for Ontario, J.J. Kelso, who was responsible for the establishment in 1893 of the Children's Aid Societies.

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<sup>116</sup>The close association between moral and social reform has been explored by Mariana Valverde in The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925 (Toronto, 1991).

Central to all his work was the belief that neglected children needed to be raised both morally and physically out of their damaging environment into one which was "better and cleaner." In a typical article of 1910, Kelso urged: "We can safely commend to your hearty support all work that has for its aim the betterment of social conditions, and the removal from surroundings that cannot be improved, of all children who are likely to grow up a menace."<sup>117</sup>

By stressing the need for practical teaching as well as spiritual upliftment, the members of the University YMCA City Mission Committee were following others in linking the social and moral aspects of reform. More importantly, the students were showing the influence of environmental theories concerning poverty, since an improved education was obviously a direct way of giving the newsboys an alternative to their apparently primitive life on the streets.

It is significant, however, that the recommendations of the City Mission Committee of 1890 do not seem to have been adopted. Throughout the following two decades, the University YMCA would continue to direct its mission efforts toward spiritual elevation. In his subsequent annual report for 1890 to 1891, E.A. Henry outlined the activities of the City Mission Committee at the Newsboys' Home, but at no

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<sup>117</sup>J.J. Kelso, "Heredity vs. Environment," Acta Victoriana, XXX, No. 6 (March 1910), 398. For a biography of Kelso, see Andrew Jones and Leonard Rutman, In the Children's Aid: J.J. Kelso and Child Welfare in Ontario (Toronto, 1981).

point did he refer to any effort at practical teaching. The students entertained the boys with readings, college songs, Bible stories and hymns, Henry claimed, "not forgetting to drop here and there as many words as possible of an uplifting and helpful kind, in the hope that they might find a lodgment in the mind and prove an inspiration to worthier living."<sup>118</sup> Despite the awareness among some members of new currents of social thought, the student YMCA remained tied to the Association's original concern with personal sin and redemption. The resistance of the University YMCA to late-nineteenth century reform ideas can be explained, at least in part, by what recent studies have shown to be a continuity of mid-Victorian evangelical authority into the first decade of the new century.<sup>119</sup> The student Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), which was first formed at University College in 1887, was equally dedicated during the 1890s and early 1900s to "developing Christian character

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<sup>118</sup>UTA, Pamphlets: University of Toronto Young Men's Christian Association, Annual Report, 1890-91.

<sup>119</sup>Michael Gauvreau argues that between 1890 and 1905, Protestant clergymen-professors ensured the persistence of the tenets of the evangelical creed by resolving "the tension between evangelism and social reform in favour of the old creed's emphasis on sin, the soul's encounter with God, conversion, and preaching." Michael Gauvreau, The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression (Montreal, 1991), p. 197; see also Marguerite Van Die, An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918 (Montreal, 1989), p. 12.



among its members."<sup>120</sup> Like other student YWCAs across Canada, the University of Toronto branch maintained an explicit evangelical view of the Association's purpose, in contrast to the growing secular reform interests characteristic of the American movement.<sup>121</sup>

It is indicative of the authority of evangelism among faculty and students at this time that the President, Daniel Wilson, regarded all charitable work as essentially moral. From the beginning, Wilson had eagerly supported the University YMCA, and he was also actively involved with the city branch of the Association. As he asserted in his convocation address in 1888, Wilson believed the YMCA to be a vital factor in the moral training of undergraduates, providing them with "the courage which sustained them in nobility of aim and purity of life."<sup>122</sup> Portrayed by his biographer as a "zealous churchman," he was committed to a

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<sup>120</sup>University of Toronto, Torontonensis, IV (1902), 205.

<sup>121</sup>Diana Pedersen states that the student Associations were an important influence in the decision in 1893 to create a Canadian national YWCA which would be distinct from the American movement, and would be committed to an evangelical mandate. Diana Pedersen, "'The Call to Service': The YWCA and the Canadian College Woman, 1886-1920," in Youth, University and Canadian Society, pp. 189-90. Similarly, Wendy Mitchinson views the college YWCAs as more evangelical in orientation than the city branches. Wendy Mitchinson, "The YWCA and Reform in the Nineteenth Century," Histoire sociale/Social History, XII, No. 24 (November 1979), 368-84.

<sup>122</sup>UTA, James Loudon, B72-0031/010(W20), pamphlet: Address at the Convocation of the University of Toronto and University College, October 19, 1888, by Sir Daniel Wilson.

number of charities in the city of Toronto, including the Newsboys' Home which he had helped to found.<sup>123</sup> In his 1889 address at convocation, Wilson referred to the "remarkable revival" of the religious element in the British universities, and enthusiastically described the university settlement movement and the inspiration of Arnold Toynbee. He then went on to praise the YMCA for manifesting "a similar spirit" at the University of Toronto, mentioning the Association's mission work in the city and overseas as evidence of the students' "high aims and noble endeavors."<sup>124</sup> In Wilson's view, there was no substantial difference between the educative work of Toynbee Hall, and the morally stimulating entertainment given to the newsboys by members of the YMCA City Mission Committee. Taken together, Wilson's convocation addresses of 1888 and 1889 accurately reveal the currents of thought, both old and new, which then were shaping the University's perception of social service. Male students and faculty were showing an increased awareness of the problems of the city, and were receptive to the moral persuasion emanating from the Department of Political Economy, but their ideas of service

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<sup>123</sup>UTA, Sir Daniel Wilson, B77-1195, pamphlet: Sir Daniel Wilson, by H.H. Langton, p. 13.

<sup>124</sup>UTA, James Loudon, B72-0031/010(W21), pamphlet: Address at the Convocation of Faculties of the University of Toronto, and University College, October 1st, 1889, by the President, Sir Daniel Wilson.

continued to be constrained by the evangelical authority of the mid-nineteenth century.

In the years leading up to the creation of University Settlement in 1910, convictions derived from idealism and empiricism would become identifiable as a distinctly masculine ideal, and would gradually be recognized by male faculty and students as the University's dominant interpretation of social service. Since the 1880s, the thought of T.H. Green was more formally represented in the idealist teachings of the philosopher George Paxton Young. Young was an honoured member of the University, and in a tribute to him after his death in 1889, Daniel Wilson claimed that Young had "exercised an elevating influence on all with whom he was brought in contact."<sup>125</sup> Young's position was eventually filled in 1891 by one of his own students, the idealist philosopher James Gibson Hume, who ensured that Green's views would remain integral to the study of ethics at Toronto.<sup>126</sup> While British idealism therefore existed in the University as a coherent system of

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid. For an account of Young's popularity among the students, see UTA, Pamphlets: Archibald McKellar MacMechan, Reminiscences of Toronto University.

<sup>126</sup> A.B. McKillop, A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era (Montreal, 1979), pp. 200-1. An indication of the direction of James Gibson Hume's teaching is given in the 1898-1899 program for local lectures, where he is listed as offering such courses as "Faith and Doubt in Modern Controversy," and "Problems of Social Reform." See UTA, James Loudon, B72-0031/003(D10), "Programme for Local Lectures, 1898-1899, University of Toronto."

thought, taught by Hume and George John Blewett at Victoria College, as a social ethic by 1910 it had become inseparable from the goal of empirical research, and the resulting mixture of beliefs came to possess meaning for male students and faculty from a broad range of disciplines.

Before the Toronto ideal could become so widely accepted, however, it would have to overcome challenges from two groups on campus which also influenced the University's participation in social service: the student YMCA and the University College Alumnae Association. While the evangelical outlook of the YMCA had long presented an obstacle to the full adoption of idealist goals, the Alumnae Association would introduce a new and ultimately more significant challenge. After 1900, the Alumnae Association would start to explore the field of social work as an area of female employment, and by doing so, it would encourage women at Toronto to begin to compete with men for the right to define their University's interest in social reform.

### CHAPTER 3

#### SCIENCE AND SENTIMENT: AFFIRMING THE TORONTO IDEAL, 1892-1910

Inspired by such writers as Arnold Toynbee and T.H. Green, Toronto's political economy graduates of the 1890s were animated by an idealist desire to serve those less fortunate in society, but, unlike the students of Oxford and Cambridge a decade previously, they were constrained by the continued authority of evangelism against taking direct social action. Both W.J. Ashley and James Mavor instilled a sense of moral obligation in their male students, which, they suggested, could only be satisfied by the application of economic knowledge to the problems of contemporary society. By focusing attention on society as a whole, the political economists encouraged these students to see their role in social reform as practical, yet also as indirect and consultative. After the turn of the century, however, the idealist message was taken up by a group of like-minded young faculty members, who shared an appreciation for the masculine ideal of service, and who encouraged male undergraduates to turn their attention actively to the problems of the city. In the process of translating ideology into social action, the new President after 1907,

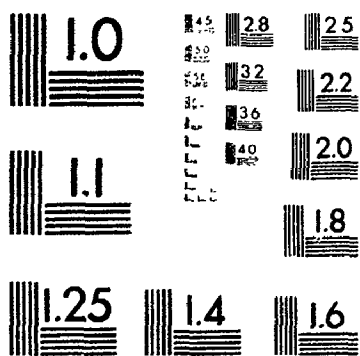
Robert A. Falconer, played a crucial role. His public lectures preached a popularized form of the Toronto ideal, presenting social service as the perfect outlet for both scientific training and humanitarian feeling--or "science and sentiment" as he reportedly told students at Victoria College in 1910<sup>1</sup>--and it was his compelling exhortation to seek the "highest good" through social action which finally united male students behind the support of their own University Settlement in 1910.

During the preceding two decades, idealist and empirical assumptions had contested with the evangelical mission work of the student YMCA and, after 1900, with the social work activities of the University College Alumnae Association. Although the University YMCA had been steadily expanding its city mission work since the late 1880s, it had remained evangelical in its orientation, and its reluctance to address social reform issues had confined social service at the University. In the 1890s, however, the moral authority of evangelical Christianity had been appropriated gradually by idealist beliefs. The social thought of one particularly responsive Toronto graduate in political economy, William Lyon Mackenzie King, indicates the extent to which an evangelical concern with personal sacrifice could become assimilated into the goals of idealism. The

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<sup>1</sup>University of Toronto Archives (hereafter UTA), Office of the Registrar, A73-0051/244(06), file: Settlement Work 1910-1942, clipping: Toronto Mail, 22 March 1910.

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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART  
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS  
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a  
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

Toronto ideal also had been effective in devaluing the growing reform activities of University women. Through the Alumnae Association, women at Toronto had developed an independent interest in social service, and had formed close contacts with the new female-dominated profession of social work. By 1910, when University men had decided to establish University Settlement, women on campus had been involved for years in the city's social reform movement. It can be argued, therefore, that during this period gender roles in social service at the University were in an ongoing process of construction, which isolated and placed in opposition the reform interests of men and women.<sup>2</sup> Although women were not deliberately restricted from taking part in University Settlement, they were excluded from the project by the fact that the Toronto ideal portrayed social service as an activity best suited to university-educated men, who were believed to possess skills in research and civic leadership which were uniquely masculine.

#### The Idealist Appropriation of Evangelical Authority

While the evangelical work of the student YMCA presented a vision of service which ideologically challenged the idealist and empirical approach, it would be an

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<sup>2</sup>For discussions of the representation of gender as a continually negotiated or contested social construction, see Mary Poovey, Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England (Chicago, 1988), 1-23; and Joan Wallach Scott, Gender and the Politics of History (New York, 1988), 1-11.



oversimplification to view the two as mutually exclusive systems of thought. In fact, the acceptance of the Toronto ideal was facilitated by the persistence of evangelism, as the YMCA's traditional emphasis on service and self-sacrifice merged easily into the idealist message of citizenship and community integration. As the conscientious diary entries of Mackenzie King reveal, an adherence to the idealist ethic did not necessitate a rejection of evangelical morality, and the desire for individual redemption could become closely related to the aim of social betterment. An undergraduate in the Department of Political Economy from 1891 to 1895, King was powerfully influenced by the moral atmosphere established by W.J. Ashley, and his infatuation with the idealized figure of Arnold Toynbee was chiefly responsible for determining his subsequent choice of career. Yet, it can be maintained, King's intense response to the idealist ethic was accompanied by his continued acceptance of the tenets of evangelism.

Mackenzie King's intellectual experience at Toronto, however, must first be placed in the context of the University's somewhat turbulent administrative history during the last years of the century. Daniel Wilson died shortly after Ashley's departure in the summer of 1892, and, following some political maneuvering, James Loudon assumed the Presidency of the University. Although they often clashed personally, Loudon shared James Mavor's commitment

to Canadian research. In 1875, he had been appointed Professor of Mathematics and Physics at Toronto, and in his inaugural lecture had bravely asserted the primacy of the scientific method over metaphysical or religious opinion. "Truth, whether religious or scientific," Loudon had stated, "will most assuredly persist unto the end; and we who believe most firmly in the truths of Christianity ought to be the last to fear the progress of research."<sup>3</sup> During Ashley's four years at Toronto, Loudon had considered him to be "a valuable ally," and he had deeply regretted what he saw as the University's loss to Harvard in 1892.<sup>4</sup> Like both Ashley and Mavor, Loudon recognized the need for information on what were distinctly Canadian conditions, and, in his position as President from 1892 to 1906, he strongly encouraged faculty members to conduct independent research.<sup>5</sup> In his convocation address of 1898, Loudon maintained that the University should not simply be a transmitter of knowledge, but rather should fulfil its highest function by adding "to the sum of human science." He concluded: "The student who makes a real contribution to the advancement of

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<sup>3</sup>UTA, James Loudon, B72-0031/011, James Loudon, "Memoirs of James Loudon: President of the University of Toronto, 1892-1906," TMs, 34a.

<sup>4</sup>UTA, Edward Blake, B72-0013/001(12), James Loudon to Edward Blake, 28 July 1892.

<sup>5</sup>UTA, James Loudon, B72-0031/001(A43), James Loudon, "The Universities in Relation to Research," address to the Royal Society of Canada, [1902].

knowledge, does as much or more for his country than the man who discovers a gold mine."<sup>6</sup>

Within the framework provided by James Mavor and President Loudon, students of political economy during the 1890s became more outspoken in regard to contemporary political issues. In 1895, two of the Department's more notable students, Mackenzie King and Hamar Greenwood,<sup>7</sup> organized and led a University-wide student strike, which had grown out of an agitation involving the Political Science Club. In November 1891, the senior students had formed a Political Science Society, with W.J. Ashley as their President, to discuss economic and constitutional questions.<sup>8</sup> After Ashley's departure, the Political Science Club had taken an overtly political approach, and its

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<sup>6</sup>UTA, James Loudon, B72-0031/002(C22), pamphlet: Address at the Convocation of the University of Toronto, October 14, 1898, by James Loudon. For an examination of the role of James Loudon in the development of empirical research at Toronto, see A.B. McKillop, "The Research Ideal and the University of Toronto," in Contours of Canadian Thought (Toronto, 1987), pp. 78-95.

<sup>7</sup>Hamar Greenwood had a long parliamentary career in Britain, holding several positions in David Lloyd George's government, and was the last Chief Secretary for Ireland from 1920 to 1922. He was made a Viscount in 1937. See UTA, Department of Graduate Records, A73-0026/128(33-4), Hamar Greenwood.

<sup>8</sup>The Varsity, XI, No. 7 (17 November 1891), 82. Another "Political Science Club" had existed at the University since 1886, and was the project of William Houston, a graduate of Toronto and the Legislative Librarian for Ontario. See UTA, John Langton Family, B65-0014/003(01), Sir Daniel Wilson's Journal (21 April and 20 May 1886), 104-5.

members had started to raise more sensitive issues. In the fall of 1894, the University Council had attempted to suppress two addresses scheduled by the Club; one on "The Labour Question" by the agnostic labour leader Alfred Jury, and the other on "Practical Socialism" by the theosophist and journalist T. Phillips Thompson.<sup>9</sup> In defiance of the Council, Greenwood, who was then the Club's President, had arranged for the addresses to take place off campus, and in January 1895 over four hundred undergraduates had packed into Forum Hall to hear Jury and Thompson. As reported in the Toronto World, the students had displayed their usual bewildering combination of behaviour, singing and shouting raucously before the lectures, and then settling down earnestly to hear the speakers. "The addresses were listened to by the students in profound silence," the World had noted, "and many of those present took notes."<sup>10</sup>

After this episode, relations between the undergraduates and the administration had remained, as the Minister of Education put it, "somewhat strained." Increased hostility toward the University authorities had been sparked in February 1895, when an associate professor in University College, William Dale, had been dismissed from his position for publicly criticizing the Chancellor of the

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<sup>9</sup>UTA, James Loudon, B72-0031/003(D21), program of the Political Science Club, 1894-1895.

<sup>10</sup>UTA, James Loudon, B72-0031/oversized, clipping: Toronto World, 28 January 1895.

University, Edward Blake. In a letter to the Toronto Globe, Dale had accused Blake of using improper influence to secure the appointment of George M. Wrong, his son-in-law, to the newly established Chair of History.<sup>11</sup> The students immediately had sided with Dale (Mackenzie King thought Dale's letter was "splendid"<sup>12</sup>), and in a mass meeting they had resolved to boycott all lectures at the University until his reinstatement was considered. Although the strike was viewed by some observers as merely a culmination of the disorderly behaviour which had plagued the University for years,<sup>13</sup> the students themselves regarded it as a just crusade against nepotism and wrongful dismissal. To the undergraduate leaders, William Dale was a martyr, sacrificing his position to reveal political corruption; to President Loudon, who had a habit of making enemies, Dale was at the top of his "list of bastards."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>UTA, Edward Blake, B72-0013/002(03), G.W. Ross to the Lieutenant Governor in Council, 14 February 1895.

<sup>12</sup>William Lyon Mackenzie King Diaries, 1893-1931, Microfiche, Transcript Version (Toronto, 1973), p. G211, 9 February 1895.

<sup>13</sup>For example, see UTA, James Loudon, B72-0031/011(01), J.W. McLaughlin to James Loudon, 22 January 1895; UTA, James Loudon, B72-0031/oversized, clipping: Toronto World, 19 February 1895.

<sup>14</sup>On a slip of paper enclosed in an envelope entitled "list of bastards," Loudon named the "malcontents" among his faculty "in order of magnitude," placing A.T. DeLury, William Dale, and F.B.R. Hellems at the top. See UTA, James Loudon, B72-0031/003(C), envelope: "List of bastards by W.J. Loudon," 1895. The details of the 1895 student strike can be found in the Report of the Commissioners on the

The actions of the leading students in the strike of 1895 can be interpreted both as self-serving, and as courageously idealistic. In this respect, Mackenzie King was typical of his generation at Toronto: throughout his undergraduate years, King was engaged in a constant struggle to reconcile his ambition to succeed in the world with his impulse toward self-sacrifice. This struggle has been linked to King's sense of destiny, and to his early conviction that he alone had been chosen to continue his grandfather's fight against oppression.<sup>15</sup> The conflict in King's personality, however, can also be viewed as the product of his training in political economy at the University of Toronto. Like other honours students, King was instructed to regard himself as a potential leader in economic or political life, and to believe that his work as an economist held the key to Canada's future development. His ambition was being cultivated, yet at the same time he was expected to assimilate the self-denying ethic inherent to the idealist writings on the curriculum. This ethic appealed strongly to King, and was naturally absorbed into his already heightened awareness of Christian

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Discipline in the University of Toronto (Toronto, 1895); for a secondary account, see Hector Charlesworth, More Candid Chronicles (Toronto, 1928), pp. 57-92.

<sup>15</sup>Ramsay Cook, The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada (Toronto, 1985), p. 197; R. MacGregor Dawson, William Lyon Mackenzie King: A Political Biography, 1874-1923 (Toronto, 1958), p. 57.

responsibility; an awareness which had originated in the evangelical influences of his childhood, and had been strengthened by his fondness for the moral teachings of Thomas Carlyle and Charles Kingsley.<sup>16</sup> Reading the works of Arnold Toynbee and W.J. Ashley, and attending James Mavor's lectures, King became consumed with the idea that he could contribute to social reform by pursuing a career in economic research. "I feel more anxious than ever to work at Economics most thoroughly," he wrote in his diary in April 1895, "and seek to learn all I can of the masses, the labouring classes and the poor, to understand their needs and desires and how to alleviate them, and better their condition."<sup>17</sup>

While so many other students were drawn to the idealism of Toynbee and T.H. Green through a crisis in faith, King seems to have been attracted to the idealist ethic as a reaffirmation of his own confidence in a Christian solution to social disruption.<sup>18</sup> In December 1895 King presided at a meeting of Toronto working men, and in his closing remarks asserted that social reform would provide a better

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<sup>16</sup>For his twenty-first birthday, for example, King received sets of work by Carlyle and Kingsley from his family. King Diaries, Microfiche, Transcript Version, p. G324, 17 December 1895.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. G235, 27 April 1895.

<sup>18</sup>In The Regenerators, Ramsay Cook asserts that King's faith in Christian conciliation remained central to his social philosophy, and in 1918 became the basis for his book, Industry and Humanity. Cook, pp. 197-213.

resolution to the labour question than laissez-faire, anarchism, or socialism. Echoing Toynbee, he argued that education and the enlightenment of the masses would be able to accomplish more permanent good, and he added his belief that social reform would ultimately be brought about through the actualization of the Christian incentive. "I closed with a strong reference to religion, the poor man as he is in sight of God etc.," he wrote in his diary.<sup>19</sup> Later that month, while addressing the Socialist Labour Party in Toronto on "Arnold Toynbee and the Industrial Revolution in England," King again stressed his view that religion was the secret to Toynbee's work.<sup>20</sup> King's understanding of this work relied less on an intellectual sympathy, than on an increasingly intense spiritual identification with the mythologized elements of Toynbee's life which have been discussed in chapter two. After reading F.C. Montague's biography in March 1895, King had become fascinated by the image of Toynbee and the Balliol ethos he represented. That December he listened to a lecturer describe university life at Oxford, and noted in his diary: "The reference he made to Toynbee, brought all the blood to my face in a rush. I felt it almost as a personal reference."<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> King Diaries, Microfiche, Transcript Version, p. G321, 9 December 1895.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. G323, 15 December 1895.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. G320, 7 December 1895.



By the time King completed his undergraduate program at Toronto in 1895, his original goal of becoming a minister had been replaced by a desire to be a professor of political economy. A career in economics seemed to offer both an appropriate outlet for his ambition, and a means of fulfilling his interest in social improvement.<sup>22</sup> This choice, however, did not accommodate his fervent need for self-sacrifice. As an undergraduate, he had naturally gravitated into the sphere of the University YMCA, and, by the beginning of his third year, he was regularly attending Association meetings and spending his Sundays visiting the Sick Children's Hospital. In April 1894 he was appointed convenor of the University YMCA's City Missions Committee for the following year, vowing in his diary to try his best "to do good work."<sup>23</sup> In accordance with the student YMCA's evangelical emphasis on personal salvation, since 1889 the mission work had been limited to weekly visits to the Newsboys' Home and local hospitals, and had been aimed at giving spiritual uplift through such entertainment as Bible stories and hymns. King's own activities as convenor seem

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<sup>22</sup> Paul Craven argues that King's discovery of his academic vocation during his years at Toronto gave him a way of satisfying his sense of religious mission, and his need for a practical and useful career. See Paul Craven, "The Intellectual Formation of Mackenzie King," in "An Impartial Umpire": Industrial Relations and the Canadian State, 1900-1911 (Toronto, 1980), pp. 31-73.

<sup>23</sup> King Diaries, Microfiche, Transcript Version, p. G89, 12 April 1894.

to have followed the same pattern, and in his diary he only mentioned offering spiritual counsel and advice over "moral matters."<sup>24</sup>

Deciding to leave Toronto to attend the new University of Chicago in 1896, Mackenzie King was excited by what he believed would be the opportunity to realize more fully a life of self-negation and service. Chicago was appealing to King, not only because of what he wished to gain from its university, but because the city was home to the most famous pioneer of the American social settlement movement, Jane Addams, who had founded Hull-House in 1889. "It will be such a release to get into a higher plane of thought & action in I hope a more spiritual life," he wrote shortly before leaving for Chicago, but concluded anxiously: "I hope the settlement idea will prove what I imagine it to be. Even should it mean bare floor & walls I would gladly welcome it, if it develops character & makes me useful to others, less a slave to self."<sup>25</sup> King valued settlement work as a means through which he himself might seek spiritual redemption. Steeped in the Toynbee myth, he in fact was projecting his own preoccupation with sin and salvation onto the settlement idea, and perhaps could only be disappointed with the reality of Hull-House. In the 1890s, as the following section will argue, Hull-House was

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. G198, 2 January 1895.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. G416, 25 July 1896.

an active neighbourhood centre, where a largely female staff of sociologists and social workers devoted themselves to gathering statistical information, and to translating the ideals of democracy to those who lived in their district. Soon after his arrival in Chicago in the fall of 1896, King was accepted as a resident of Hull-House, but left the settlement after only a few months, disillusioned with its neighbourhood work, and anxious that his graduate studies might be suffering from neglect.<sup>26</sup> Although King continued to admire Jane Addams (recording in July 1897 that he found her Christ-like<sup>27</sup>), it seems that he was unable to locate the ethos of Balliol College in the social work carried out by the busy residents of Hull-House.

In 1897, King moved to Harvard University to continue his graduate work, and there his enthusiasm for the image of Arnold Toynbee was reinforced by his contact with Toynbee's student and "disciple," W.J. Ashley. In the fall of 1899 King visited Britain, and on Ashley's recommendation was elected a resident of the Passmore Edwards Settlement in London. King was pleased with the settlement, and after describing his room in some detail, concluded in his diary that it was "a most delightful place."<sup>28</sup> In sharp contrast

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<sup>26</sup> King Diaries, Microfiche, Transcript Version, p. G494, 7 January 1897.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. G567, 13 July 1897.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., Transcript Version, p. G1214, 11 October 1899.

to the squalor of the slums which enveloped Hull-House, the Passmore Edwards Settlement was situated in the predominantly middle-class area of Bloomsbury near the University of London. King seems to have found this settlement more congenial to the collection of spiritual aspirations he called his "Toynbee ideals,"<sup>29</sup> and it is significant that the Passmore Edwards Settlement, unlike Hull-House or even Toynbee Hall itself, was the most direct attempt to manifest the spirit of T.H. Green.

At Passmore Edwards Settlement, King in fact was able to experience at first-hand the translation of Green's ideals into practice, as the settlement had been modeled on a plan first proposed by Mary Ward in her influential novel of 1888, Robert Elsmere. Ward had envisioned a settlement in East London which offered both social organization and religious comfort for those who--like herself--could no longer accept the miraculous elements of Christian theology. Her concept of a "New Brotherhood of Christ" was explicitly derived from Green's idealism; a modern alternative to Christianity inspired by the historic Christ, and based on the immanentistic position that God existed within all humanity.<sup>30</sup> Afterwards describing the origins of the Passmore Edwards Settlement, which evolved from the

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., Manuscript Version, p. G809, 30 May 1898.

<sup>30</sup> Mrs. Humphry Ward, Robert Elsmere (London, 1888, Oxford, 1987), pp. 549-56.

University Hall Settlement, Mary Ward claimed in her autobiography that Robert Elsmere's New Brotherhood had become a "realised dream." "To show that the faith of Green ... was a faith that would wear and work," she recalled, "to provide a home for the new learning of a New Reformation, and a practical outlet for its enthusiasm of humanity--were the chief aims in the mind of those of us who in 1890 founded the University Hall Settlement in London."<sup>31</sup> Although Ward's settlement would follow Toynbee Hall in taking up educational activities, its principal aim, according to a circular issued in 1890, was to encourage "an improved popular teaching of the Bible and the history of religion in order to show the adaptability of the faith of the past to the needs of the present."<sup>32</sup>

Mackenzie King's residency at the Passmore Edwards Settlement allowed him access to the people who lived at the very centre of the world to which Toynbee and Green had belonged. He was taken up by Mary Ward, and while staying at her large country house at Tring in Hertfordshire, briefly glimpsed the life of Britain's intellectual elite. On his way to Tring for a visit in November 1899, King was emotionally moved reading an essay by T.H. Green, and noted

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<sup>31</sup>Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections (London, 1918), pp. 289-90.

<sup>32</sup>Quoted in John Sutherland, Mrs. Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian, Pre-eminent Edwardian (Oxford, 1990), p. 219.

later that he agreed with Green's message that God was revealed in human life.<sup>33</sup> Shortly afterward, King visited Arnold Toynbee's sister, Gertrude Toynbee, who had been devoted to her brother and had done much to sanctify his name--she told King that their old nurse used to say they were "more like lovers."<sup>34</sup> Following his first meeting with Gertrude Toynbee, King seems to have been overwhelmed by his relative proximity to the man he thought of only in sacred terms. "It was real," he recorded in his diary, concluding his account of the visit with the observation: "I seem to have come too suddenly upon what I believed I could never have done." His brush with the "real" Toynbee made King agonize over his own unworthiness, and he ended his diary entry with a prayer in which Toynbee and Christ became synonymous. "Take oh God my life, purge me of my impurities," he wrote, "and make me as one of thy chosen servants, more like Toynbee was, more like unto Christ!"<sup>35</sup> For King, the evangelical need for salvation had become welded to the idealist ethic, filtered as it was through the popular writings of Mary Ward, and the mythologizing of Toynbee's life promoted by his sister and the whole idealist circle. Residence at the Passmore Edwards Settlement was

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<sup>33</sup> King Diaries, Microfiche, Transcript Version, p. G1240, 12 November 1899.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. G1246, 20 November 1899.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp. 1243-44, p. 1318, 16 November 1899.

therefore enough; King did not visit Toynbee Hall until he had lived in London nearly five months, and then was unimpressed, noting dispassionately that "there was not much to see."<sup>36</sup>

In May 1898, King had mused over the idea of writing a sketch of Toynbee's life and dedicating the book to his friend, Henry Albert Harper.<sup>37</sup> Instead of a life of Toynbee, however, what King eventually wrote in 1906 was a memoir of Harper, which in its structure and content was a sincere, if tacit homage to the influence of Arnold Toynbee. In December 1901, Harper had drowned in the Ottawa River in an unsuccessful attempt to rescue a young woman who had fallen through the ice. In The Secret of Heroism, King modeled the story of his late friend's life on the pattern of self-sacrifice and martyrdom which during the 1890s had defined the myth of Toynbee. For King, Harper shared with Toynbee the essential qualities he had always admired, representing the same manly nobility of character, commitment to the idealist cause of social union, and ultimate sacrifice for the sake of others. Beginning with an intense account of Harper's futile attempt to save the woman's life, King went on to trace the development of character which had led Harper--perhaps inevitably--to that point of extreme heroism. Beyond what it reveals of King's

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p G1365, 24 February 1900.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. G790, 6 May 1898.

own mind, The Secret of Heroism, by including quotations from Harper's journal and other writings, also indicates the extent to which Toronto's political economy curriculum could influence graduates long after they had left the University.

Like King, Harper completed his honours work in political economy in 1895, and, in the years following his graduation, he also exhibited a strong ambition to succeed in his chosen career, combined with an equally powerful aspiration for public service. In his views on social change Harper was optimistic, and following the teachings of T.H. Green, he placed great value on the importance of active citizenship and the duty of the individual. "The ultimate solution of industrial problems," he wrote in a letter, "lies with the people at large, and all will be well if citizens will but discharge the duties of their citizenship."<sup>38</sup> Harper believed that in the case of the educated expert the responsibilities of citizenship were particularly binding. Commenting in one article on Arnold Toynbee's claim that the great danger of democratic upheaval was the intellectuals' estrangement from the leaders of the people, Harper argued that the men who seriously studied social and economic problems should not allow themselves to be indifferent to the political system. He wrote: "Surely a peculiar obligation to see that men think rightly and act

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<sup>38</sup>Quoted in William Lyon Mackenzie King, The Secret of Heroism: A Memoir of Henry Albert Harper (New York, 1906), p. 134.



sanelly, devolves upon those whose vantage ground should enable them to distinguish what is genuine."<sup>39</sup> His own determination to realize what he called "the high ideal of my existence,"<sup>40</sup> prompted Harper to apply the empirical skills he had learned as an undergraduate to the achievement of a moral purpose. While working as a journalist in 1898, Harper was excited by being given the opportunity to conduct an inquiry into the conditions of various working-class trades. "I need not say that I am pleased," he concluded, and explained: "I have at once an opportunity of examining into the industrial and sociological conditions of the city and province, and possibly of doing good to my fellow men as the result of these observations."<sup>41</sup>

Thanking King in 1906 for sending him a copy of the memoir, W.J. Ashley took some credit for Harper's high-minded life after graduation. Significantly, as the previous chapter has noted, Ashley assumed that the curriculum he himself had established in 1888 was largely responsible for producing such "loftiness of thought." "I will confess," he wrote, "that the circumstance that Harper was a Toronto graduate gave his story a special interest; & may I, without being too self-centred, add that it has moved

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<sup>39</sup>Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 110-12.

<sup>40</sup>Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>41</sup>Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 85.

me greatly to think that he was a graduate of the Dept. of Pol. Sci.?"<sup>42</sup>

Thus both Mackenzie King and Henry Albert Harper can be seen as transitional figures in the acceptance of the idealist social message. Responding to the intellectual influences of their undergraduate training, they left the University with a somewhat vague desire to be of service to society on a grand scale. Although this desire was largely the outcome of idealist readings on the curriculum, it also was the result of the University's traditional emphasis on evangelical morality. King's understanding of Toynbee's message was strongly influenced by his own evangelical faith, and, as his diary shows, his reactions to the settlement movement in America and Britain depended on a complicated need for personal salvation, and for a life of service. The compatibility of the two influences, however, indicate the extent to which evangelical aims could become linked to idealist ambitions. By embracing the teachings of Ashley and Mavor, therefore, Toronto's political economy graduates unwittingly were eroding their University's ties to evangelism.

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<sup>42</sup>National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), William Lyon Mackenzie King Papers, MG 26, J 1, vol. 5, pp. 4349-56, microfilm, reel C-1904, Ashley to King, 27 February 1906.

University Women and the Influence of American Social Work

After the turn of the century, there was a steady growth of interest in social problems among both men and women at the University of Toronto. While the creation of the male-staffed University Settlement in the summer of 1910 was the first official recognition of the University's new involvement, women's groups on campus throughout the decade had been establishing close ties to various social agencies in the city. The response of University women to the problems of urban poverty, therefore, can best be understood in light of wider developments which were then taking place within Toronto's reform community.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, Canadian social critics and reformers conducted an increasingly urgent campaign to arouse the public conscience to what they believed were the growing moral and social problems of the industrialized city. Although middle-class perceptions cannot be isolated from considerations of class, gender, and ethnicity--horror of the slums, for example, can be seen as fear of the immigrant's "otherness"--the general preoccupation with poverty and crime nevertheless reflected a critical situation for which the existing welfare structure was totally inadequate.<sup>43</sup> As studies of Montreal

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<sup>43</sup>For discussions of the ideology which informed the activities of Canadian social critics and reformers, see Cook; see also Mariana Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap, and

and Toronto have shown, the economic expansion which Canada experienced after the turn of the century did not result in a higher standard of living for the working classes; instead national prosperity was accompanied by widespread poverty among urban labourers.<sup>44</sup> During the winter of 1907 to 1908, this destitution was forced onto the attention of the Toronto public as the city underwent a severe unemployment crisis, and its system of relief, coordinated through the Associated Charities, became incapable of dealing with the extent of the suffering.<sup>45</sup> In 1906, James Mavor's survey of slum conditions among wage earners in Toronto had concluded that many of these families lived on the very edge of poverty. Following the crisis of 1907 to 1908, other investigations confirmed and supplemented his results. In 1909 the Methodist Church sent a group of Victoria College students to make a door-to-door survey of the downtown wards, and the extreme conditions which they found were reported subsequently by an alarmed Christian Guardian. In 1911 a Civic Guild Committee on working-class housing was formed, chaired by the another Toronto faculty member, E.J. Kylie, and in the same year a bleakly comprehensive study of

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Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925 (Toronto, 1991).

<sup>44</sup>Terry Copp, The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929 (Toronto, 1974), p. 148; Michael J. Piva, The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto, 1900-1921 (Ottawa, 1979), p. 171.

<sup>45</sup>Piva, pp. 72-3.

the city's slums was released by the new Medical Health Officer, Charles J. Hastings.<sup>46</sup> In 1912, Toronto's City Council appointed a Social Service Commission to report on the charitable agencies which had previously been regulated by the voluntary efforts of the Associated Charities.<sup>47</sup> Just as the British middle classes had become aware of the existence of an "outcast" London in the early 1880s, it can be argued that middle-class Torontonians experienced a similar social awakening in the years before World War I, and that many became convinced that a destitute population carried on a separate and isolated life in the city.

As in the University, evangelism coexisted with newer currents of social thought in Toronto's reform community, and while some reformers retained an evangelical approach, others adopted an environmental view of poverty. It is important to note, however, that here again an adherence to the former did not necessarily mean a rejection of the

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<sup>46</sup>University of Toronto, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library (hereafter TFRB), James Mavor Papers, MS. COLL. 119, box 70, special subjects: living conditions in Toronto, 1897-1906; "In the Slums of 'Toronto the Good,'" The Christian Guardian, LXXX, No. 21 (26 May 1909), 3; UTA, Department of Graduate Records, A73-0026/212(15), Edward Joseph Kylie; City of Toronto Archives, Reports, RG 001, box 002, Report of the Medical Health Officer Dealing with the Recent Investigation of Slum Conditions in Toronto, 1911.

<sup>47</sup>Paul Adolphus Bator, "'The Struggle to Raise the Lower Classes': Public Health Reform and the Problem of Poverty in Toronto, 1910 to 1921," Journal of Canadian Studies, XIV, No. 1 (Spring 1979), 43-49; James Pitsula, "The Emergence of Social Work in Toronto," Journal of Canadian Studies, XIV, No. 1 (Spring 1979), 39.

latter. This tendency was most evident in the social service efforts of Toronto's churches, which played a leading role in the proliferation of reform activities after 1906. Since the late-nineteenth century, evangelical Protestantism in Canada had been influenced by the social gospel emanating from the United States, and many church members were becoming conscious of the need for social as well as individual redemption. In 1902 and 1907 respectively, the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches established departments of moral and social reform, and in 1909 the two cooperated in forming the Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada (renamed the Social Service Council of Canada in 1914). While the churches were rapidly adopting the "sociological" methods of the emerging social work profession, such as the social survey or casework technique, the evangelical perspective of many members remained constant, and moral concerns were embedded into the structure of their social service.<sup>48</sup> The activities of the religious missions and church settlements often overlapped with those of a social settlement: by 1906, for example, the Methodist Fred Victor Mission had sewing classes, a

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<sup>48</sup>Richard Allen, "The Background of the Social Gospel in Canada," in The Social Gospel in Canada, ed. Richard Allen (Ottawa, 1975), pp. 2-34; Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-28 (Toronto, 1971), pp. 3-17; Brian J. Fraser, The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915 (Waterloo, Ontario, 1988), pp. 77-98; Valverde, pp. 44-58.

saving bank, and a gymnasium in addition to its gospel classes and temperance meetings.<sup>49</sup> Through their emphasis on Christian charity and spiritual upliftment, however, the church settlements and missions differed fundamentally from either the university settlements modeled on Toynbee Hall, or from centres of sociological investigation and social work such as Hull-House in Chicago.

The union between the new social gospel and traditional evangelism was evident in the decision of the Presbyterian Church to establish a chain of settlement houses throughout Canada. In November 1910, a special committee of the Presbyterian Board of Moral and Social Reform and Evangelism recommended that the Church open its own settlements in the major Canadian cities, arguing that it was important to distinguish between a religious settlement and a social settlement. "What is contemplated," the committee reported, "is a Church Settlement, not only to carry on the ordinary activities of a "Settlement," but also a positive, definite, aggressive, evangelistic propaganda. The work must all be correlated under one leadership and work to one great aim and purpose--to Christianize, definitely and consciously to put the Spirit of Christ into the lives of men, and to bring

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<sup>49</sup>TFRB, Toronto Social Welfare Agencies, MS. COLL. 12, box 2, file: The Fred Victor Mission, "From One Room to the Six Floor Building."

men into conscious and confessed relationship to Him."<sup>50</sup> In 1912, St. Christopher House was opened in Toronto to act as the training headquarters and "mother house" of the new chain of settlements. For some Church members, the overtly evangelical position of the Presbyterian Board conflicted with the social goals of settlement work. Ethel Dodds Parker, who was head worker at St. Christopher House from 1917 to 1921, remembered what she called "the tug between evangelical and social Christianity"; the struggle between those who advocated evangelism and rescue work, and those, influenced by the social gospel, who stressed social prevention.<sup>51</sup> Parker herself claimed, however, that St. Christopher House managed to incorporate both evangelical and social elements into its program, but that the staff members knew, as she put it, that they were involved "in an implicitly religious activity."<sup>52</sup>

By the end of the nineteenth century, women at the University of Toronto were showing an interest in forms of social service which went beyond the strictly evangelical

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<sup>50</sup> Executive minutes of the Board of Moral and Social Reform and Evangelism, Presbyterian Church in Canada, (16 November 1910), quoted in Ethel Dodds Parker, "The Origins and Early History of the Presbyterian Settlement Houses," in Social Gospel in Canada, p. 95.

<sup>51</sup> Parker, p. 89.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 113. In The Social Uplifters, Brian Fraser stresses the continuity of evangelism, arguing that the Presbyterian settlements were very similar in both scope and purpose to the religious city missions of the 1880s. See Fraser, p. 94.



focus of the student YWCA's city mission work. Although, by 1900, the national YWCA was reflecting the influence of the social gospel, shifting, like the churches, toward a view of social as well as individual redemption, the student Associations, on the whole, were hesitant to expand their traditional evangelical view of charity.<sup>53</sup> While the University YWCA resembled the men's Association in continuing to maintain that its "extension work" in the city was primarily dedicated to the development of Christian character, other women's groups at Toronto began seeking a more direct approach to social problems. In the period before World War I, these groups became increasingly influenced by the goals of the American settlement movement, which elevated the social needs of a neighbourhood over the spiritual welfare of its individual inhabitants, and, most importantly, which valued the work of the committed professional over that of the casual volunteer.

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<sup>53</sup>In her study of the student YWCA and social service, Diana Pedersen argues that despite the encouragement of the Dominion Council, most university YWCA members were more willing to undertake activities which resembled Christian philanthropy than become involved in practical efforts at social reform or seriously study social issues. See Diana Pedersen, "'The Call to Service': The YWCA and the Canadian College Woman, 1886-1920," in Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education, ed. Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid (Kingston, Ontario, 1989), p. 200. For a recent history of the YWCA, see Diana Pedersen, "The Young Women's Christian Association in Canada, 1870-1920: 'A Movement to Meet a Spiritual, Civic and National Need'" (Ph.D. diss., Carleton University, 1987).

The American movement then was undergoing a period of rapid growth, expanding from six settlements in 1891, to seventy-four in 1897, to over one hundred by the turn of the century.<sup>54</sup> In contrast to the primarily educational activities of Toynbee Hall, Hull-House operated as the institutional headquarters of a large network of applied sociologists and social workers, some of whom were affiliated academically with the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago. Under the leadership of Jane Addams, the residents of Hull-House believed that social problems could be alleviated only once quantitative evidence on those conditions was made available to reformers. In 1895, the residents of Hull-House had published the innovative sociological study, Hull-House Maps and Papers, and many workers at the settlement continued to devote much of their time to the collection of statistical information on urban conditions.<sup>55</sup> Residential life in a settlement house proved to be particularly appealing to female college

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<sup>54</sup> Allen F. Davis, Spearheads for Reform: the Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914 (Toronto, 1967), p. 12.

<sup>55</sup> Mary Jo Deegan, Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School, 1892-1918 (New Brunswick, N.J., 1988), pp. 33-69; Rosalind Rosenberg, Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism (New Haven, Conn., 1982), pp. 33-36. For a recent critical study of Hull-House, see Rivka Shpak Lissak, Pluralism and Progressives: Hull House and the New Immigrants, 1890-1919 (Chicago, 1989). Lissak challenges the traditional historical position that the Hull-House leaders had a pluralist view of society, arguing instead that the settlement embodied a Liberal Progressive concept of assimilation.

graduates, who often sought an independent life away from home but wished to preserve the sense of community they had experienced at university. The role of the settlement worker, as it was articulated by Jane Addams and other pioneers like Lillian D. Wald, was to act as a mediator in the process of democracy, both by educating the residents of a neighbourhood in democratic principles, and by defending the rights of those residents as citizens in the larger political process.<sup>56</sup> Jane Addams wrote in Twenty Years at Hull-House (1910): "So far as a Settlement can discern and bring to local consciousness neighborhood needs which are common needs, and can give vigorous help to the municipal measures through which such needs shall be met, it fulfills its most valuable function."<sup>57</sup> As a neighbourhood centre, a settlement was meant to facilitate contact between its educated middle-class residents and the predominantly "foreign" population of its district, and by doing so, to

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<sup>56</sup> Ellen Fitzpatrick, Endless Crusade: Women Social Scientists and Progressive Reform (New York, 1990), p. 10; Deegan, pp. 33-54. For the purposes of this study, the writings of such prominent settlement leaders as Jane Addams and Lillian Wald are used as representative articulations of the mainstream ideology of the American settlement movement. In a recent work, Ruth Hutchinson Crocker offers a revisionist examination of American settlement houses, and specifically challenges the assumption of Allen F. Davis, in Spearheads for Reform (1967), that the thought of famous Progressive leaders like Addams could illuminate the entire movement. See Ruth Hutchinson Crocker, Social Work and Social Order: The Settlement Movement in Two Industrial Cities, 1889-1930 (Chicago, 1992).

<sup>57</sup> Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull-House (New York, 1910; 1961), p. 225.

break down the barriers thrown up by class and ethnicity. For Addams and Wald, the key aspect of a settlement's program was the organization of self-governing social clubs, in which a worker could gain an immediate knowledge of the concerns of the neighbourhood, while at the same time communicating to new Americans the ideals of democracy.<sup>58</sup>

The earliest references to the settlement movement in University of Toronto publications appeared in the late 1890s, and, in sharp contrast to those written after 1907, discussed American rather than British settlement houses, and emphasized the participation of both men and women. In October 1897, for example, the Victoria College students' journal, Acta Victoriana, published a short unsigned article reporting on the involvement of "many women undergraduates and alumnae" in college-affiliated settlements in the larger cities of the United States. University settlements, the article claimed, "partake of the nature of club-rooms, and are equipped with reading-rooms and other facilities for the working-classes to improve the intellectual part of their being and to broaden their ideas of life."<sup>59</sup> In December 1899, Acta Victoriana printed a longer article on the American movement by the Canadian social reformer and feminist, Alice Chown. While Chown expressed her

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., pp. 239-56; Lillian D. Wald, The House on Henry Street (New York, 1915), pp. v-vi, pp. 179-83.

<sup>59</sup> "University Settlement Movement," Acta Victoriana, XXI, No. 1 (October 1897), 4-5.

reservations about the suitability of settlement houses for Canadian conditions, she provided an approving description of American settlement work which was essentially faithful to the teachings of Jane Addams. Chown explained that settlement workers took up residence in a congested district of a large city in order to create "a social centre for the neighborhood." She wrote: "Their residence becomes the meeting-place, where neighbors learn to know each other, and are encouraged to co-operate in establishing clubs and classes for their own culture, or for the betterment of the community."<sup>60</sup>

Under the leadership of the University College Alumnae Association, during the early 1900s women at the University themselves explored the possibility of undertaking settlement work in the city, based on their knowledge of the American movement. At this time, Toronto women were displaying the same tendency toward organization which since 1870 had resulted in the proliferation of national women's associations, a tendency exemplified by the formation of the National Council of Women in 1893. As at other Canadian colleges and universities, at Toronto the urge to create female clubs and societies accompanied the expansion of career opportunities for women in such fields as teaching

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<sup>60</sup>Alice A. Chown, "The Social Settlement Movement," Acta Victoriana, XXIII, No. 3 (December 1899), 208.

and household science.<sup>61</sup> From the time of its inception in November 1898, one of the primary concerns of the University College Alumnae Association was to help female graduates find suitable jobs, and the organization's initial interest in settlement work seems to have been sparked by this consideration. An Occupations Committee was immediately set up to inquire into careers which might be open to university-educated women, and, by 1900, the Committee was collecting information on those jobs it considered to be better paid and "more congenial" alternatives to teaching.<sup>62</sup> Having recently affiliated with the Toronto branch of the National Council of Women, the Executive of the Alumnae Association first decided to gather details on settlements in June 1900, when it appointed two members to join a sub-committee, organized by the Local Council of Women, to

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<sup>61</sup>Veronica Strong-Boag, "'Setting the Stage': National Organization and the Women's Movement in the Late 19th Century," in The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History, ed. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice (Toronto, 1977), pp. 87-103; Veronica Strong-Boag, The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1929 (Ottawa, 1976), pp. 10-55, pp. 109-11. At the University of Toronto, the Faculty of Household Science and the Faculty of Education were established in 1906 and 1907 respectively. See W. Stewart Wallace, A History of the University of Toronto, 1827-1927 (Toronto, 1927), p. 219, p. 224.

<sup>62</sup>UTA, University College, A69-0011/013, Alumnae Association of University College, Annual Minutes, 1898-1928, Report of the Occupations Committee, (20 April 1900).

investigate settlement work among "factory girls."<sup>63</sup> The following year, in April 1901, the subject was explored thoroughly at the Alumnae Association's annual meeting. The speaker gave an address which, like Alice Chown's article, portrayed American settlement houses as residential neighbourhood centres designed to promote social contact. "[T]he work is going on in many large cities," the minutes recorded, "and largely with the same leading principle though all, that of being neighborly and leading the poor and ignorant to better things not by trying to preach doctrines but by living a life that is higher than theirs but among them[.]" In an enthusiastic discussion after the address, members contemplated starting settlement work in Toronto, and suggested asking the Ontario Medical College for Women to join them.<sup>64</sup>

Although this plan did not materialize, women at the University soon were given a real opportunity for social service, when Toronto's first settlement, Evangelia House,

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<sup>63</sup>UTA, University College, A69-0011/014, Alumnae Association of University College, General and Executive Minutes, 1898-1927, (20 April and 2 June 1900). It is important to note that while the Toronto Alumnae Association was interested in social work as a potential area of female employment, the National Council of Women did not emphasize social service as a possible profession, but rather as an extension of the maternal and domestic responsibilities for which it believed feminine natures were best suited. See Strong-Boag, Parliament of Women, pp. 179-225.

<sup>64</sup>UTA, University College, A69-0011/013, Alumnae Association of University College, Annual Minutes, 1891-1928, (12 April 1901).

was opened in 1902 by an American settlement worker, Sara Libby Carson. Located in the eastern part of the city, Evangelia House originally functioned as a centre for the young factory women of its neighbourhood, and in its early years was known informally as the "Young Women's Settlement." It gradually began to organize more activities for children, however, and later became the first agency in Toronto to provide a supervised playground and a nursery school.<sup>65</sup> While there are few records of Evangelia House remaining, Carson seems to have modeled her first Canadian settlement on such established American institutions as Hull-House, or Lillian Wald's Henry Street Settlement in New York. Carson had attended Wellesley College in Massachusetts, and she subsequently exhibited the commitment to social activism which was characteristic of her fellow graduates.<sup>66</sup> In 1897, she had founded a settlement, Christadora House, in a section of New York which was largely populated by recent immigrants, and this previous experience, combined with her college affiliation, connected her to a network of active social workers and reformers in

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<sup>65</sup> "The College Girl," The Varsity, XXIV, No. 8 (1 December 1904), 131; Metropolitan Toronto Central Library, Baldwin Room, S 54, Mary Jennison, "A History of Canadian Settlements," TMs [photocopy], 1965.

<sup>66</sup> Patricia A. Palmieri, "Here was Fellowship: A Social Portrait of Academic Women at Wellesley College, 1895-1920," in Women Who Taught: Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching, ed. Alison Prentice and Marjorie R. Theobald (Toronto, 1991), 246.



the United States. Although Carson also had links to evangelical reform groups--she held positions in the National YWCA in both America and Canada, and after 1912 supervised the Presbyterian Church's chain of Canadian settlements--she approached her work from the perspective of the American social settlement movement.<sup>67</sup> Like Addams and Wald, Carson valued self-governing social clubs over classes as a good method of conveying the value of parliamentary democracy, and as the settlement worker's primary opportunity for contact and instruction. Under her influence, Evangelia's program was structured around the formation of clubs guided by residents and volunteers, and by 1913 the settlement was conducting a variety of daytime and evening social clubs for both children and mothers.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Ethel Dodds Parker, a Toronto social service graduate of 1915 who worked at the Presbyterian St. Christopher House in 1914, later wrote of Sara Libby Carson: "While a warmly religious person, she made no church connection in Canada, but she was the only experienced person at hand and to her was given the task of developing the new chain of church Settlements across the country." Parker, pp. 96-97.

<sup>68</sup> Parker, p. 100; UTA, University College, A69-0011/014, Alumnae Association of University College, General and Executive Minutes, 1898-1927, (29 November 1902); United Church/Victoria University Archives (hereafter UCA), Young Women's Christian Association, 90.135V, box 1, file 1, Victoria College YWCA Minutes, 1895-1905, (13 March 1902); "Sara Libby Carson," Social Welfare, XI, No. 5 (February 1929), 113; UTA, Dorothy W. Eddis, B76-1037, University of Toronto, Department of Social Service, Annual Examination in Community Work, 1916; UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/028, file: Evangelia Settlement 1913, "Summary of Ten Months Work from 1st January to 1st November, 1913."

In 1902, Carson recruited support for her project by addressing female organizations on campus, including the Victoria College YWCA and the University College Alumnae Association. The minutes of the Victoria College YWCA meeting in March, for example, recorded that Carson spoke "impressively," and concluded: "After a meeting of unusual interest and helpfulness the hour was brought to a close with a prayer by Miss Carson."<sup>69</sup> In December 1904, a wider bid for volunteers was made to undergraduate women through The Varsity, which devoted one of its "College Girl" columns to a description of the activities at Evangelia House. "Many outsiders have volunteered for the work, but there is work for many more, and for this reason those in charge are making a special appeal to university women students to aid in bringing to them something of the advantages of education which we enjoy." The extent to which social service at this point had become defined as a women's field is indicated by the fact that The Varsity's article assumed a settlement was by its very nature a female institution, operated by and for women.<sup>70</sup> That year the staff of Evangelia House proposed that closer contacts be made with University women by

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<sup>69</sup>UCA, Young Women's Christian Association, 90.135V, box 1, file 1, Victoria College YWCA Minutes, 1895-1905, (13 March 1902); UTA, University College, A69-0011/014, Alumnae Association of University College, General and Executive Minutes, 1898-1927, (29 November 1902).

<sup>70</sup>"The College Girl," The Varsity, XXIV, No. 8 (1 December 1904), 131.

forming chapters of the settlement which would contribute financially, elect members to sit on its Council, and send junior members into short-term residence. By 1910 chapters of Evangelia House had been set up by the Alumnae Association, the Women's Literary Society, the women of Victoria College, and the female undergraduates of Trinity housed at St. Hilda's College.<sup>71</sup> In an interview years later, one St. Hilda's student during this period remembered that Evangelia House had been an integral part of campus life. The settlement then was directed by a graduate of Trinity College, Edith C. Elwood, who ensured that it became a "college custom" for St. Hilda's students to go to Evangelia once a week to help with its clubs.<sup>72</sup> Although positions for women in settlement work remained limited until the expansion of the movement throughout Toronto after 1911, the Alumnae Association's original interest in its employment potential was to some extent justified. By 1904,

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<sup>71</sup>UTA, University College, A69-0011/014, Alumnae Association of University College, General and Executive Minutes, 1898-1927, (5 November 1904 and 11 February 1905); Metropolitan Toronto Central Library, Baldwin Room, S 54, Mary Jennison, "A History of Canadian Settlements," TMs [photocopy], 1965. Trinity College had affiliated with the University of Toronto in 1904. See T.A. Reed, ed., A History of the University of Trinity College, Toronto, 1852-1952 (Toronto, 1952).

<sup>72</sup>UTA, Mossie May Waddington Kirkwood, B74-0020, interview by Elizabeth Wilson, 27 March 1973, transcript, University of Toronto Oral History Project, pp. 56-58. Kirkwood received her B.A. from Trinity College in 1911, and later became Principal of St. Hilda's College from 1936 to 1953. See UTA, Department of Graduate Records, A73-0026/488(41), Mossie May Waddington (Kirkwood).

two of the five permanent staff members at Evangelia House were graduates of the University, and in 1906 the Alumnae Association included these statistics on settlement work (along with those on such other occupations as journalism, business, and the civil service) in its annual report on jobs taken by women graduates.<sup>73</sup>

By 1910, when the male-oriented University Settlement was founded, Evangelia House had contracted a working relationship with the University of Toronto through several women's colleges and societies on campus. But unlike University Settlement, Evangelia was at no point officially connected to the University, and the volunteer settlement work of female students and graduates received little publicity or support from the more powerful male academic community. The activities of women's organizations were overlooked, it can be argued, because they challenged the idealist interpretation of social service which gained such authority after 1907. The social service work undertaken by University women at Evangelia House was defined by the priorities of the American settlement movement, and was associated with the emerging field of professional social

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<sup>73</sup>UTA, Waddell Family, B73-0028/001, pamphlet: Eighth Annual Report of the Alumnae Association of University College, Toronto, 1905-1906, p. 6. As Rosemary Gagan has argued in reference to Methodist missionary women at this time, for many single women a desire for service could easily be reconciled with their more practical need for an independent career. Rosemary R. Gagan, A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925 (Montreal, 1992).

work. By contrast, the view of social service which acquired popularity among male students and faculty had its origins in the ethic which emanated from Balliol College, an ethic which projected a vision of service which was socially elite, voluntaristic, and masculine.

#### Disseminating the Idealist Message

The idealist and empirical interpretation of service elevated the role of university-educated men, while simultaneously devaluing the activity of female social workers. As at Oxford, the idealist ethic at the University of Toronto encouraged male students to regard themselves as chiefly responsible for their country's future welfare. Young faculty members appointed to the University in the early years of the century, who had been trained at Toronto, helped to strengthen these convictions into the decade preceding World War I. By 1910, an identifiable group of academics had emerged, which was represented by such men as S.J. McLean and S.A. Cudmore in the Department of Political Economy, E.J. Kylie in the Department of History, and the new President of the University, Robert A. Falconer. In their own careers, McLean, Cudmore, and Kylie demonstrated the commitment to civic duty characteristic of their generation: while Kylie combined an involvement in municipal affairs with his teaching at the University, both McLean and Cudmore ultimately left their academic positions to take up appointments in public service. Placing their

hope in the power of research to solve contemporary problems, they all shared the belief that "scientific" knowledge needed only to be united to the moral incentive of idealism to bring about social betterment. Through their writings and speeches, these faculty members conveyed a view of service which presented social reform as a man's responsibility, but not, however, a man's career. Like the young men of Toynbee Hall, Toronto's male graduates were to apply their expertise to the problems of poverty, and to bring that knowledge to bear on their employment in other fields. Direct social action, such as settlement work, was seen as a way of gaining experience and accumulating information, which could then be applied to social issues from a man's more remote--but powerful--vantage point in the working world. The adoption of the idealist and empirical approach was facilitated at Toronto, as elsewhere, by the widely-held assumption that the participation of men, at any level, was innately more important than that of women. By prizing voluntary and temporary service over career-oriented social work this approach contested the very legitimacy of social service as a female endeavour.

Through his position as a lecturer in the Department of History, and particularly as the editor of the Alumni magazine, University of Toronto Monthly, from 1909 to 1911, E.J. Kylie became a strong advocate of the Balliol ethic of service. In 1901, he had graduated in classics and history

from Toronto, and, having been awarded the Flavelle Travelling Fellowship, had spent the next three years at Balliol College, Oxford.<sup>74</sup> Although T.H. Green and Arnold Toynbee had been dead for almost two decades, the ethos which they had fostered still animated the college. After Benjamin Jowett's death in 1893, James Mavor's former professor at Glasgow, Edward Caird, had been appointed Master of Balliol. A committed follower of T.H. Green, Caird ensured that the College's ethic of service continued to be transmitted to yet another generation of students.<sup>75</sup> Kylie was deeply impressed by the moral environment of Balliol, and, upon his return to Toronto in 1904, attempted to promote its ideal of active citizenship among male undergraduates at the University. Writing in The Varsity in December 1904, Kylie enthused on "the advantages a student gained by living in Oxford's cultured surroundings, and by receiving a liberal education intended not just to be practical, but to be self-sufficient. "With his better trained judgment and more cultivated taste," he asserted, "such a man will perform even his more purely professional tasks with greater facility and thoroughness, and in the discharge of the broad duties of citizenship will display

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<sup>74</sup>UTA, Department of Graduate Records, A73-0026/212(15), Edward Joseph Kylie.

<sup>75</sup>Standish Meacham, Toynbee Hall and Social Reform, 1880-1914: The Search for Community (New Haven, Conn., 1987), pp. 18-20.

deeper insight and greater grasp than one more narrowly educated." For Kylie, the exercise of citizenship was an explicitly masculine responsibility, and therefore the acceptance of those duties was the supreme exhibition of manliness. The "final expression of the Oxford ideal," he concluded, was to be found in Jowett's response to an American writer who, upon entering the Balliol quadrangle, asked what was made there. Jowett had replied, according to Kylie, "we make men."<sup>76</sup> In October of the following year, Kylie carried this message to the Canadian Club at St. Catharines, suggesting in his lecture that the University of Toronto should try to emulate the thorough moral education imparted by Oxford. "Oxford aims first at making its students good citizens," the Toronto Star reported in its summary of the address.<sup>77</sup>

Kylie himself tried to live up to the Balliol ideal of citizenship by actively supporting public housing in the city, and to this end he was chairman of Toronto's Civic Guild Committee on working-class housing in 1911, and was subsequently director of the Toronto Housing Company. Under his editorial guidance, University of Toronto Monthly began to raise such current issues as slum reform and social

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<sup>76</sup>E.J. Kylie, "Oxford Education," The Varsity, XXIV, No. 8 (1 December 1904), 127-8.

<sup>77</sup>UTA, Department of Graduate Records, A73-0026/212(15), Edward Joseph Kylie, clipping: Toronto Star, 21 October 1905.



degeneration, and a number of articles appeared which suggested the possibility that idealist solutions could be applied to Canadian social problems. When the war began in 1914, Kylie immediately volunteered. His death only two years later of typhoid fever was extensively reported in the press, and his story became used as an example of patriotism and self-sacrifice.<sup>78</sup> In a typical tribute to Kylie in May 1916, the Toronto Globe commented: "In him were mixed those elements of personality and breeding and discipline which give an air of distinction without aloofness, of personal charm dignified with sincerity of purpose, the soberness of the 'Balliol mind' touched with the unexhausted human emotion."<sup>79</sup>

Kylie's frame of mind was represented in the Department of Political Economy by two of James Mavor's young recruits: S.J. McLean, who was appointed in 1906, and, after McLean's resignation in 1908, S.A. Cudmore. Characteristic of Toronto graduates in political economy, McLean and Cudmore combined an absolute faith in the importance of empirical research, on the value of statistics and the accumulation of

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<sup>78</sup>UTA, Department of Graduate Records, A73-0026/212(15), Edward Joseph Kylie; Hortense Catherine Fardell Wasteney, "A History of the University Settlement of Toronto, 1910-1958: An Exploration of the Social Objectives of the University Settlement and of Their Implementation" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1975), p. 52.

<sup>79</sup>UTA, Department of Graduate Records, A73-0026/212(15), file: Edward Joseph Kylie, clipping: Toronto Globe, 16 May 1916.

facts, with an idealist conviction that these facts must contribute to social reform. One of Mavor's first honours students. McLean graduated from Toronto in 1894, and then left Canada for several years to pursue graduate work at Columbia and Chicago. In 1906, he resigned his position teaching economics at Leland Stanford University to accept an associate professorship at Toronto, hoping to pursue what he described to President Loudon as the "practical side of Economic work--transportation, banking, commerce etc."<sup>80</sup> Perhaps finding his work at Toronto too limiting, or perhaps finding Mavor himself uncongenial--Mavor thought McLean "really a dull man"<sup>81</sup>--two years later he accepted an appointment to the Board of Railway Commissioners for Canada. McLean's abandonment of academia was permanent, and he spent the rest of his career in public service, ultimately becoming Assistant Chief Commissioner of the Railway Board after 1919.<sup>82</sup>

While studying for his Ph.D. at Chicago in 1897, McLean published an article in The Canadian Magazine entitled "Social Amelioration and the University Settlement," which

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<sup>80</sup>UTA, James Loudon, B72-0031/001(A6), S.J. McLean to James Loudon, 5 September 1905.

<sup>81</sup>UTA, James Loudon, B72-0031/001(A5), James Mavor to James Loudon, 5 October 1905.

<sup>82</sup>UTA, Department of Graduate Records, A73-0026/288(16), Simon James McLean. See also, UTA, Department of Alumni Affairs, A72-0024/021, pamphlet: University of Toronto, Faculty of Arts, Class 1894.

provided an eager description of Toynbee Hall and its intellectual origins. Like Kylie, McLean believed social reform to be the domain of educated middle-class men, and he explained that the university settlement idea was a product both of the sense of duty instilled in young Oxford and Cambridge students, and of a new confidence in the ability of "trained men, cognizant of actual facts" to precipitate social improvement.<sup>83</sup> He assumed that through teaching the lower classes the "ideals of a nobler citizenship," university men themselves would become better educated in the needs of modern society, and therefore better fitted for their permanent careers. For McLean, the bond between Toynbee Hall and the world of political power was obvious. "Men of renown consider it an honour to be permitted to help on, in any way, the work which it has undertaken." He concluded: "To go among such classes, to investigate their life, to render them help and guidance, to point out to them higher ideals and render easier their struggles upwards towards respectability, is the peculiar phase of usefulness with which the Settlement is concerned."<sup>84</sup>

S.A. Cudmore was appointed an instructor in the Department of Political Economy in 1908. Cudmore had graduated in political economy from Toronto in 1905, and,

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<sup>83</sup>S.J. McLean, "Social Amelioration and the University Settlement: With Special Reference to Toynbee Hall," The Canadian Magazine, VIII, No. 6 (April 1897), 469-70.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., 473.

following Kylie, had been sent to Oxford on a Flavelle Fellowship. Although he worked under Mavor much longer than McLean, in 1919 Cudmore also gave up his academic career for a life in public service, becoming Chief General Statistician for the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.<sup>85</sup> In December 1909, while still a junior lecturer, Cudmore wrote an article entitled "The Condition of England" for University of Toronto Monthly; an essay which exemplified the alumni magazine's direction under Kylie's editorship. In May of that year, the British Liberal politician and journalist C.F.G. Masterman had published his pessimistic criticism of contemporary society, The Condition of England.<sup>86</sup> By presenting a bevy of statistics, Cudmore strongly refuted the suggestion that the British masses were in a state of degeneration, arguing with feeling that "the heart of the Empire" was still sound.<sup>87</sup> (Cudmore's period in Britain just after the "New Imperialism" reached its peak seemed to give him--as it had earlier for Kylie--a heightened respect for the ambitions of Empire.) Instead of becoming degraded, he stressed, the British race had increased in vitality, and this social regeneration was the

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<sup>85</sup>UTA, Department of Graduate Records, A73-0026/75(02), Sedley Anthony Cudmore.

<sup>86</sup>C.F.G. Masterman, The Condition of England (London, 1909).

<sup>87</sup>S.A. Cudmore, "The Condition of England," University of Toronto Monthly, v, No. 2 (December 1909), 71.

direct result of the idealist movement which had swept through the ancient universities. "Hundreds of Oxford and Cambridge graduates and undergraduates are giving their lives to the work of raising the people," Cudmore maintained, describing how the "best men" from the universities were sacrificing their leisure to work in settlements and curacies in the slums. In common with both Kylie and McLean, he emphasized the fact that university men possessed the advantages of empirical training, and a heightened awareness of their obligation to be useful citizens. Cudmore wrote: "No nation has ever in the history of the world been blessed with so many trained unselfish workers for the good of the race, and not a few of these have laid down their lives at their self-sought post of duty."<sup>88</sup> He went further than Kylie and McLean, however, by concluding his article with an urgent plea for Toronto undergraduates to follow the example of Oxford and take immediate social action. Pointing out that local arm-chair critics of Britain should look to conditions in their own city, Cudmore appealed for a similar social regeneration in Toronto. "Within a mile of our University we have a slum as vile as the worst in London stretching westward and engulfing new streets from year to year," he warned. "The smells of the slum and the sounds of the slum and the sights

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 77.

of the slum are at the very gates of our University, if we will only open our eyes to see."<sup>89</sup>

By the time this article appeared in 1909, Toronto's existing settlement, Evangelia House, already had established an extensive network of cooperation among women at the University, and the problems of Toronto's slums had for years been debated at the meetings of female students and graduates. Yet Cudmore's essay presented the idea of a settlement house as something entirely new to the University community, and, most significantly, as an imperative civic duty which for too long had been neglected by those most qualified to act: the Empire's "best men." His article, therefore, indicated an important stage in what was to be a rapid acceptance by University men of idealist and empirical convictions.

Just as the idealist ethic had gained "scientific" authority by its association with empiricism, it also continued to appropriate the moral authority previously held by evangelism. Through the public speeches of President Falconer, male students were urged toward a direct and personal sacrifice which would express their true manhood. As Mackenzie King had discovered earlier, University men during the late 1900s realized that the idealist desire to find the "highest good" could be joined to the evangelical need for spiritual redemption. Following the resignation of

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<sup>89</sup>Ibid., 77-8.

James Loudon in 1906, Robert A. Falconer was appointed to the Presidency of the University in 1907. Falconer himself had been exposed to philosophical idealism while studying at Edinburgh University in the late 1880s, and his childhood grounding in evangelical morality made him particularly sensitive to the persuasiveness of the idealist ethic.<sup>90</sup> During his twenty-five years as President, he created a definition of the University's function which was shaped by the aims of idealism, and which served to intensify Toronto's existing orientation toward public service.

In his inaugural address in September 1907, Falconer asserted his view that the University's chief goal was to maintain the ideal or spiritual element in national life; a task only made possible through the cultivation, as he put it, of "the nation's chief wealth--its manhood."<sup>91</sup> Denouncing intellectual aloofness as the "besetting academical sin," he argued that the real university ideal was one of cooperation and service, in which the student was obligated to address the problems of contemporary society. In agreement with both W.J. Ashley and James Mavor, Falconer believed that the natural and most significant consequence of empirical study was the development of individual

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<sup>90</sup> James G. Greenlee, Sir Robert Falconer: A Biography (Toronto, 1988), pp. 24-6.

<sup>91</sup> Robert Alexander Falconer, "Inaugural Address," University of Toronto Monthly, VIII, No. 1 (November 1907), 7.

character, and the ultimate objective was to motivate the student toward active citizenship. "It should," he claimed, "fit him to observe the social and political situation, awaken in him human sympathies and the desire to emancipate his fellows from the ignorance and prejudice which are breeding evil."<sup>92</sup> This moral awakening was, in Falconer's mind, the fundamental prerequisite to social reform. He was able to reconcile the collectivist aspects of his idealist beliefs with his Christian commitment--as a Presbyterian minister--to individual regeneration. It was a point he stressed in his inaugural lecture, assuring his audience that "the highest type of citizenship cannot be permanently trained apart from a sense of obligation to and reverence for the moral order which is Divine."<sup>93</sup>

In October 1910, Falconer preached an equally characteristic sermon before a large audience of students and faculty in Convocation Hall. As reported in The Varsity, he based his sermon on the story of the rich young man who would not renounce his possessions to follow Jesus and bear the burden of His message. Falconer warned that wealth, social position, and intellectual training were all dangerous, as all had the potential to isolate the individual from the rest of humanity. Urging his listeners

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 12. For an analysis of Falconer's belief in individualism, see Greenlee, pp. 82-7.



to break down those barriers, he maintained that the advantages of education had to be carried to those who lacked them. "Find the highest good by serving your fellows," he entreated, "through your intellect, your wealth, your position, or whatever talent you may possess."<sup>94</sup> Undergraduates in political economy had been exposed before to the idea that their empirical skills should be used to satisfy moral ends, but direct service to the poor, for male students, had been limited to the city mission work of the University YMCA, which had been defined by the Association's evangelical emphasis on individual redemption. In Falconer's speeches, this emphasis was assimilated into a much larger concern for humanity, as he attempted to convince students that individual and social regeneration were inseparable, and that true social service required direct and personal contact with those in need.

During the early years of Falconer's Presidency there was, in fact, a noticeable alteration in the general character of the male students. The explosive behaviour which had marked Mackenzie King's generation began to be replaced by a more sober attitude, springing from an increased consciousness of the responsibilities of social position. A greater respect for authority led to the regulation by student organizations of the ritualized forms of student rowdiness: initiations became more standardized

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<sup>94</sup>The Varsity, XXX, No. 3 (11 October 1910), 1.

and tended to involve athletic contests between seniors and freshmen rather than the surprise attacks typical of the late-nineteenth century.<sup>95</sup> In January 1907, a Board of Student Control was established by the student-run University College Literary Society, with a mandate granted by the College Council to prevent "improper behaviour" among the male students. "Ungentlemanly or flagrantly immoral conduct," the constitution read, "interference with the rights of others, and behaviour which tends to prejudice the interests of the university shall fall within the cognizance [sic] of this Board."<sup>96</sup>

After 1908, this change in male undergraduate culture was precipitated by a growing awareness within the University of the city's poverty crisis, and Toronto men, like their female colleagues earlier in the decade, began to give prominence to social topics in their meetings, discussion groups, and publications. In April 1908, Acta Victoriana printed an essay entitled "Religious Life in Oxford," in which the writer, E. Brecken, described the social service undertaken by Oxford students. Like Kylie and McLean, Brecken drew attention to the importance of the settlement movement in preparing Britain's finest young men

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<sup>95</sup>Keith Walden, "Hazes, Hustles, Scraps, and Stunts: Initiations at the University of Toronto, 1880-1925," in Youth, University and Canadian Society, p. 104.

<sup>96</sup>UTA, University College Council, A69-0016/001(03), University College Council Minutes, 1890-1958, (18 January 1907).

for their future positions of power. "England is on the verge of a tremendous social revolution," he wrote, "and it is well that among her students there are being trained men who in years to come will from the floor of the Commons, from the editor's desk, or from the pulpit, meet the inevitable crisis with a sympathetic understanding and unselfish devotion to the highest good."<sup>97</sup> In February 1910, two months after "The Condition of England" was published, University of Toronto Monthly printed a second, equally powerful evocation of the settlement idea. Written by a student of Balliol College and a former resident of Toynbee Hall, S.G. Tallents, the article graphically described the work of the original university settlement, juxtaposed against the "darkness and the filth and the misery of East London."<sup>98</sup> By the end of the year, a third article--unsigned but possibly the work of the editor, E.J. Kylie--had been written in University of Toronto Monthly concerning the settlement movement. Referring to University Settlement, which recently had been opened on Adelaide Street West, the writer stressed that although the Settlement incorporated the charitable impulse usually found in mission work, its main object was to allow the students

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<sup>97</sup>E. Brecken, "Religious Life in Oxford," Acta Victoriana, XXXI, No. 7 (April 1908), 463.

<sup>98</sup>S.G. Tallents, "Toynbee Hall," University of Toronto Monthly, X, No. 4 (February 1910), 201. S.G. Tallents is listed as a visitor from Balliol College, Oxford, in the Toynbee Record, XXI, No. 6 (March 1909), 90.

themselves to come to a scientific understanding of poverty. University Settlement's ambition was far from narrow, the writer insisted: "Its aim, the permanent elevation of the entire community to a better mode of life, involves the practical application of every science and branch of knowledge in existence."<sup>99</sup>

While previous articles in University publications had seen settlement work as a distinctly female occupation, and had discussed it in terms of the American movement, after 1907 the settlement idea gained a new character on campus as an embodiment of the masculine ideal of social service. By 1910, the prevalent acceptance of this ideal ensured that the University's first official response to the poverty crisis would be to offer the assistance of its young men, and at the same time to overlook the long-standing commitment of University women to neighbourhood work at Evangelia House. The authority of the Toronto ideal determined that once the University decided to take social action it would seek to emulate, as much as possible, the then famous efforts of Oxford University. The establishment of University Settlement in 1910 was therefore a belated attempt to imitate Toynbee Hall, and, in its implications, was an effort to resist the growing recognition of professional social work. Having appropriated much of the

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<sup>99</sup>"The Settlement Movement," University of Toronto Monthly, XI, No. 2 (December 1910), 38.

moral strength of evangelism, the idealist ethic was responsible finally for directing male students toward active service, and its assumptions would become incorporated into the mandate of University Settlement. Through the necessary participation of the student YMCA, however, evangelism nevertheless would continue to exert some influence on social service at the University, and, during its first year of operation, University Settlement would try to reconcile the conflicting expectations of its evangelical and idealist Board members.

## CHAPTER 4

### UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT AND THE SEARCH FOR A MODEL, 1910-1918

The first five years of University Settlement's existence were marked by a search on the part of its Directors to find a suitable model for their combined goals of social reintegration and research. Until 1911, that search was defined by a culmination of the struggle between idealist and evangelical interpretations of social service, which, at the most simplistic level, pitted collectivist views of poverty against the individualist emphasis on sin and redemption exemplified by the University YMCA. Although the idealist ethic stressed the need for the contact of individuals from different classes, the implications of its philosophy were fundamentally collectivist: by aspiring to bring classes together in a shared citizenship, the idealists were envisioning poverty as a problem for which the entire community was responsible. Moreover, the empirical elements of the Directors' thought required that social problems be viewed not as originating in the defects of individuals, but rather as environmentally determined obstacles which could be investigated and ultimately removed.

After 1911, the withdrawal of the YMCA from the management of University Settlement meant that the Directors no longer had to accommodate the priorities of evangelism, and were free to pursue the logic of their ideology to its full extent. Choosing to cultivate the empirical side of their mandate, and influenced by the University's preference for applied social research, the members of the Settlement Board looked for a more appropriate model in the applied sociology of the early Chicago school. While this model to some degree was able to satisfy the empirical aspects of the Board's goals, Chicago sociology proved to be as incapable as evangelism of realizing the Directors' idealist aspirations. By incorporating the applied sociology of the early Chicago school into the program of University Settlement, the Board members unintentionally left their project open to the influences of professional social work. Although the Toronto ideal would continue to shape gender roles among the students, after World War I social service at the University could no longer be defined as a uniquely masculine responsibility, and administrators were forced to acknowledge that both University Settlement and the new Department of Social Service had become centres of activity for female social workers.

The Incentive of the Social Gospel

The student YMCA at Toronto never abandoned its original emphasis on individual redemption, but between 1908 and 1911 it briefly enlarged its evangelical focus to accommodate the inspiration of the social gospel. As one historian has argued in regard to the missionary work of the Protestant churches in western Canada, the evangelical motive and the social gospel impulse could be "complementary incentives," and the possession of both did not necessarily lead to a conflict of approach.<sup>1</sup> After the turn of the century, the National Council of the Canadian YMCA was less receptive to the influences of the social gospel than the National YWCA, and YMCA leaders consistently refused to modify their evangelical orientation.<sup>2</sup> At the student level, however, by 1908 the Toronto YMCA was combining its evangelical activities with a newer interest in social problems, and while most members continued to be primarily engaged in intensive Bible study, some began a tentative

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<sup>1</sup>Marilyn Barber, "Nationalism, Nativism and the Social Gospel: The Protestant Church Response to Foreign Immigrants in Western Canada, 1897-1914," in The Social Gospel in Canada, ed. Richard Allen (Ottawa, 1975), p. 222.

<sup>2</sup>Diana Pedersen, "'The Call to Service': The YWCA and the Canadian College Woman, 1880-1920," in Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education, ed. Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid (Kingston, Ontario, 1989), p. 206, pp. 199-200; Murray G. Ross, The Y.M.C.A. in Canada: The Chronicle of a Century (Toronto, 1951), pp. 172-75, pp. 220-25.



extension of the Association's city mission work. During the 1907 to 1908 academic year, the University YMCA was involved in both the LaPlante Avenue Mission and the Fred Victor Mission, helping to conduct Sunday schools and prayer meetings, and its annual report for that year suggested the possibility of establishing its own settlement house.<sup>3</sup> At this stage the Toronto YMCA was mainly attracted to the idea of a settlement as a larger forum in which to pursue its efforts at spiritual upliftment. After reviewing the current program in the slum districts, the annual report for 1908 to 1909 observed that despite branching out into medical work "the note of active evangelism has been maintained--a necessary condition for successful Settlement work under the University YMCA."<sup>4</sup> While this condition conflicted with the intentions of other University members interested in settlement work, by 1910 the student YMCA had bowed to pressure both from inside its own organization, and from the wider University community, and had allowed itself to become the agency through which University Settlement was launched. Even though its evangelical perspective was ultimately rejected by others involved, the YMCA's participation at the beginning was crucial, as it provided

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<sup>3</sup>University of Toronto Archives (hereafter UTA), University of Toronto, Student Christian Movement, B79-0059/008, file: YMCA Annual Report, 1907-1908; UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/004, file: YMCA 1908.

<sup>4</sup>UTA, Student Christian Movement, B79-0059/008, file: YMCA Annual Report, 1908-1909.

the necessary financial support and organizational framework for the project.

The YMCA to some extent was reflecting the University's growing interest in social service, but its evangelical interpretation of settlement work was out of harmony with the Toronto ideal then taking hold among male students and faculty. Criticism of the YMCA's approach appeared in the first issue of a new literary magazine for undergraduates, The Arbor, in February 1910. The writer, A.M. Goulding, was a third-year student at University College, and was responding to S.A. Cudmore's recent article, "The Condition of England." Addressing himself to all those who had remained unmoved by Cudmore's essay, Goulding pointed out that many students mistakenly believed that "a settlement is anything that tries to do good: a parish house, a mission, whatever indeed aims at being really useful." He argued that in reality a settlement was an institution with a permanent resident staff, whose work was dedicated to education "in its broadest sense." Like Cudmore, Goulding believed that social service was uniquely appropriate for University men, and while he acknowledged the existing involvement of Toronto women in settlement work, he dismissed it as "an experiment," claiming that "it can scarcely be considered as fittingly representing the University." Goulding expressed his acute sense of frustration with Toronto's lack of definite progress, even

though, he claimed, the need for a settlement had long been "vaguely felt among the undergraduates." In Goulding's view, this deficiency was partly due to the limited perspective of the University YMCA which, he asserted, seemed to have "lapsed into a condition of almost senile decrepitude from a dearth of active outside work." "The average undergraduate may not be very keen on Bible study as an end in itself," he concluded, "but that is no reason for supposing him incapable of practical Christian work."<sup>5</sup>

A.M. Goulding's article pointed out the fundamental difficulty in organizing a settlement for male students: support existed among the undergraduates, but what was needed was a group or individual with the necessary resources to carry the idea through to completion. In 1902, Sara Libby Carson had provided women at the University with a practical outlet for social service when she had opened Evangelia House in Toronto. In the summer of 1910, a young Methodist minister, James M. Shaver, gave University men a similar opportunity for action, and, through the agency of the YMCA, he was able to mobilize widespread backing for a settlement house. Although he initially supplied the energy needed to get the project under way, Shaver's influence finally proved to be divisive. Many of the men who were willing to participate in the establishment of a settlement

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<sup>5</sup>A.M. Goulding, "An University Settlement," The Arbor, I, No. 1 (February 1910), 32-37.

shared idealist and empirical views of social service. Shaver himself, however, like other YMCA members, was drawn to the settlement idea through the spirit of Christian activism imparted by the social gospel, and throughout his career he united his interest in social service to his enthusiastic faith in evangelism.

J.M. Shaver had decided to go into the ministry at age sixteen, after experiencing the intense religious conversion which characterized nineteenth-century Methodist revival meetings. "Those were days of hell fire preaching," he later remembered, "and it took firm hold of me until I decided that at the first public opportunity I would take my stand for Christ."<sup>6</sup> Shaver was granted special ordination by a Methodist Conference held in 1901, but it was not until 1908--when he was thirty-two years old--that he began studying theology at Victoria College. After leaving Toronto, Shaver's subsequent career was dedicated to helping immigrants become, as The Christian Guardian put it, "Christian, Canadian, citizens."<sup>7</sup> In 1912, he was appointed the first superintendent of the Wesley Institute, a

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<sup>6</sup>United Church/Victoria University Archives (hereafter UCA), Biographical file: James M. Shaver, "Life Sketch of Mr. J.M. Shaver," [1923], p. 3. For an analysis of the conversion experience typical of Methodist revivals after the mid-nineteenth century, see William Westfall, Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Kingston, Ontario, and Montreal, 1989), pp. 78-81.

<sup>7</sup>UTA, Department of Graduate Records, A73-0026/409(16), James M. Shaver, clipping: The Christian Guardian, 1 April 1925.

Methodist mission established in the impoverished "Coal Dock" area of Fort William, in northwestern Ontario. In order to gain the cooperation of other local churches, Shaver originally agreed not to undertake any evangelical activities, and the mission instead concentrated on teaching English and the ideals of British civic life to the mainly immigrant population.<sup>8</sup> He left the Wesley Institute in 1921, and for the next twenty years held the position of superintendent at the All Peoples' Mission in Winnipeg. Unlike one of his predecessors as superintendent, the politician and reformer J.S. Woodsworth, Shaver's acceptance of the collectivist implications of social gospel's message was limited, and his recognition of the necessity for social reform does not seem to have shaken his allegiance to orthodox Methodism.<sup>9</sup> Throughout his years of mission work in the slums of Toronto, Fort William, and Winnipeg, Shaver maintained the evangelical convictions of his childhood, continuing to equate the reform of society with the individual's redemption through Christ. Two years after his appointment to All Peoples' Mission, he described his future

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<sup>8</sup>Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, Biographical file: Cecil King, interview by Olga Jagodnik, 16 February 1977, transcript, pp. 5-7; J.M. Shaver, "The Immigrant in Industry," Social Welfare, III, Nos. 10-11 (July-August 1921), 275-77.

<sup>9</sup>For a discussion of J.S. Woodsworth's struggle with the secular implications of the social gospel, see Ramsay Cook, The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada (Toronto, 1985), pp. 213-23.

task to be "to try to win the New Canadians in as far as I can to the real new life in Christ that they may pass it on to others in our beloved Canada and ... I do pray that some may even join our little army of the Kingdom in China and Japan."<sup>10</sup>

While a student at Victoria College, Shaver had been drawn toward mission work through his participation in a program of "aggressive evangelism" organized by the Methodist Church. Taking advantage of an expected visit to Toronto by a famous evangelist, Gipsy Smith, in April 1909 the Methodist Church sent Shaver and eleven other "Vic boys" to make a door-to-door survey of the downtown slum districts. Although the students were mostly to inquire into the religious outlook of the inhabitants and urge them to attend the Gipsy Smith mission, they also were to report on the conditions which they found. In an article entitled "In the Slums of 'Toronto the Good,'" The Christian Guardian was horrified to relate that moral and religious destitution was extreme, and that sanitary conditions were of the most appalling kind. "So evil, indeed," the magazine claimed, "were the conditions brought to light that one of the students, who had worked for five years in the Whitechapel district in Old London, stated most emphatically that Toronto quite outclassed even that notorious old-world slum

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<sup>10</sup>UCA, Biographical file: James M. Shaver, "Life Sketch," p. 6.

in the moral and physical conditions of some of its downtown districts."<sup>11</sup> A Committee for Aggressive Evangelism was appointed under the direction of the City and Fred Victor Mission Board, and, with Shaver as chairman, the students followed up their original survey by conducting evangelistic services and canvassing non-church goers during the summer.<sup>12</sup> "We preached on street corners and in tents, on vacant lots, prayed together, and in the peoples' homes, [and] visited the saloons," Shaver recalled.<sup>13</sup> Although the primary incentive of the campaign was missionary, the students again were authorized to gather facts on such aspects of slum life as overcrowding and poor sanitation, and, in October, Acta Victoriana was able to report that "a great deal of valuable information regarding social conditions has been collected."<sup>14</sup> Victoria's connection with the Fred Victor Mission was then more firmly established by the formation of the Students' Social and Evangelistic Department of the Mission Board; a department

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<sup>11</sup>"In the Slums of 'Toronto the Good,'" The Christian Guardian, LXXX, No. 21 (26 May 1909), 3.

<sup>12</sup>UCA, Methodist Church (Canada), Toronto Conference, Methodist Union of Toronto, 84.050C, file 2-5, Fred Victor Mission Board Minutes, 1907-1913, (20 May and 22 June 1909).

<sup>13</sup>UCA, Biographical file: James M. Shaver, "Life Sketch," p. 5.

<sup>14</sup>"The Students' Christian Social Union," Acta Victoriana, XXXIII, No. 1 (October 1909), 37; UCA, Local Church Records Collection, Fred Victor Mission, Annual Report: Forward: The Story of Our Work by Our Workers, 1909, p. 24.

which continued to conduct street meetings and house-to-house visitations with the intention of reclaiming slum-dwellers for the Methodist Church.<sup>15</sup>

The students' campaign encouraged a new interest at Victoria College in urban conditions and mission work. At the beginning of the 1909 to 1910 term, the Students' Christian Social Union was organized by Arthur H. Burnett to explore issues relating to the Methodist Church's involvement in social questions. As a member of the students' campaign during the summer, Burnett had been particularly attracted to the possibilities of applied sociological research, and had taken numerous photographs of the slums which were later used by Toronto's Medical Health Officer, Charles J. Hastings. Burnett's experience in Toronto prompted him--in contrast to J.M. Shaver--to pursue a career in professional social work, and in 1912 he enrolled in the New York School of Philanthropy. In February 1910, the Theological Club of Victoria College invited the Provincial Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, J.J. Kelso, to deliver an address on "The Effect of Heredity and Environment on Morality." According to Kelso, after the address both Shaver and Burnett consulted him privately for suggestions on how they

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<sup>15</sup>UCA, Local Church Records Collection, Fred Victor Mission, Annual Reports, pamphlet: Making History, 1886-1911, pp. 43-7.



could initiate social action among the students.<sup>16</sup> Burnett had devised a program for the Students' Christian Social Union, which had started in January 1910, and which involved a series of lectures and student conferences on social questions.<sup>17</sup> Once the program had been distributed over the Christmas holiday to all Victoria College students, Acta Victoriana had reported that "great interest has been aroused," and had commented: "The world is becoming deeply interested in these questions, and the church must make her influence felt in no uncertain way. But how can she do so if her leaders are not well informed on these tremendous problems?"<sup>18</sup> In May, President Falconer delivered the final lecture of the series, entitled "The University Student and the Social Problem." According to the Toronto Mail, Falconer argued that the discrepancy between rich and poor created by modern society could be most effectively reformed by educated university students "actuated by the great Christian dynamic."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), John Joseph Kelso Papers, MG 30, C 97, vol. 1, file: University Training Courses, TMs, "Address at Victoria College," n.d.; and file: Reform Causes, TMs, n.d.

<sup>17</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/026, file: University Settlement, 1912-13, Arthur H. Burnett to Robert Falconer, 20 March and 5 April 1913; University of Toronto, Torontonensis, XIV (1912), 183.

<sup>18</sup>"The Social Union Programme," Acta Victoriana, XXXIII, No. 4 (January 1910), 292-93.

<sup>19</sup>NAC, Kelso Papers, MG 30, C 97, vol. 1, file: Reform Causes, clipping: Toronto Mail, n.d.

While Arthur Burnett was exploring the sociological implications of the social gospel, J.M. Shaver was directing his energies toward a redirection of the University's traditional mission activity. Through his position on the Victoria College YMCA Executive for 1909 to 1910, and, during the following year, as associate secretary and settlement convenor on the YMCA Federal Executive, Shaver managed to encourage support among the membership for the creation of a YMCA-sponsored settlement. Every Sunday afternoon throughout the academic year of 1909 to 1910, for example, he promoted the discussion of social questions by conducting a class for the YMCA on "City Problems."<sup>20</sup> In the annual report for 1909 to 1910, the general secretary, Paul R. Brecken, explained that the Association's student leaders had long held the conviction that the methods used in its mission work provided "little opportunity for extension or permanence." The establishment of a settlement had been undertaken, he continued, because of the growing realization of the responsibility which university students had toward the residents of the "lower parts" of the city. It should be noted, however, that not all the officers appeared to be committed to moving beyond the YMCA's evangelical focus. In the same report, the city missions convenor (who was replaced by Shaver in the following year)

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<sup>20</sup> "YMCA Notes," The Varsity, XXIX, No. 15 (26 November 1909).

expressed his hope that the work carried on at the Hayter Street Mission and the YMCA Boys' Club would be increased during the following year, as it tended "to uplift souls less fortunate than we."<sup>21</sup>

The final decision by the YMCA Executive to go ahead with Shaver's settlement plan had been sparked in March 1910 by the unexpected offer of the Massey family to build a substantial student centre on campus. In February, the YMCA had raised \$16,200 from student subscriptions in order to finance a new University YMCA building, but the Massey's proposed centre, Hart House, would accommodate the Association in some style, and would leave the Executive with a large amount which it might contribute toward a settlement. On the fifteenth of March, Paul Brecken announced the YMCA's intentions in The Varsity, and urged the students to back the project. Brecken's letter to the editor reveals the student Association's obvious acceptance of the need for social reform, yet it also shows the YMCA's essential confusion as to what a university settlement involved. Although the customary note of evangelism was missing, Brecken explained that the activities would consist largely of "teaching along social, moral and religious lines," while at the same time, like the students' summer campaign, provide an opportunity "for extremely interesting

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<sup>21</sup>UTA, Student Christian Movement, B79-0059/008, file: YMCA Annual Report, 1909-1910, p. 7, p. 13; Torontonensis, XII (1910) and XIII (1911).

and instructive investigations." "The fact that the work in such an institution is primarily of the nature of a preventative rather than a cure," Brecken asserted vaguely, "insures much more permanent results than are obtained in a mission."<sup>22</sup> In its editorial, The Varsity expressed its wholehearted approval of the project which, it hoped, would inspire University men to help the poor. "A well-organized social settlement with facilities for promoting the physical, mental and spiritual welfare of the vast neglected and degraded portion of Toronto's population, would give the undergraduates of this University an opportunity for social service which would be of incalculable benefit."<sup>23</sup>

Encouraged by the message of social Christianity, the University YMCA thus sought to enlarge its mission activities by sponsoring a university settlement house. The Association soon discovered, however, that its approach to social service was incompatible with that of the dominant members of the Board of Directors, and, by the following year, the YMCA had withdrawn from active participation in the Settlement.

#### The Rejection of Evangelism

The early history of University Settlement was characterized by a lack of direction, which was partially

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<sup>22</sup>The Varsity, XXIX, No. 40 (15 March 1910).

<sup>23</sup>The Varsity, XXIX, No. 40 (15 March 1910).

due to the fact that the members of the Board and the Resident Secretary did not share a common perception of what their goals should be. The Board of Directors--formally established in October 1910--was dominated by Robert Falconer, who, as President of University Settlement and Chairman of the Board, was largely responsible for determining its policy.<sup>24</sup> Falconer received strong support on the Board from the University's new Associate Professor of Political Economy, G.I.H. Lloyd, who had been appointed to replace S.J. McLean in September 1909. After graduating from Cambridge University in 1896, Lloyd taught for twelve years at the University of Sheffield, where he established contacts in the British settlement movement; since 1897, for example, he had given special courses in "Social Economics" to Sheffield's social workers, and in 1899 had spent several months visiting Toynbee Hall.<sup>25</sup> The original constitution

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<sup>24</sup>The first permanent Board of Directors appointed in October 1910 was headed Robert Falconer, and consisted of the following members: J.J. Kelso, Provincial Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children; G.A. Warburton, Secretary of the Toronto YMCA; three Toronto businessmen (R.J. Clark, J.S. McLean, and T.A. Russell); and eight Toronto faculty members (W.B. Hendry, G.I.H. Lloyd, R.W. Angus, M.W. Wallace, H.T.J. Coleman, H.C. Griffith, E.M. Walker, and E.F. Burton). NAC, Kelso Papers, MG 30, C 97, vol. 6, file: Social Settlements, Central Neighbourhood House, pamphlet: The University Settlement, 1910-1911: Telling of the Opening up of the Settlement with Plans for the Winter Sessions; "The University Settlement," University of Toronto Monthly, XI, No. 4 (February 1911), 113-14.

<sup>25</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/009, file: G.I.H. Lloyd, 1909-1910, pamphlet: Letter of Application, Accompanied by Names of Referees, and Testimonials, from Godfrey I.H. Lloyd [1909]; Toynbee

of University Settlement, as it was articulated by the Board's first publicity pamphlet, was a clear statement of the idealist and empirical interpretation of social service. The brochure declared that the aim of the Settlement was "to bring the University Students into direct contact with those living amidst the unfortunate social conditions of our modern cities and thus broaden the one and elevate the other." This idealist faith in the value of personal communication between the classes, and in the importance of community reintegration, was then united to the goal of empirical social research which had been cultivated at Toronto since the appointment of W.J. Ashley. University Settlement, the pamphlet announced, was to be "an institution where all kinds of social work and investigation could be carried on."<sup>26</sup>

While the dominant members of its Board of Directors regarded University Settlement as a vehicle for community reintegration and social research, the Resident Secretary, J.M. Shaver, and through him the YMCA, conceived of it as an opportunity for mission work which could bring about both social and spiritual renewal. The program initiated by Shaver in 1910 was an attempt to apply the techniques of evangelism to problems which were physical as well as moral.

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Record, XI, No. 7 (April 1899), 107.

<sup>26</sup>NAC, Kelso Papers, MG 30, C 97, vol. 6, file: Social Settlements, Central Neighbourhood House, pamphlet: The University Settlement, 1910-1911.

The first year of the Settlement's existence, therefore, was marked by tension between the University's evangelical and idealist views of social service. In the summer of 1910, advocates of the two positions were forced, in effect, to face each other across a table, as both sides attempted to assimilate their often incompatible expectations into the program of the new institution. The Federal Executive of the University YMCA soon was anxious to disengage itself officially from the Settlement. In June 1910, President Falconer explained the Association's position to M.W. Wallace, a faculty member who would later join the Settlement Board. "It is the desire of the YMCA," Falconer wrote, "to put this under the direction of an independent committee, and while the YMCA will stand behind it financially for some time and use all their endeavours to get it underway, they do not wish it to be a YMCA Settlement, but rather a University Settlement."<sup>27</sup> Despite this detachment, the participation of J.M. Shaver assured that for the first year the Association would continue to assert considerable influence over the activities of University Settlement.

J.M. Shaver had prepared a report on the proposed settlement in May 1910, and had been appointed to confer with the University YMCA's Board of Directors to plan

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<sup>27</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/011, file: Malcolm W. Wallace, 1910, Robert Falconer to M.W. Wallace, 24 June 1910.

details, but by the summer the project still was not clearly defined. At a meeting in Falconer's office in June, an Organizing Committee was chosen to secure a house and to get the work in progress before fall.<sup>28</sup> Reporting to the President, however, the Committee confessed that it was unsure as to the general purpose of a settlement, and that it was waiting to receive pamphlets from American settlements describing their work. "It is unnecessary to state that we feel the organization here drafted is very vague and indefinite but we hope it will be sufficient," the Committee concluded.<sup>29</sup> Despite the Committee's hesitation, that summer Shaver was given the title of Resident Secretary, and he and his wife moved into a house on Adelaide Street West which had been renovated to provide both living quarters and public rooms. Writing over twenty years later to J.J. Kelso, Shaver remembered coming to him with the many problems he had encountered, as he put it, "in those early days when my young wife and I were making ventures out into an experience which was entirely new to both of us." "The fact that I could go to one of the

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<sup>28</sup>NAC, Kelso Papers, MG 30, C 97, vol. 1, file: Reform Causes, clipping: Toronto Mail, n.d.; "The University Settlement," University of Toronto Monthly, XI, No. 4 (February 1911), 112-16.

<sup>29</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/045b, file: University Settlement, 1916, Report of the Organizing Committee, n.d. The Committee consisted of six men: R.W. Angus, G.A. Warburton, E.F. Burton, J.J. Kelso, W.B. Hendry, and Harry McGee. All but McGee also served on the first Board of Directors.



directors whose ... ideals were so tempered with sane, common sense," Shaver wrote, "and who, with it all, had a real sympathy for the man who had his hands actually on the task, was a source of great comfort to me, a comfort more than I am able to describe to you."<sup>30</sup> The lack of practical guidance which Shaver received from the Board of Directors can be at least partially explained by the fact that the Directors themselves had no clear conception of how to translate their ideals into action. In the absence of a more satisfactory model, the Settlement's initial program, although officially nonreligious, was comparable in structure to the more familiar efforts of such church institutions as the Methodist Fred Victor Mission.

Like the city mission work which had been carried out by the University YMCA for the last twenty years, the activities of the Settlement staff during its first winter were intended to preoccupy the large number of boys who, it was assumed, would otherwise be amusing themselves in the unwholesome environment of the streets. The Settlement was housed south of the University in a modest three-story house in the centre of one of Toronto's congested manufacturing districts. The area was described in the first publicity pamphlet as consisting of "large families of laboring people," most of whom were recent immigrants paying high

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<sup>30</sup>NAC, Kelso Papers, MG 30, C 97, vol. 33, file 187, J.M. Shaver to J.J. Kelso, 24 April 1934.

rent. While the text of the pamphlet indicated the idealist ambitions of the Board, the illustrations which accompanied it betrayed the more immediate concerns of the residents on the spot. One photograph, for example, showed a group of barefoot and untidy boys sitting on a mound of dirt. The caption beneath read: "Some who spend their evenings in the street." A second photograph displaying a small child (again barefoot) lying on a doorstep, revealed a more sinister aspect of slum life, and was included without comment.<sup>31</sup> The main focus of the work among boys was the athletic program operated by E. Murray Thomson, a student at University College, who, along with W.A. Scott of Medicine, lived with Shaver and his wife in the Settlement building. Thomson organized an athletic club, established a team for the city's Junior Rugby Football League, and created gymnasium classes for the younger boys. Other students from the University volunteered to help conduct the classes, and to supervise hockey games in a public rink located across the street from the Settlement.<sup>32</sup> The program was planned to keep the boys busy, and, it was hoped, to encourage them to emulate the manly accomplishments of Thomson and other popular University athletes. According to Shaver, the boys

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<sup>31</sup>NAC, Kelso Papers, MG 30, C 97, vol. 6, file: Social Settlements, Central Neighbourhood House, pamphlet: The University Settlement, 1910-1911.

<sup>32</sup>"The University Settlement," University of Toronto Monthly, XI, No. 4 (February 1911), 115.

tended to be suspicious of the volunteers at first, but gradually became enthusiastic once their confidence had been gained.<sup>33</sup> Commenting on Thomson's settlement work in February 1911, University of Toronto Monthly was more wholeheartedly optimistic than Shaver on the success of the program. "The influence of a leader in good clean sport," it noted approvingly, "and recognised star of the champion football team of Canada contributed quite perceptibly to the moral upbuilding of these boys' lives. It is remarkable what an inspiration such a college man really is to them."<sup>34</sup>

As the article in University of Toronto Monthly made clear, during its first year University Settlement was perceived as an entirely masculine enterprise: operated by a male resident staff, it not only was intended to provide male students with a forum for volunteer social service, but its activities were designed to exert a manly influence on the boys of its neighbourhood. During the first year of the Settlement's program, women from the University were given no opportunity to participate either as resident staff members or as volunteers, and there were no classes organized for girls or women from the district. The Resident Secretary's wife, E.C. Shaver (née Asselstine),

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<sup>33</sup>UTA, Student Christian Movement, B79-0059/002, Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering, YMCA Minutes, 1905-1917, (17 November 1910).

<sup>34</sup>"The University Settlement," University of Toronto Monthly, XI, No. 4 (February 1911), 115.

did, in fact, live and work at the house. E.C. Shaver was herself a university graduate, having received her M.A. from Queen's in 1907, and her contribution to the Settlement--unfortunately unspecified in the records--was considered important enough for the Board to pay her an independent salary of twenty-five dollars a month.<sup>35</sup> Apart from E.C. Shaver's largely hidden presence, however, in its first year University Settlement excluded women, and embodied the idealist confidence in the superior ability of educated men to bring about social improvement.

In his annual report, made public in June 1911, Shaver was able to present some impressive statistics, which seemed to some extent to justify the optimism of University of Toronto Monthly. The report stated that ninety boys were registered at the Settlement, with an average evening attendance at the rooms of thirty-two.<sup>36</sup> While Shaver's report emphasized the work among boys, it also revealed that the residents had responded to other, perhaps more urgent, requirements of the neighbourhood. Two additional aspects of the Settlement's activities, the medical dispensary and classes in the English language, were shown to have been in equally high demand over the winter. By June a large number

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<sup>35</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/016, file: University Settlement, 1911, Analysis of Accounts, 31 January 1911. For information on E.C. Shaver, see UCA, Biographical file: James M. Shaver.

<sup>36</sup>"The University Settlement," University of Toronto Monthly, XI, No. 8 (June 1911), 379.

of male student volunteers were engaged in what was categorized as "Foreign Work," and eighty-two people were reported attending the evening English classes. The free medical dispensary had also been extensively used: since the previous summer when the Settlement's resident medical student, W.A. Scott, had opened it, the dispensary reported giving medical and dental care to one hundred different patients.<sup>37</sup> The positive nature of the Resident Secretary's report, however, masked the dissatisfaction with the program which had been growing throughout the University community.

By January 1911, it was becoming increasingly clear that the uneasy alliance between representatives of the evangelical and idealist approaches was untenable. Although it was acknowledged, as President Falconer expressed it, that the movement had "life about it,"<sup>38</sup> the Settlement's program fell far short of the aims outlined in its original publicity pamphlet. While these aims had echoed the idealist goals which had been incorporated into Britain's original settlement movement, the actual activities of University Settlement during its first year had little in common with the educative program established by its prototype, Toynbee Hall. The efforts of Toynbee's male residents had focused traditionally on the transference of

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 380.

<sup>38</sup> UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/012, file: R.J. Clark, 1910-1911, Robert Falconer to R.J. Clark, 19 January 1911.

university culture, in the form of art, literature and science, to the working classes of London's East End. The ambition of the Toronto Directors to achieve social and cultural reintegration, however, was difficult to locate in either the athletically-oriented program for boys, or in the more practical labours of those at the dispensary. Moreover, if the idealist goal of "broadening and elevating" was being neglected, then so was the accompanying aim of empirical research, since the program did little to facilitate the Board's stated intention of using the Settlement as a centre for original social investigation.

As the previous chapter has suggested, widespread support for the Settlement among male undergraduates relied upon their acceptance of an idealist vision of social service. While students were responding eagerly to President Falconer's injunction to find the "highest good" through social action, they were becoming impatient with the strictly evangelical focus of the University YMCA. During its first year, in fact, the Settlement's popularity seemed to depend on an assurance that the project signified a definite break from the traditional mission work of the YMCA. In October 1910, for example, an editorial in The Varsity urged support for University Settlement, but took care to point out that "the work is not directly religious at all."<sup>39</sup> Similarly that following January, at the

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<sup>39</sup>The Varsity, XXX, No. 6 (21 October 1910).

beginning of the YMCA's campaign to raise funds for the Settlement, The Varsity praised its work, and stated that the house was "in no sense a 'mission.'" "It encourages those with whom it comes in contact to attend some church," the editorial conceded, "but there are no religious meetings."<sup>40</sup> Another article a week later again stressed that University Settlement was not "directly religious," and that its nature should appeal even to those students who were not interested in the regular work of the YMCA. This Varsity editorial went on to describe the Settlement's purpose in the idealist terms which were by then commonplace in University publications. "It aims to raise the standard of citizenship within its sphere of influence, and to extend some of the advantages which we as students enjoy, perhaps without a thought to those less fortunate ones who labor all around us."<sup>41</sup> Although this appeal was successful, and by the end of January the campaign organizers were able to announce that their goal of raising \$2,500 had been satisfactorily met,<sup>42</sup> The Varsity's reporting of the Settlement campaign accentuated the division which by then existed between the idealist and evangelical factions on campus.

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<sup>40</sup> The Varsity, XXX, No. 21 (6 January 1911).

<sup>41</sup> The Varsity, XXX, No. 24 (17 January 1911).

<sup>42</sup> The Varsity, XXX, No. 28 (31 January 1911).

The rejection of Shaver's approach to social service, both among Board members and students, led to the creation in September 1911 of another settlement, Central Neighbourhood House, which from then on would function as a rival to University Settlement in recruiting volunteers and financial support from the University community.<sup>43</sup> Although it was a private venture, the three men responsible for the establishment of Central Neighbourhood House all had ties to the University: J.J. Kelso, who would remain a member of University Settlement's Board until after 1914; and two theology students at Victoria College, Arthur Burnett and George P. Bryce. Bryce had spent the summer of 1909 with Shaver and Burnett conducting the aggressive evangelism campaign for the Methodist Church, and, like Burnett, had subsequently pursued an education in social work at the New York School of Philanthropy.<sup>44</sup> Kelso had been advocating the importance of settlement work since visiting Hull-House in Chicago in the 1890s, and, in March 1909, had made a suggestion to President Falconer (which was tactfully declined) that Toronto's House of Industry might be moved to

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<sup>43</sup>For example, see an article requesting volunteers for Central Neighbourhood House in The Varsity, XXXII, No. 4 (7 October 1912).

<sup>44</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/026, file: University Settlement, 1912-13, Arthur H. Burnett to Robert Falconer, 5 April 1913; Torontonensis, XIV (1912), 183; Andrew Jones and Leonard Rutman, In the Children's Aid: J.J. Kelso and Child Welfare in Ontario (Toronto, 1981), p. 129.



the country, and the building be renovated to accommodate a "communal social centre" supervised by the University.<sup>45</sup> According to his own account--he seems to have had a tendency to remember himself at the centre of any movement in which he participated--Kelso also had played an active role "as instigator and consultant" in the establishment of University Settlement.<sup>46</sup> While there is little evidence to support the view that Kelso's influence was essential to that project, he did act on both the Organizing Committee and the first Board of Directors, and seems to have frequently offered J.M. Shaver some badly needed sympathy. By contrast, Kelso's involvement in the formation of Central Neighbourhood House was much more direct. Having previously consulted with Jurnett and Bryce, in May 1911 Kelso chaired a meeting held at City Hall at which it was proposed to establish a new settlement in "The Ward," an area east of University Settlement which was then notorious as Toronto's worst slum district. At the meeting Kelso explained that the aims of the project were unlike those of the missions which already existed in the area. Workers at Central Neighbourhood House, he insisted, would "emphasize matters

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<sup>45</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/006, file: J.J. Kelso, 1909, J.J. Kelso to Robert Falconer, 17 March 1909.

<sup>46</sup>NAC, Kelso Papers, MG 30, C 97, vol. 1, file: Reform Causes, TMs, n.d. The autobiographical typescripts in the Kelso Papers contain many inaccurate dates and references, and therefore other sources have been used for this study when possible.

of common agreement instead of making prominent the points of greatest difference"; an assertion which gains significance in light of Kelso's own experience on the Board of University Settlement. Kelso was elected Chairman of the Board of Central Neighbourhood House, and, in the fall of 1911, the new settlement opened with Bryce and Burnett as its first resident workers.<sup>47</sup>

Under the headship of Elizabeth B. Neufeld, who was also a graduate of the New York School of Philanthropy, Central Neighbourhood House became dedicated to training immigrants in the duties of citizenship, and its workers adopted the mediating role pioneered by Hull-House in Chicago. Compared to University Settlement, the new agency offered female members of the University a more active role, and there is evidence that women on campus responded positively to its establishment.<sup>48</sup> Like the residents of Hull-House, staff members at Central Neighbourhood House devoted much of their time to efforts at municipal improvement, lobbying for such causes as improved working-class housing, a minimum wage, and local playground facilities.<sup>49</sup> During the years of Neufeld's leadership the

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<sup>47</sup> Jones and Rutman, pp. 129-31.

<sup>48</sup> UTA, United Alumnae Association, B65-0030/001, United Alumnae Committee, 1909-1913, TMs, proposal, "A Neighborhood House for Central Toronto," n.d.

<sup>49</sup> Patricia J. O'Connor, The Story of Central Neighbourhood House, 1911-1986, Publication of the Toronto Association of Neighbourhood Services, ed. Patricia J.

settlement became well known for its activist position--to such an extent that one contemporary remembered vividly that Central Neighbourhood House "really hammered at civic reforms."<sup>50</sup> In an article entitled "The Conservation of Citizenship," published in Acta Victoriana in November 1911, Arthur Burnett argued that the goals of "true settlement work" (an unacknowledged dig at University Settlement) were to educate immigrants in the value of democracy, while pursuing the interests of the neighbourhood within the larger community. Concluding the article with an invitation for students to visit Central Neighbourhood House, he scornfully attacked mission work of any variety. "[I]t will be seen that settlements fundamentally differ from 'missions,'" Burnett maintained, "whose inadequate and frequently vicious charities and whose preaching services are rapidly becoming obsolete: as though the poor were especially anxious to be sermonized!"<sup>51</sup> While the founders of Central Neighbourhood House conceived of their project as a definite rejection of evangelism, they also were self-consciously applying the model of an American social settlement, like Hull-House, to conditions in Toronto. By

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O'Connor (Toronto, 1986), pp. 17-18.

<sup>50</sup> Ethel Dodds Parker, "The Origins and Early History of the Presbyterian Settlement Houses," in Social Gospel in Canada, p. 118.

<sup>51</sup> Arthur H. Burnett, "The Conservation of Citizenship: A Critique on Settlement Service," Acta Victoriana, XXXV, No. 7 (November 1911), 62.

doing so, they necessarily brought a third influence, that of applied sociology, into the debate over the mandate of University Settlement.

The appearance of Central Neighbourhood House as a competitor drew attention to the failure of J.M. Shaver's program to fully realize either the idealist aims of the dominant members of the Board, or that "note of active evangelism" which the YMCA had considered a necessary condition for its settlement work. Although its program was structured like that of a mission, and Shaver himself (as The Varsity suggested) almost certainly attempted to inject a religious element into his work, the Settlement's official policy prevented any explicitly evangelical activity. The YMCA's discontent with this situation was evident in its decision, announced in October 1911, that from then on it would be considered completely distinct from University Settlement. Not only did this decision signify a clear victory for advocates of the Toronto ideal, but it irrevocably challenged the authority of evangelism to continue to define social service ventures on campus. The new agreement left the Settlement in the control of the Board of Directors, which was to be composed mainly of graduates and faculty members, in consultation with a Student Committee, chosen, as The Varsity reported, "from all faculties and years without regard to denomination or religious activity." "It has been felt for some time," The

Varsity claimed, "that many men have the idea that the Settlement is an evangelical work. Such, however, is far from the case. The Settlement affords to men of the University an outlet for the broad humanitarian spirit which the college course helps to promote."<sup>52</sup> The rejection of evangelism was reinforced that fall by significant changes on the Settlement's Board of Directors and among its resident staff. An updated publicity pamphlet for University Settlement revealed the Board's new composition: the YMCA's principal representative, G.A. Warburton, was conspicuously absent, while the idealist ranks had been fortified by addition of E.J. Kylie.<sup>53</sup> The most important alteration, however, was in the Board's choice of a new head worker for the Settlement. J.M. Shaver had decided to leave Toronto to pursue his career as a Methodist minister, and, in June 1911, Milton B. Hunt of Chicago had accepted the position of Resident Director of University Settlement.<sup>54</sup>

Subsequently, though the University YMCA would steadily lose ground with those male students interested in social service, it did establish a polite, if rather distant, relationship with University Settlement throughout the rest

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<sup>52</sup>The Varsity, XXXI, No. 13 (25 October 1911).

<sup>53</sup>UTA, University Settlement (Ephemera), B78-1395, pamphlet: Some Facts About the University Settlement [1911].

<sup>54</sup>UCA, Biographical file: James M. Shaver; UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/013, file: Milton B. Hunt, 1911, Milton B. Hunt, to M.W. Wallace, 3 June 1911.

of the decade. The Toronto YMCA continued to promote the Settlement in its Students' Handbook, which was distributed to first-year undergraduates each fall, and to raise funds for the agency during its annual campaigns. Beginning in 1913, the student YMCA's Federal Executive began appointing a social service secretary to coordinate the placing of male student volunteers at the various settlements and missions in Toronto.<sup>55</sup> With the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the University YMCA's membership began to dwindle as more and more students enlisted to fight overseas, and many of its regular activities were curtailed.

By contrast, the University YWCA began to demonstrate a new awareness of the potential of social work as a female occupation. After 1913, the YWCA also maintained a social service coordinator, but unlike the YMCA, it organized a growing number of classes in social study as well as providing female volunteers for its extension work in the city.<sup>56</sup> The University College YWCA, for example, was addressed on openings for women in social service by workers

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<sup>55</sup>UTA, Ross Family, B83-0031/001, file: Student Handbooks, 1913-1914, pamphlet: University of Toronto Students' Handbook, 1913-14; UTA, Student Christian Movement, B79-0059/002, Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering, YMCA Minutes, 1905-1917, (16 October 1913); Will T. Kennedy, "The University of Toronto YMCA," Torontonensis, XVI (1914).

<sup>56</sup>Torontonensis, XV (1913); UTA, Student Christian Movement, B79-0059/004, file: YMCA Handbook, 1914-1915, pamphlet: University of Toronto Students' Handbook, 1914-15.

from St. Christopher House during the 1915 to 1916 academic year, and again by J.J. Kelso in 1918.<sup>57</sup> As interest in the professional aspects of social work grew, there was a corresponding decline in concern for the more traditional areas of the YWCA's commitment to service. Foreign mission work was most affected, and in 1916 the YWCA reported in the undergraduate yearbook, Torontonensis: "For reasons difficult to discover, Mission Study does not arouse much interest among the women and it has been no easy task for the convener to organize classes."<sup>58</sup>

After World War I, both the YMCA and the YWCA rapidly lost what was left of their once authoritative status on campus, and they became increasingly criticized for their links to conservative evangelical theology. At Toronto, as at other Canadian universities, students bruised by the war were recoiling from organized religion, and embracing the more direct and personal approach to spirituality preached by Henry Burton Sharman, the leading proponent of the Student Christian Movement in Canada.<sup>59</sup> The University's

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<sup>57</sup> Torontonensis, XVIII (1916); UTA, Office of the Registrar, A73-0051/240(30), file: University College YWCA, clipping: The Varsity, 1 February 1918.

<sup>58</sup> Torontonensis, XVIII (1916).

<sup>59</sup> Pedersen, "'The Call to Service,'" pp. 201-7; Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-28 (Toronto, 1971), pp. 219-23. For an overview of the movement, see UTA, M83-0080, pamphlet: Student Christian Movement of Canada, A Brief History of the Student Christian Movement in Canada (Toronto, 1975).

post-war mood was expressed forcefully in a report to the Toronto District Committee of the YWCA, submitted by Ruth E. Spence, the district student secretary, in November 1919. "Renewed, abounding life in all the college is very striking in this first year after the war," Spence commented. "One indication of this ... is a certain spirit of storm and stress, more or less articulate among the wide-awake students--a restlessness and impatience with conventionalism, an intolerance of anything that smacks of complacency or insincerity, and a desire to subject the YWCA to a searching test as regards both its purpose and its achievements."<sup>60</sup> The student leaders of the YWCA also realized what they were up against, and in 1918 the general secretary, R.B. Ferris, wrote anxiously: "Just six more weeks until College opens, and then--what! Are we going to square-up to the problems that face us in Toronto University?"<sup>61</sup>

The most serious criticism levelled at the University Christian Associations was that by becoming preoccupied with such secular details as boarding houses and fund-raising, they had been neglecting their original spiritual purpose.

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<sup>60</sup>UTA, Student Christian Movement, B79-0059/017, file: YWCA, Toronto District Committee, Reports, 1919-1920, "Report to the Toronto District Committee, November 18, 1919."

<sup>61</sup>UTA, Student Christian Movement, B79-0059/001, file: Clarkson Setting Up Conference, 1918, R.B. Ferris to J.E. Nunn, [1918].



As the student leaders of the YMCA and the YWCA began to re-examine their activities after 1918, the Associations' role in coordinating volunteers for social service started to be questioned. At the YMCA's Student Secretaries' Conference at Lake Couchiching, this aspect of the organization's secular work in particular was challenged. "What is the relation and message of the Social Service movement to the Association and the secretaries?" the seminar program asked. "Shall we follow a large program of community social service even though our student leaders are inefficient and uninterested?"<sup>62</sup> In a similar fashion, the Executive of the University YWCA was also reconsidering the importance of its social service activity. In June 1920, the Findings Committee of the Central Women's Student Conference decided that social study should be regarded as a phase of mission study, because, its report stated, "the primary responsibility of students is rather along the line of study and thought than of actual Social Service."<sup>63</sup> One historian has argued that during the early years of the Student Christian Movement in Canada many of its members were profoundly influenced by the social gospel, and directed

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<sup>62</sup>UTA, Student Christian Movement, B79-0059/049, file: Student Secretaries Conference, Lake Couchiching, [1919], "Seminar for Student Secretaries Conference, Lake Couchiching, August 20-29 [1919]."

<sup>63</sup>UTA, Student Christian Movement, B79-0059/049, file: SCA Canada, "Report of the Findings Committee, Central Women's Student Conference, June 16, 1920."

their attention to a wide range of social and industrial problems.<sup>64</sup> While it may well have promoted the theoretical examination of social problems, at the University of Toronto, however, the Student Christian Movement had the effect of discouraging social action, as social service was connected unfavourably to the secular activities of the old Christian Associations. In December 1920, the Board of Directors of the University YMCA was informed by a committee of the Federal Executive that a majority of the students taking an active interest in Christian work were in favour of substituting the Student Christian Movement for the YMCA. The committee made it clear that many students believed that the YMCA had lost sight of its true spiritual mandate by focusing its attention on the secular branches of its campus work. The committee's report stated: "[The Student Christian Movement] lays stress on the study of the life and teaching of Jesus, rather than on the performance of various social and organising functions which have hitherto taxed the energy of those most interested in the work, and which have obscured the religious purpose about which a Christian Movement ought to centre."<sup>65</sup> After 1923, therefore, when male and female students were brought together in the formation of the University of Toronto Student Christian

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<sup>64</sup>Allen, The Social Passion, pp. 219-23.

<sup>65</sup>UTA, Student Christian Movement, B79-0059/002, YMCA Executive Minutes, 1919-1922, Report on Present Condition of YMCA Activities in the University, [December 1920].

Association, evangelism no longer had influence over the University's participation in social service.<sup>66</sup>

### The Chicago Experiment

By October 1911 it seemed that the withdrawal of the YMCA from University Settlement had left the social service field open to the proponents of the Toronto ideal. The Varsity showed clearly where the loyalties of male undergraduates lay, and its editorials that fall were rousing in support of the masculine idea projected by the Settlement's Board. One typical editorial in November urged University men to give both their money and themselves to the cause of the Settlement. "Actual inculcation of decent, manly ideas into the minds of those people, who have found the State less kindly than you have and whose experiences have led to a sordid view of life," The Varsity enthused, "is the kind of constructive work that a University man should favor, with a share of his time at least."<sup>67</sup> As the results of the first year had shown, however, there was an obvious gap between the ideal of the Settlement as it was interpreted by the Board, and the possibilities of the actual program as it was carried out by the residents and

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<sup>66</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/081, file: YMCA, 1923, R.B. Ferris to Robert Falconer, 25 April 1923; "Constitution of the Student Christian Association of the University of Toronto (As Amended March 1923)."

<sup>67</sup>The Varsity, XXXI, No. 15 (1 November 1911).

volunteers. The publicity pamphlets distributed at the beginning of each fall session continued to indicate the intentions of the Board, yet there was a growing discrepancy between the ongoing activities which they described and the goals which they projected for the future.

In their search for a more suitable model--and perhaps determined to distance themselves from any hint of mission work--the members of the Settlement Board looked south to the active community of applied sociologists, known as the "early Chicago school," centred at the Department of Sociology in the University of Chicago. Since the appointment of Albion Woodbury Small to the first American Chair of Sociology at Chicago in 1892, social research at that university had been linked to the inductive method, and, like applied political economy, had been directed ethically toward the gradual reform of society. This orientation had led many Chicago academics to develop close working relationships with the sociologists and social workers based at the city's most famous settlement, Hull-House.<sup>68</sup> The Hull-House philosophy, as it was expressed by Jane Addams, maintained that the inequalities of modern life

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<sup>68</sup> Dorothy Ross, The Origins of American Social Science (Cambridge, England, 1991), pp. 122-38; Mary Jo Deegan, Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School, 1892-1918 (New Brunswick, N.J., 1988), pp. 75-83; Ellen Fitzpatrick, Endless Crusade: Women Social Scientists and Progressive Reform (New York, 1990), pp. 54-55; Rosalind Rosenberg, Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism (New Haven, Conn., 1982), pp. 33-36.

could be challenged and alleviated by educated lobbyists able to back their policy with indisputable quantitative evidence. As the Hull-House residents themselves often were former students, or were affiliated professionally with the Department of Sociology, a network of cooperation between settlement workers and academic sociologists was established during the years before World War I. In 1908, the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy was formed as a training institute for social workers, and under the influence of two faculty members, the social scientists Sophonisba Breckinridge and Edith Abbott, it increasingly began to accommodate the practical research interests of this network. Until the war, the School of Civics and Philanthropy primarily functioned as a centre for the investigation of urban conditions, and it offered students a broad education in public welfare administration and the social sciences. The School of Civics and Philanthropy existed as an independent institution until 1920, when it became the graduate department of social work at the University of Chicago.<sup>69</sup>

The Board of University Settlement at Toronto recruited first Milton B. Hunt, and then his successor, Norman J. Ware, from the network of sociologists affiliated with Hull-House and the early Chicago school. From 1911 to 1915, Hunt

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<sup>69</sup>Fitzpatrick, pp. 173-200; Ross, pp. 226-27; Deegan, pp. 74-75.

and Ware attempted to transform University Settlement into a neighbourhood centre for social research and civic betterment; a centre which, like Hull-House, would reveal the moral and empirical priorities of applied sociology. To some extent, the Chicago influences were perfectly suited to the intellectual environment of the University of Toronto. Continuing the tradition created by W.J. Ashley, Toronto students of political economy had been taught that the empirical study of society was justified by its moral utility, as "scientific" methodology would provide the information necessary to alleviate social problems. By incorporating the principles of applied sociology into University Settlement, however, social service at Toronto inevitably was connected to the new profession of female-dominated social work.

The appointment of Milton Hunt, a former resident of Hull-House, to the position of Director in June 1911 signified the end of University Settlement's period as an exclusively masculine community. In October, The Varsity's announcement of the YMCA's decision to withdraw contained the news that women were to be included in the new structure of the Settlement, and its headline linked the two details: "New Plan Adopted--Ladies To Be Asked."<sup>70</sup> Female undergraduates responded vigorously to the invitation, and during the 1911 campaign for funds, women from Victoria,

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<sup>70</sup> The Varsity, XXXI, No. 13 (25 October 1911).

Trinity, and University colleges, and from the Faculty of Education, all contributed money to support the Settlement.<sup>71</sup> That fall, two classes of girls started doing matriculation work in English literature under the direction of female student volunteers. A "Ladies' Committee," headed by G.I.H. Lloyd's wife, was formed to assist the Board of Directors. By 1912, an evening social club consisting of twenty-five members had been organized for the women of the neighbourhood, and in addition to the English classes, sewing classes had been initiated by students from the School of Household Science.<sup>72</sup> The participation of University women was made official in 1912 when the Board appointed Mabel F. Newton, formerly a municipal sanitary inspector and health visitor in England, to be in charge of the Settlement's program for girls and women.<sup>73</sup>

As early as the summer of 1910, the Settlement Board had been anxious to gain information on the activities of

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<sup>71</sup>The Varsity, XXXII, No. 22 (20 November 1912).

<sup>72</sup>The Varsity, XXXI, No. 9 (16 October 1911); UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/018, file: Mrs. Lloyd, 1912, Robert Falconer to Mrs. Lloyd, 25 April 1912; NAC, Kelso Papers, MG 30, C 97, vol. 6, file: Social Settlements, Central Neighbourhood House, pamphlet: The University Settlement [1912].

<sup>73</sup>UTA, University of Toronto, Faculty of Social Work, A85-0002/015, Enrolment Cards, 1914-1915; Hortense Catherine Fardell Wasteneys, "A History of the University Settlement of Toronto, 1910-1958: An Exploration of the Social Objectives of the University Settlement and of Their Implementation" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1975), p. 77.

the more established settlements in the United States, and, in March 1911, J.M. Shaver had visited the two leading settlements in Chicago, Hull-House and Chicago Commons.<sup>74</sup> In a letter of introduction to the Warden of Chicago Commons and President of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, Graham Taylor, President Falconer had stated the situation at Toronto quite frankly. "The Settlement was started a year ago in a tentative way," he had explained, "and Mr. Shaver is now intending to visit Chicago in order to gather some suggestions as to the way in which the work might be conducted."<sup>75</sup> By June, the Board's decision to align itself with the Chicago movement had been confirmed by Milton Hunt's appointment. "This we hope may prove to be the beginning of better things," President Falconer had written to him optimistically.<sup>76</sup> Unlike that of J.M. Shaver, Hunt's background was academic: after graduating in political and social science from Brown University in 1909, he had spent a year at the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, where he had participated in one of the

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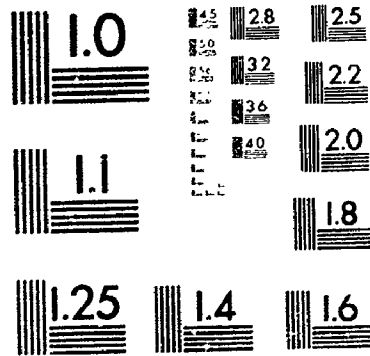
<sup>74</sup>Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, Biographical file: Cecil King, interview by Olga Jagodnik, 16 February 1977, transcript, p. 7; UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/015, file: Graham Taylor, 1911, Robert Falconer to Graham Taylor, 9 March 1911.

<sup>75</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/015, file: Graham Taylor, 1911, Robert Falconer to Graham Taylor, 9 March 1911.

<sup>76</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/013, file: Milton B. Hunt, 1911, Robert Falconer to Milton B. Hunt, 2 June 1911.



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housing surveys characteristic of the School. Hunt had made a special study of the single male immigrants who lived in the boarding houses surrounding Chicago's steel mills and stock yards, and his results had been published along with others of the survey in the American Journal of Sociology.<sup>77</sup>

During the two years of Hunt's appointment at Toronto, the authority of the early Chicago school influenced, but did not completely alter, the mandate of University Settlement. From the time of his first contact with the Directors of the Board, Hunt had made it clear that he would attempt to incorporate Hull-House's emphasis on interpretation and research into the program of the Toronto Settlement. In June 1911 he had written to M.W. Wallace: "The possibilities look very great to me both for a successful neighborhood centre interpreting the needs of the neighborhood to the city at large and as a school for opening the possibilities of social work to the students in the University."<sup>78</sup> In the new publicity pamphlet for the Settlement distributed that fall, Hunt's influence appeared most strongly in the prominent placement of a quotation by Jane Addams, which typically expressed her view of the settlement as a mediator. "To know when democracy fails, how the people live, what their problems are and how they

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<sup>77</sup> The Varsity, XXXI, No. 8 (13 October 1911).

<sup>78</sup> UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/013, file: Milton B. Hunt, 1911, Milton B. Hunt to M.W. Wallace, 3 June 1911.

may be helped can be accomplished only by constant daily association and study," the quotation read. The pamphlet's description of University Settlement's own aims, however, demonstrated the persistence of the Board's idealist beliefs. Of the three goals stated in the pamphlet, only the third--"to establish in the community a permanent socializing agency for bringing about civic betterment"--expressed Hunt's accent on the Settlement's role of interpretation. In contrast, the other two aims displayed remnants of the Board's original intentions. The statements that the Settlement was "to bring University life to bear on the problems of the city," and "to afford students the opportunity and privilege of enjoying and having a part in social welfare work," evoked the Board's continued faith in the importance of personal contact.<sup>79</sup>

Despite his declared intention to transform the Settlement into a neighbourhood centre, Hunt, like Shaver, seems to have found it difficult to translate either his own ideals, or those of the Board, into practice. Apart from the addition of clubs and classes for girls and women, under Hunt's direction the program changed little from that initiated by Shaver in 1910. A brochure of 1912 shows that the work among boys, the free dispensary, and the English classes remained the primary focus of the Settlement's

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<sup>79</sup>UTA, University Settlement (Ephemera), B78-1395, pamphlet: Some Facts About the University Settlement [1911].

activities. Although this pamphlet, like the previous one, indicated that the directors planned "to make the Settlement a centre to which we may bring trained workers to study the needs of the locality," there is no evidence that Hunt was able to organize any extensive social investigation.<sup>80</sup>

By March 1913, Milton Hunt had resigned, leaving University Settlement, to use President Falconer's words, "in a somewhat critical condition."<sup>81</sup> Although Arthur Burnett wrote from the New York School of Philanthropy to apply for the position, the Board again appointed a Chicago man, Norman J. Ware.<sup>82</sup> Ware was Canadian and a graduate of McMaster University, and he had recently completed his doctoral degree in sociology at the University of Chicago under the direction of Charles R. Henderson.<sup>83</sup> Henderson believed strongly that the sociologist had a moral responsibility to guide public opinion, and, like other applied sociologists of the early Chicago school, he maintained that statistical research could be utilized to

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<sup>80</sup> NAC, Kelso Papers, MG 30, C 97, vol. 6, file: Social Settlements, Central Neighbourhood House, pamphlet: The University Settlement [1912].

<sup>81</sup> UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/025, file: Mrs. V. Simkhovitch, 1913, Robert Falconer to V. Simkhovitch, 10 April 1913.

<sup>82</sup> UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/026, file: University Settlement, 1912-1913, Arthur H. Burnett to Robert Falconer, 20 March 1913.

<sup>83</sup> NAC, Kelso Papers, MG 30, C 97, vol. 6, file: Social Settlements, Central Neighbourhood House, pamphlet: The "Futurist" Number: University Settlement Review [1913].

bring about social reform. In addition to his work at the university, Henderson was also an instructor at the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, and he was committed to the importance of investigation into such urban conditions as unemployment, crime, and juvenile delinquency. He was particularly supportive of settlement work, and collaborated with both Jane Addams of Hull-House, and Graham Taylor of Chicago Commons.<sup>84</sup> While in Chicago, Norman Ware had gained considerable experience in applying empirical research to questions of public policy; as Henderson's assistant he had been connected with commissions on industrial accidents and diseases, vice, and unemployment. Like Hunt, Ware had also become familiar with settlement work, spending one winter at Hull-House as director of the boys' department.<sup>85</sup>

Despite the background in applied sociology which Ware received working under Henderson and Addams, the Board of University Settlement at Toronto became apprehensive that his interests were overly theoretical. In May 1913, Ware wrote to J.J. Kelso to express his desire to be allowed to teach a course at the University in addition to his duties at the Settlement. "I am rather anxious about this," Ware confessed, "as I do not wish to get out of academic work

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<sup>84</sup>Fitzpatrick, pp. 58-60; Deegan, pp. 18-19, pp. 83-89; Ross, p. 226.

<sup>85</sup>NAC, Kelso Papers, MG 30, C 97, vol. 6, file: Social Settlements, Central Neighbourhood House, pamphlet: The "Futurist" Number.

altogether and I believe the combination can be carried on with great profit."<sup>86</sup> The Board disagreed, and after interviewing Ware, President Falconer was provoked to express the Directors' fears that Ware did not share their approach to settlement work. Writing to him in June 1913, Falconer bluntly stated that the Board did not wish to appoint anyone as head whose interests were mainly "academic and theoretical." He then summarized the Directors' perspective: "Interest in people is what we want: we are looking for a man who can throw himself into the life of others and thereby lead his fellows to a higher understanding of what they can and ought to do in helping them both in the way of preventing and of solving social problems." Falconer concluded that the members of the Board were doubtful whether Ware's main concerns lay in that direction, but, if after knowing their views he still wanted to take the position, they were willing to offer it to him on trial for one year.<sup>87</sup> This exchange between Ware and the Settlement's Directors confirms not only the Board's sustained loyalty to its idealist aims, but the endurance of Toronto's tradition of applied research. The reaction of the Directors to what they suspected were Ware's theoretical

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<sup>86</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/026, file: University Settlement, 1912-1913, Norman J. Ware to J.J. Kelso, 9 May [1913].

<sup>87</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/025, file: Norman J. Ware, 1913, Robert Falconer to Norman J. Ware, 25 June 1913.

tendencies reveals a glimpse of the University's deeply rooted hostility to forms of empiricism which could not be justified morally. The following chapters will maintain that this preference for applied research over academic theorizing would continue to shape the University's attitude toward the disciplines of both social work and sociology until World War II.

While the Board expressed its doubts privately, in public Norman Ware's period at the Settlement was inaugurated with considerable enthusiasm. A brochure of 1913, which seems to have been written by Ware himself, announced that University Settlement was entering upon a new epoch in its history, and eagerly prophesied that this would be "the golden age of achievement." The new stage was to be marked by both a physical and a "psychical" change. In addition to a move eastward to a more spacious building on the corner of Peter and Adelaide Streets, the Settlement was to undergo a redirection of its goals and objectives. The pamphlet explained that the new "plan of action" was three-fold: "to organize the social workers of the city around the University Settlement as a centre; to carry on the more scientific work of investigation and study of social problems, and to experiment and initiate in new lines of social or Settlement activity." Despite the brochure's emphasis on innovation, however, the "psychical" change was in reality a more strident restatement of the empirical aims

which had been incorporated into University Settlement's official policy since 1910. More specifically, Ware's view of settlement work, like that of Milton Hunt, was based on the teachings of Jane Addams. Ware's claim that the Settlement should act as a centre for Toronto's social workers obviously relied upon the example provided by Hull-House. For Ware, it was essential that social workers lived in residence at the Settlement if they were to function effectively as interpreters of democracy to the community. "A long-distance attempt to carry on certain classes and clubs is not a Settlement," the pamphlet stated. "One must first live and understand the life of the neighbourhood, and then express and organize it for neighbourhood ends." Like Jane Addams, Ware also believed strongly in the value of civic education, and the brochure announced that the Settlement's classes would be replaced by "clubs," because, it explained, "the latter is a training in democracy and the former is not."<sup>88</sup>

Unlike both Shaver and Hunt, Norman Ware seems to have been able, to some degree at least, to instill his ambitions for the Settlement into its daily program. In a pamphlet dated December 1913, several significant changes are evident in the activities of University Settlement. In addition to the medical dispensary, the English classes, and the boys'

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<sup>88</sup> NAC, Kelso Papers, MG 30, C 97, vol. 6, file: Social Settlements, Central Neighbourhood House, pamphlet: The "Futurist" Number.



athletics, the Settlement held weekly seminars for the study of social problems, and hosted the meetings of the Social Democratic Society, and the Junior Suffrage Society. As Ware had promised, there was a marked increase in clubs, both social and educational, for men, women, and children. The women's department in particular had expanded under the direction of Mabel Newton, and now included a kindergarten, and classes for girls in cooking and dancing.<sup>89</sup> After falling dramatically during Milton Hunt's tenure, attendance at the Settlement was rising steadily, and by November 1914, The Varsity could announce that instead of the workers going out to the people, the people were coming in to the Settlement.<sup>90</sup> During his two years at Toronto, Ware was also able to pursue his intention of making the Settlement a centre for research and social work initiatives. At that time the city was in the midst of a severe depression, and throughout the winter of 1913 to 1914 Ware investigated the high levels of unemployment and conditions of relief among Toronto workers. By 1914, University Settlement was providing a local base for the activities of other social work organizations, housing, for example, the District Social Conference (which would soon unite with other district councils to form the Neighbourhood Workers'

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<sup>89</sup>UTA, Student Christian Movement, B79-0059/034, file: YMCA University Settlement, 1913-1914, pamphlet: The University Settlement, December 1913.

<sup>90</sup>The Varsity, XXXIV, No. 19 (13 November 1914).

Association), the Social Workers' Club, and the public health nurses, who used the Settlement as the local headquarters of Toronto's Department of Public Health.<sup>91</sup>

Although Norman Ware was more successful than Milton Hunt in applying Chicago principles to the work of the Settlement, it was equally impossible for him to satisfy both the idealist and the empirical aspects of the Board's requirements. Falconer's injunction that Ware "lead his fellows to a higher understanding of what they can and ought to do" relied on an understanding of the settlement worker's role which was delineated by the code of self-sacrifice and moral certitude integral to the British idealist ethic. This understanding did not necessarily conflict with the Settlement's research mandate, but rather was ultimately irrelevant to it. If Ware was preoccupied investigating the causes of unemployment, it could reasonably be argued that he was neglecting his moral responsibility to elevate those around him. The model adapted from Hull-House proved to be as unsatisfactory as that derived from the religious missions; while the Directors did not wish their Settlement to reflect the evangelical interests of a church mission, neither did they wish to see its program become completely devoid of spiritual purpose. By introducing the influences

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<sup>91</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/032, file: University Settlement, 1914, Robert Falconer to the Mayor of Toronto, 26 March 1914; UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0009/002(20-22), Mabel F. Newton to Robert Falconer, 25 November 1914.

of applied sociology into the program of University Settlement, however, Hunt and Ware had shifted the grounds of the debate, and while the Board no longer had to contend with evangelism, its adherence to the Toronto ideal was to be increasingly challenged by the priorities of professional social work.

By 1915 the Settlement's Directors were forced to alter their structure to accommodate the growth of social work in the city of Toronto, and, more pragmatically, to compensate for the enlistment of young men to fight overseas. In 1914, the University responded to the requirements of the emerging profession by forming the Department of Social Service, and from that point onward the program of University Settlement was linked to Toronto's social work course. When Ware resigned in March 1915, the reality of the war made any attempt to fully reorganize the Settlement impossible, and the Board requested Sara Libby Carson, who was by then supervising the Presbyterian Church's chain of settlements, to spend part of her time directing University Settlement.<sup>92</sup> Although Carson only remained in charge until 1917, her appointment established a pattern of female leadership which would remain unbroken for the next forty years.<sup>93</sup> She

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<sup>92</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/036, file: J.G. Shearer, 1915, Robert Falconer to J.G. Shearer, 8 April 1915.

<sup>93</sup>After the appointment of Sara Libby Carson in 1915, a man did not direct University Settlement until 1955, when Harry Morrow was given the position of Head Resident. See

reorganized the program to resemble that of Evangelia House, giving priority to self-governing social clubs and hiring female University graduates to assist her.<sup>94</sup> Between 1915 and 1918, the Settlement was operated by a growing number of trained social workers: three of the Settlement's resident staff were graduates of the new Department, while many of its volunteers were enrolled in the course part-time.<sup>95</sup> Following the withdrawal of the YMCA in 1911, undergraduate women had started to divide their loyalties between Evangelia House and University Settlement. In November 1915 the Alumnae Association decided to offer financial support to both institutions, and within a few years other female organizations, such as the Women's Undergraduate Association, were routinely supplying contributions to University Settlement.<sup>96</sup> By the end of World War I, University Settlement had been transformed into a female

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Wasteneys, pp. 91-94, pp. 224-25.

<sup>94</sup>The Varsity, XXXV, No. 16 (5 November 1915); UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/040a, file: University Settlement, 1915-1916, Robert Falconer to Harry Edwards, 6 January 1916; The Varsity, XXXVI, No. 32 (11 December 1916).

<sup>95</sup>UTA, Faculty of Social Work, A85-0002/001-019, Enrolment Cards, 1914-1916. The three graduates were: Ethel Dodds Parker, who graduated in 1915, and Marjorie Sypher and Josie G. Saunders, of the class of 1916.

<sup>96</sup>UTA, University College, A69-0011/014, Alumnae Association of University College, General and Executive Minutes, 1898-1927, (12 November 1915); UTA, University College, Dean of Women, B74-0011/001(11), Annual Report, 1921-1922.

community, closely affiliated, through the Department of Social Service, to the city's professional social workers. The feminization of social service at Toronto, however, would have the effect of devaluing social work as an academic discipline, and during the 1920s, the development of the Department of Social Service would continue to be restrained by considerations of gender.

## CHAPTER 5

### TECHNIQUE AND THEORY: THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICE, 1914-1918

The establishment of the Department of Social Service in the fall of 1914 was the University's attempt to exert academic authority over the development of the new profession of social work. At this time, social workers in Canada, as in the United States, were seeking to shape their professional identity around the acquisition of a specialized skill, and by 1918, differential casework was seen by many as the principal technique which distinguished the professional from the volunteer. In devising the curriculum for the Department, however, the members of the Social Service Committee minimized the importance of technical or vocational training, and chose instead to create a program which offered a broadly-based theoretical education in the social sciences. By doing so, the Committee members brought the Toronto course into a much wider debate which was then characterizing the evolution of social-work education in both Britain and the United States. The decision to reject the vocational approach to social-work training was rooted in the same intellectual tradition which had formulated the policy of University Settlement.

The Department of Social Service, like the Settlement, was ideologically constructed to express the University's continued faith in the Toronto ideal, a faith which, it was anticipated, would be justified by the Department's ability to expedite social progress and therefore prove the moral rationality of human endeavour.

#### The Emergence of Professional Social Work in Toronto

The creation of University Settlement in 1910 was most directly a student-motivated reaction to the growing awareness of widespread poverty in the city--a realization which had spread rapidly after the period of severe unemployment during the winter of 1907 to 1908. Although not established until 1914, the Department of Social Service at the University of Toronto was also a response, among administrators and faculty, to this shared sense of crisis. Before examining the actions of those in the University, however, it is necessary to look at developments taking place among the city's nascent social workers. While University Settlement was experiencing the difficulties of its first few years, important areas of social service activity in Toronto were gradually moving out of the voluntary sphere and into the realm of paid social work. Since the turn of the century, casework had become the most important technique in American social work, and, as a special skill which could be acquired, it consequently helped to distinguish the professional social worker from

the volunteer. By 1914, a theory of differential casework had been developed which standardized social work methodology. As it was promoted by the social-work educator, Mary E. Richmond, in Social Diagnosis (1917), differential casework allowed the social worker to suggest treatment for an individual or family based on an expert investigation of the existing external conditions, which she referred to as "social evidence."<sup>1</sup> Richmond wrote: "Social diagnosis is the attempt to arrive at as exact a definition as possible of the social situation and personality of a given client. The gathering of evidence, or investigation, begins the process, the critical examination and comparison of evidence follows, and last come its interpretation and the definition of the social difficulty."<sup>2</sup> As one historian has pointed out, Richmond's reliance on social evidence was rooted in the assumption, soon to be challenged, that an objective environment in fact existed which could be both analyzed and controlled. By the 1920s, her environmentalism was becoming unfashionable as many social workers, inspired

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<sup>1</sup> John H. Ehrenreich, The Altruistic Imagination: A History of Social Work and Social Policy in the United States (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985), pp. 64-65; Roy Lubove, The Professional Altruist: The Emergence of Social Work as a Career, 1880-1930 (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), pp. 20-49; James Leiby, A History of Social Welfare and Social Work in the United States (New York, 1978), pp. 121-24, pp. 178-90.

<sup>2</sup> Mary E. Richmond, Social Diagnosis (New York, 1917), p. 62. See also, Mary E. Richmond, What is Social Case Work? An Introductory Description (New York, 1922).



by psychiatry, shifted from an emphasis on external social conditions to a consideration of the inner mental process.<sup>3</sup>

In the decade after 1910, however, Richmond's conception of differential casework was at the height of its influence, and in Toronto social workers began to shape their professional identity around the adoption of casework methodology. In 1912 the Social Service Commission was appointed by Toronto's City Council to replace the Associated Charities, and the three district secretaries reporting to the Commission started using social casework in their attempt to coordinate the city's system of outdoor relief.<sup>4</sup> A network of public health nurses created by the new Medical Officer of Health, Charles J. Hastings, also began applying casework to home visits, enabling the nurses to help organize relief and to investigate slum conditions. Toronto's private charities became subject to the same ordering impulse which was affecting the public domain. In 1912, four district councils were established, allowing settlement and health workers from the poorer parts of the city to meet monthly to discuss the distribution of private relief. In January 1914, the four councils joined together

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<sup>3</sup>Lubove, p. 86, pp. 113-15.

<sup>4</sup>James Pitsula, "The Emergence of Social Work in Toronto," Journal of Canadian Studies, XIV, No. 1 (Spring 1979), 38-40. Pitsula argues that the Social Service Commission introduced professional social work to Toronto. See also, James Pitsula, "The Relief of Poverty in Toronto, 1880-1930" (Ph.D. diss., York University, 1979), pp. 251-86.

to form one central council, soon to be known as the Neighbourhood Workers' Association (NWA), under the secretaryship of Arthur H. Burnett, who, as the previous chapter has noted, had helped to found Central Neighbourhood House in 1911. During the war years, the NWA concentrated on developing uniform case records which, it believed, would facilitate a more rational allocation of charitable funds. By 1918, the NWA represented over six hundred workers from such privately supported enterprises as missions, settlements, creches, and relief societies. Like the Social Service Commission, the NWA hired its own staff of paid social workers who increasingly acquired the professional techniques employed in the more established American field of social work.<sup>5</sup>

Toronto's settlement houses functioned at the heart of this community of paid and volunteer social workers, providing institutional neighbourhood bases for both public and private endeavours. By 1914, the settlement movement had grown rapidly: in addition to Evangelia House, University Settlement, and Central Neighbourhood House, it

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<sup>5</sup>Ethel Dodds Parker, "The Origins and Early History of the Presbyterian Settlement Houses," in The Social Gospel in Canada, ed. Richard Ailen (Ottawa, 1975), pp. 118-20; Pitsula, "Emergence of Social Work," 40; Paul Adolphus Bator, "'The Struggle to Raise the Lower Classes': Public Health Reform and the Problem of Poverty in Toronto, 1910 to 1921," Journal of Canadian Studies, XIV, No 1 (Spring 1979), 45-47; Mariana Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925 (Toronto, 1991), pp. 162-63.

included St. Christopher House, established by the Presbyterian Church in 1912, and Memorial Institute, which was opened by the Baptist Church in 1913. The spread of settlement houses allowed the public health nurses to extend their activities throughout a large section of the city, operating out of University Settlement and St. Christopher House in the area west of University Avenue, while to the east using the facilities at Central Neighbourhood and Evangelia Houses.<sup>6</sup> Workers from the settlements were also original members of the district councils--University Settlement, for example, housed the conference for its area --and, after 1914, they formed the backbone of the NWA. Although the settlement houses to a great extent relied on the participation of volunteers, there was a new tendency to differentiate between unpaid and paid workers. In the years after 1910, in fact, the settlement movement can be seen as exemplifying the emerging professional orientation of the city's social workers. In December 1918, Toronto settlement workers formed their own professional association, the Federation of Settlements, which excluded volunteers by

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<sup>6</sup>Parker, p. 102; University of Toronto Archives (hereafter UTA), Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/028, file: Evangelia Settlement, 1913, "Summary of Ten Months Work from 1st January to 1st November, 1913"; Patricia J. O'Connor, The Story of Central Neighbourhood House, 1911-1986, Publication of the Toronto Association of Neighbourhood Services, ed. Patricia J. O'Connor (Toronto, 1986), p. 15.

specifying that only the paid staff of the participating settlements were eligible for membership.<sup>7</sup>

It should be noted, however, that while they cooperated with each other professionally, the Toronto settlement houses reflected the extremely diverse ideological perspectives of their directors, and often embodied widely divergent mandates. This lack of unity was revealed openly by University Settlement's 1913 publicity pamphlet, in which Norman J. Ware found it necessary to state: "It has been felt all along that a University Settlement should be somewhat different from other Settlements."<sup>8</sup> Under the supervision of Ware and of Milton B. Hunt, University Settlement came closest in its policy to Central Neighbourhood House, as both at that point were non-sectarian institutions modeled on the American social settlement. By contrast, St. Christopher House had been established by the Presbyterian Church to fulfil a definite evangelistic purpose, and was dedicated to the goals of "Canadianizing and Christianizing." Although the directors of St. Christopher House were divided on whether they should

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<sup>7</sup> Jean Palmer and Florence Philpott, "The Story of the Toronto Association of Neighbourhood Services, 1918-1985," in The Story of the Toronto Settlement House Movement, 1910-1985, Publication of the Toronto Association of Neighbourhood Services, ed. Patricia J. O'Connor (Toronto, 1986), p. 56.

<sup>8</sup> National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), John Joseph Kelso Papers, MG 30, C 97, vol. 6, file: Social Settlements, Central Neighbourhood House, pamphlet: The "Futurist" Number: University Settlement Review [1913].

give preference to the aspirations of the Church's evangelical or social gospel factions, the settlement always maintained its character as a Church institution whose primary role was to be a training centre to provide workers for the Presbyterian chain of settlements. Moreover, since the staff members at St. Christopher House tended to be recruited through their local churches, the settlement's activities, such as the Sunday evening story hour, were often explicitly religious.<sup>9</sup>

As Canadian social workers became more conscious of their status in the years leading up to World War I, the University of Toronto was pressured to legitimize their occupation academically by instituting a course in social service. There was a concern among many in the field that Canadian students should be made aware of conditions specific to their own country, rather than be forced to seek social-work training in New York or Chicago. For several years, J.J. Kelso, the Provincial Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children and a member of the first University Settlement Board, had been actively campaigning along these lines, and had recommended to the Ontario Legislature that a "school of philanthropy" be organized in

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<sup>9</sup>Parker, pp. 89-121; Brian J. Fraser, The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915 (Waterloo, Ontario, 1988), p. 94.

affiliation with the University of Toronto.<sup>10</sup> John G. Shearer, the secretary of the Presbyterian Church's Board of Social Service and Evangelism, was also anxious that the University provide courses to supplement the training which students received at St. Christopher House.<sup>11</sup> In 1913, the Canadian Welfare League was formed in Winnipeg to facilitate research into social problems, and to encourage reform at the community level. The idea of a nation-wide social work organization which functioned independently from the churches had been fostered by J.S. Woodsworth, who had left his position as superintendent of Winnipeg's All Peoples' Mission to become the League's first secretary.<sup>12</sup> The Executive Committee of the Canadian Welfare League included Kelso among its influential members, and the new association soon added its support to the scheme of a course in social work at Toronto. In March 1914, Acta Victoriana published an urgently worded article by Woodsworth, writing in his capacity as secretary of the Canadian Welfare League, entitled "Social Work as a Profession." Arguing that complex and potentially chaotic changes were taking place in

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<sup>10</sup> NAC, Kelso Papers, MG 30, C 97, vol. 1, file: University Training Courses, TMs, "Setting Forth the Need," n.d.

<sup>11</sup> Parker, p. 103; Fraser, p. 71.

<sup>12</sup> Kenneth McNaught, A Prophet in Politics: A Biography of J.S. Woodsworth (Toronto, 1959), pp. 59-60; Ramsay Cook, The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada (Toronto, 1985), pp. 219-20.

Canadian society, Woodsworth contended that properly trained social workers were required to take the lead in reconstructing social life. "To-day social work is coming to be recognized as a profession. The social worker stands side by side with the doctor, the lawyer, the minister, the journalist or the educator." While insisting on the need for professional standards and technical instruction, however, Woodsworth also stressed the fundamentally moral dimension of social work. For Woodsworth, social work required theoretical as well as practical training, so that students could apply their knowledge to social problems, and ultimately perform their future responsibilities "in accordance with the principles of social justice and welfare."<sup>13</sup> Three months later, Woodsworth sent President Falconer a report containing the recommendations of the Canadian Welfare League's Committee on Social Training in Universities and Colleges. Falconer promised to consider the suggestions carefully, but by June 1914 the University's Senate had already approved a curriculum for new courses in social service to be introduced that fall.<sup>14</sup>

By 1912, faculty from the University had been giving informal instruction on social problems through a weekly

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<sup>13</sup>J.S. Woodsworth, "Social Work as a Profession," Acta Victoriana, XXXVIII, No. 6 (March 1914), 293, 292.

<sup>14</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/036, file: J.S. Woodsworth, 1914, President's Secretary to J.S. Woodsworth, 30 June 1914; Robert Falconer to J.S. Woodsworth, 14 September 1914.

lecture series which was sponsored by the Methodist Department of City Missions and Social Service, and held at the Fred Victor Mission in Toronto. During the winter of 1913 to 1914, for example, two professors from Toronto's Department of Political Economy, G.E. Jackson and G.I.H. Lloyd, had participated in the program at Fred Victor, offering lectures on "The Drift to the Cities," and "Minimum Wage Laws," respectively. The series had been advertised as being open to all those "interested in social betterment," and also had encompassed addresses by many Toronto social workers, including Elizabeth B. Neufeld, Sara Libby Carson, and Arthur H. Burnett.<sup>15</sup> In March 1913, J.J. Kelso had been consulted for advice by T.R. Robinson, a professor in the Department of Philosophy, who also wished to develop social service lectures in connection with his courses in social ethics.<sup>16</sup> Although there is evidence that President Falconer himself had been considering the creation of a University course on social questions as early as January 1908, the decision to go ahead with the program in 1914 seems to have been sparked by fear that a private group

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<sup>15</sup> The Varsity, XXXII, No. 18 (11 November 1912); United Church/Victoria University Archives, Local Church Records Collection, Fred Victor Mission, Annual Reports, pamphlet: Programme of Social Studies, Season 1913-1914.

<sup>16</sup> NAC, Kelso Papers, MG 30, C 97, vol. 1, file: University Training Courses, T.R. Robinson to J.J. Kelso, 12 March 1913; J.J. Kelso to T.R. Robinson, 15 March 1913. For information on T.R. Robinson, see UTA, Department of Graduate Records, A73-0026/383(70), Thomas Rutherford Robinson.



might establish a school on an independent basis; a strategy which had been successfully accomplished in 1898 by the New York Charity Organization Society when it inaugurated its Summer School of Philanthropy, later known as the New York School of Philanthropy.<sup>17</sup> In a handwritten memorandum in which he indicated his intention to ask the approval of the University's Senate for a scheme of special courses in social work, Falconer commented: "This is in answer to requests from many different sources. If the university does not do something, less competent private undertakings may be formed for this purpose. The people in view to be helped would be for the most part not regular univ[ersity] students and the work would not be of the kind regularly leading to a degree."<sup>18</sup>

While it is not clear exactly which "private undertakings" Falconer was most concerned to forestall, his subsequent actions indicate that he preferred to cooperate rather than compete with the more powerful lobbyists in the social work community. By 1914, two voluntary organizations had been formed to promote the interests of social workers, both apparently consisting mostly of women. In 1911, the Social Science Study Club was established to discuss social

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<sup>17</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/003, file: S. Morley Wickett, 1908, Robert Falconer to S. Morley Wickett, 3 January 1908; Leiby, p. 122; Lubove, p. 19.

<sup>18</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/032, file: Social Service, 1913-1914, AN, n.d.

problems, with a mandate to encourage "the enlightenment and formation of public opinion, first within the club and then in an ever widening circle outside." The Social Workers' Club, which was organized the following year and housed at University Settlement, perceived its goals to be more professionally directed. At a meeting in May 1913, the Club announced its aims to be: "The cultivation of personal acquaintanceship among the members, their education in respect to all branches of social work, the increasing of efficiency and the raising of standards, the encouragement of co-operation amongst all agencies doing social work, and the fostering of social reform."<sup>19</sup> Like J.S. Woodsworth, the members of the Social Workers' Club believed that social research should be applied, and regarded the improvement of society as a responsibility which should naturally be entrusted to those in the new profession. In 1913, the two clubs together arranged a meeting with President Falconer to discuss the possibilities of a course for social workers. A resolution was passed stating the need for such training, and was presented by Falconer to the Board of Governors. In

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<sup>19</sup>Although membership lists for the Social Science Study Club and the Social Workers' Club do not seem to have survived, it is probable that the membership of both clubs reflected the numerical dominance of women in the field of social work. Agnes McGregor writes that the Social Science Study Club was launched with "a membership of about 275 prominent women[.]" UTA, Pamphlets, box 6: Agnes C. McGregor, "The Department of Social Science, University of Toronto, 1914-1940," in Training for Social Work in the Department of Social Science, University of Toronto, 1914-1940, 1940, p. 12.

March 1914, a Special Senate Committee was appointed, which, in addition to President Falconer, included James Mavor, the Head of the Department of Political Economy, and Charles J. Hastings, the city's Medical Officer of Health. The Committee's report was adopted the following month, and the Senate recommended that courses of instruction be established "for persons who propose to become trained workers in Social Service." In May, Falconer was authorized by the Board of Governors to establish for the winter "vocational courses for social workers."<sup>20</sup> The close cooperation between Falconer and the social work community at that point was accentuated by the offer of a member of the Social Science Study Club, Sarah T. Warren, to pay the salary of the new Department's Director during the first year.<sup>21</sup>

#### Designing the Curriculum

Like the University Settlement Board, in 1914 the Social Service Committee was dominated by Robert Falconer and the political economist G.I.H. Lloyd, and the curriculum of the Department of Social Service was strongly influenced

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<sup>20</sup>UTA, University of Toronto, Senate, A68-0012/roll 6, vol. 12, Senate Minutes, 1913-1917, pp. 82-84, (13 March and 17 April 1914); UTA, University of Toronto, Board of Governors, A70-0024/015, vol. 3, Board of Governors Minutes, 1911-1914, p. 367, (14 May 1914).

<sup>21</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/032, file: Edmund Walker, 1913-1914, Sarah T. Warren to Edmund Walker, 19 June 1914.

by the same convictions that had shaped the policy of the Settlement.<sup>22</sup> The historical or inductive approach to social study, which had been introduced at Toronto by W.J. Ashley, rested on the premise that society was subject to evolutionary forces, and would, by nature, change over time. The rejection of the deductive method and its fixed, abstract laws was therefore grounded in the teleological faith--strengthened at Toronto by idealism--that society had the potential to change for the better. Empiricism was welcomed less for its intrinsic value than for its utility in gathering facts and statistics which could then be applied to social problems, and ultimately which could hasten social progress. The desire of groups such as the Social Workers' Club to facilitate social reform while raising professional standards harmonized well with this idealist and empiricist emphasis on the importance of applied over purely theoretical social study. The proposal drawn up in the spring of 1914 accentuated the need for a course which would act as an agent of social betterment, by producing graduates qualified to combat the problems of modern industrial society. "There is," the proposal stated, "a growing demand for persons who are, by reason of

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<sup>22</sup>In an interview years later, Falconer emphasized Lloyd's integral role in establishing the Department of Social Service, particularly in drawing up the original resolution presented to the Board of Governors. UTA, Pamphlets, box 6: McGregor, "Department of Social Science," in Training for Social Work, p. 12.

personality, experience, and training, able to help in the difficult work of alleviating social misfortune and remedying social maladjustment."<sup>23</sup> The University's long-standing trust in the power of "scientific" education when it was united to moral certitude, was revealed in the public statements of the Department's purpose. As the Calendar for 1915 to 1916 explained, the Department of Social Service was to afford "an opportunity to the ablest and best young men and women to qualify themselves for service which is increasingly demanded on behalf of the social life and progress of the nation."<sup>24</sup>

In planning the Department's curriculum, Falconer and Lloyd showed their awareness of the issues which were then being debated by social-work educators in both Britain and the United States. The first British program in social work, the London School of Sociology and Social Economics, had been set up in 1903 by the Charity Organisation Society. The course had its origins in the activity of the London Ethical Society, which had been formed in 1886 by followers of T.H. Green living at Toynbee Hall.<sup>25</sup> From their earliest

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<sup>23</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/032, file: Social Service, 1913-1914, TMs, "Proposed School of Social Service," n.d.

<sup>24</sup>University of Toronto Calendar, 1915-1916, p. 637.

<sup>25</sup>Reba N. Soffer, Ethics and Society in England: The Revolution in the Social Sciences, 1870-1914 (Berkeley, Calif., 1978), p. 58; Melvin Richter, The Politics of Conscience: T.H. Green and His Age (London, 1964), p. 121.

efforts to establish a training course in the late 1890s, the founders of the London School of Sociology had attempted to solve a conflict which was central to social-work education: was the course to be primarily vocational and oriented toward training in technical skills and methodology, or was it to be broadly based, theoretical, and academic in focus? In October 1902, a conference had been held by the Charity Organisation Society to discuss the extent to which universities should participate in social-work education. The ensuing report had recommended that social workers be given both practical training and a theoretical background, but had decided against seeking academic affiliation, suggesting that the teaching should be done by an organization independent of the universities. The new School of Sociology, therefore, had been conceived as a separate institution which could nevertheless offer academic education in addition to technical training. Under the directorship of a Toynbee Hall resident, E.J. Urwick, however, the curriculum emphasized courses in the social sciences, such as social psychology and economics, and provided little instruction on the development of vocational skills.<sup>26</sup> In his introductory lecture in October 1903,

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<sup>26</sup>Marjorie J. Smith, Professional Education for Social Work in Britain: An Historical Account (London, 1953; 1965), pp. 15-47. A graduate of Wadham College, Oxford, E.J. Urwick was a resident of Toynbee Hall from 1897 to 1903, and was sub-warden from 1900 to 1902. Toynbee Record, XII, No. 5 (February 1900), 62; XV, No. 1 (October 1902), 2-3; XVIII, No. 1 (October 1905), 6. Chapter six examines

Urwick argued that while social workers needed to be trained in "scientific" methods like physicians or surgeons, they should never consider themselves "mere practitioners," but instead gain a full understanding of the social theory upon which their work was based. He stated: "[The social worker] must learn to realize the slow growth that lies behind each present condition and fact; to see in the social structure, whole or part, of state or of institution, the expression of a vital meaning; to feel beneath the seemingly plastic relationships of social life the framework of economic necessities; and to find in each casual tendency and habit the effect of slowly changing mental processes."<sup>27</sup> Urwick wholeheartedly endorsed the idealist ethos which had been incorporated into the School of Sociology through its early links with the London Ethical Society. Like Falconer and Lloyd, he was guided by the belief that society was morally defined, and for him as for many others, social work was perceived as an endeavour which could give men and women access to that "vital meaning" shaping their evolution toward a better society.

In 1912, the London School of Sociology strengthened its academic orientation when it became the Department of

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Urwick's career after he left Britain in 1924, and focuses on his influence as Director of Toronto's Department of Social Service from 1928 to 1937.

<sup>27</sup>E.J. Urwick, "Social Education of Yesterday and Today," quoted in Smith, p. 50.

Social Science and Administration, housed at the London School of Economics and Political Science and under the control of the University of London.<sup>28</sup> After the amalgamation, the Department continued under Urwick's leadership until 1921, and during this period it retained its original emphasis on applied sociology, morally directed toward the amelioration of social problems. The Calendar of the London School of Economics and Political Science for 1913 to 1914, for example, lists a typical lecture course offered by Urwick entitled, "Moral Basis of Social Progress."<sup>29</sup> As it had before the amalgamation, the curriculum primarily consisted of courses in the social sciences, such as social economics, statistics, and sociology. These courses, the 1914 to 1915 Calendar explained, were designed to provide theoretical background for the students' practical field work under "experienced administrators" in the various London agencies which cooperated with the program. "In their theoretical work the students obtain, through lectures, classes, reading, and individual tuition, a knowledge of the relation of present conditions and efforts to the past history of industrial and social life, and to the generalisations of Economic Science

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<sup>28</sup> Janet Beveridge, An Epic of Clare Market: Birth and Early Days of the London School of Economics (London, 1960), p. 65.

<sup>29</sup> London School of Economics and Political Science Calendar, 1913-1914, p. 85.



and Sociology. The special aim of this side of their training is not to teach them to theorise, but to deepen their intelligent interest in everything connected with their subsequent practical work."<sup>30</sup> The teaching of technical skills and methodology, however, was virtually absent from the curriculum, and it seems clear that the Department assumed that most of whatever vocational training was necessary would be conveyed by the agencies supervising field work. During Urwick's tenure, just one course on technique, "Class in Methods and Details of Charitable Administration," was included in the curriculum, and it was listed only from 1914 to 1919.<sup>31</sup> Although the Department was oriented toward the solution of practical rather than theoretical problems, its courses in sociology overlapped with those taught by L.T. Hobhouse in the School's Department of Sociology, and, until 1915, social-work students were required to take Hobhouse's course "Social Evolution," among others.<sup>32</sup> Like Urwick, Hobhouse shared the faith in an evolutionary social progress which, it has been claimed, limited the development of British sociology

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<sup>30</sup> London School of Economics and Political Science Calendar, 1914-1915, p. 92.

<sup>31</sup> London School of Economics and Political Science Calendar, 1912-1913 to 1920-1921. Between 1916-1917 and 1918-1919 the course was entitled, "Preparatory Class in Casework and Methods of Charitable Administration."

<sup>32</sup> London School of Economics and Political Science Calendar, 1912-1913, 1913-1914, 1914-1915.

as an independent theoretical discipline before World War II.<sup>33</sup>

As its name suggests, the Department of Social Science and Administration expected to teach the theoretical principles underlying social work, rather than vocational procedures, and it was more concerned to produce welfare administrators than social work practitioners. Because of this, the amalgamation of the School of Sociology with the London School of Economics and Political Science left a vacuum in social work education, and by 1915 the Charity Organisation Society had joined with other agencies to create short-term certificate courses which aimed at providing strictly technical training for practitioners.<sup>34</sup> This tension between technique and theory characterized early social work education in other British cities. At the University of Birmingham, courses had been instituted for social workers after 1903 as a cooperative venture between the university and the city's settlement houses. W.J. Ashley, who had left Harvard in 1901 to accept the Chair of Commerce at Birmingham, was the chairman of the Social Study Committee, and, like Urwick, he thought that the course's

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<sup>33</sup>Reba N. Soffer, "Why Do Disciplines Fail? The Strange Case of British Sociology," English Historical Review, XCVII, No. 385 (October 1982), 774-81. For an examination of the sociological thought of L.T. Hobhouse, see Stefan Collini, Liberalism and Sociology: L.T. Hobhouse and Political Argument in England, 1880-1914 (Cambridge, England, 1979).

<sup>34</sup>Smith, pp. 58-65.

primary function was to provide a theoretical and moral foundation for social-work administrators. In a report of 1918, Ashley claimed that the aim of social study was "to educate the citizen's understanding of the social life of which he is a part; to train and test his judgment in dealing with its complexities--for the good of his neighbours as of himself; to furnish him with a background of fact and ideal which shall throw light on all his practice as an administrator; to increase his power of dealing with people and their present difficulties; and to inspire him with faith in the value of his efforts."<sup>35</sup> In formulating the social work program at Birmingham, Ashley continued to place his confidence for social progress in the link between "fact and ideal," a confidence which thirty years before had inaugurated the idealist and empirical tradition at the University of Toronto.

Similarly, social-work educators in the United States also were divided over the question of the profession's academic status. The debate between advocates of vocational training and academic education resulted in the adoption of very different curricula by the founding American schools of social work, the New York School of Philanthropy, and the

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<sup>35</sup> J.H. Muirhead, "University of Birmingham: Social Study," chapter eleven in William James Ashley: A Life, by Anne Ashley (London, 1932), pp. 107-8.

Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy.<sup>36</sup> Originating in 1898 as a series of summer lectures sponsored by the New York Charity Organization Society, the New York School of Philanthropy took a vocational approach to training social workers, and placed a growing emphasis on the importance of casework as the profession's primary technique. An independent organization, the New York School worked closely with the city's social work agencies, and, unlike the London School, aimed to produce practitioners rather than administrations.<sup>37</sup> By contrast, the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy after 1903 increasingly strove to gain academic legitimacy for social work. While most other early American schools were tending to follow the New York School of Philanthropy and focus on casework methodology, the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy resisted technical specialization and approached social work from the vantage point of the applied sociology of the early Chicago school. Under the leadership of two social scientists and Hull-House residents, Edith Abbott and Sophonisba Breckinridge, the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy required its students to gain a firm understanding of scientific analysis and research in the social sciences, and to apply that knowledge to the solution of practical social

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<sup>36</sup>UTA, Pamphlets, box 6: McGregor, "Department of Social Science," in Training for Social Work, pp. 10-11.

<sup>37</sup>Leiby, p. 122; Lubove, p. 19, pp. 144-45.

problems. Like E.J. Urwick's program in London, the Chicago School of Civics attempted to produce broadly-educated public welfare administrators instead of the specialized practitioners requested by social service agencies. In 1920, Abbott and Breckinridge succeeded in gaining full academic recognition for their institution by affiliating it with the University of Chicago as a graduate professional school, the School of Social Service Administration.<sup>38</sup>

At the University of Toronto in 1914, the curriculum of the new Department of Social Service was intended, on one level, to serve as a compromise between the two conflicting approaches to social-work education. In the University's Calendar for 1915 to 1916, it was announced that the Department of Social Service was to be a "Canadian school of civic and social training," and that it would combine vocational and academic instruction: "The necessity has long been recognized for trained and qualified workers with a knowledge of the social problems and needs of the country, together with the technical training enabling them to take effective part in the social development of the Dominion."<sup>39</sup> In designing the curriculum, however, Falconer and Lloyd gave little attention to vocational training, and clearly favoured the kind of broadly-based academic education being

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<sup>38</sup>Ellen Fitzpatrick, Endless Crusade: Women Social Scientists and Progressive Reform (New York, 1990), pp. 173-200, p. 212; Lubove, pp. 143-44; Leiby, pp. 187-89.

<sup>39</sup>University of Toronto Calendar, 1915-1916, p. 636.

pursued by Urwick and Ashley in Britain, and by Abbott and Breckinridge in Chicago. By 1914, the University's preference for applied research had already prompted Falconer and Lloyd to import the sociological approach of the early Chicago school to restructure University Settlement. The idealist origins of that preference, moreover, accentuated the importance of academic education in training society's future leaders. In addition to stressing the moral principles which lay beneath social work, Falconer and Lloyd directed their program toward training the administrators and civil servants who would eventually shape social work policy. The continued authority of the Toronto ideal ensured that a strictly vocational approach would be widely rejected by the University community. In an editorial in March 1914, University of Toronto Monthly welcomed the announcement that a Department of Social Service was to be set up in the fall, but warned against the University adopting the "narrow" aim of merely equipping specialists for their definite callings. Instead, the editorial maintained, the University should attempt to merge the modern practical focus of vocational training with the traditional "ethical spirit" of academic education. "To attain to a finer sense of the value of life and at the same time to lose nothing of the wider, clearer perception of the facts of life which science has taught us, is the goal to which the university of to-day must try to

find its way."<sup>40</sup> Toronto's intellectual affinity with the idealist perceptions of academics like Urwick and Ashley was strengthened by Lloyd's personal familiarity with social-work education in London and Birmingham, which he had gained in his previous position at the University of Sheffield.<sup>41</sup> The original curriculum of Toronto's Department of Social Service, therefore, closely resembled that of Urwick's Department of Social Science and Administration at the London School of Economics. The proposal of 1914 placed an distinct emphasis on the need for principles over techniques, and academic education over vocational instruction: "Though vocational training must always be subordinate in importance to personal aptitude and general education, yet the nature of the task which confronts the social worker makes some special preparation increasingly necessary. The efficiency of the social worker will be largely increased if he has learned to utilize the

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<sup>40</sup>"Universities and the Social Problem," University of Toronto Monthly, XV, No. 5 (March 1914), 234.

<sup>41</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/009, file: G.I.H. Lloyd, 1909-1910, pamphlet: Letter of Application, Accompanied by Names of Referees, and Testimonials, from Godfrey I.H. Lloyd [1909]; UTA, Pamphlets, box 6: McGregor, "Department of Social Science," in Training for Social Work, p. 12. In 1899, Lloyd was a visitor at Toynbee Hall for several months, at which time E.J. Urwick was also a resident. Toynbee Record, XI, No. 7 (April 1899), 107.

experience of others and rely on precepts and principles already tested and established."<sup>42</sup>

The Department's curriculum from 1914 to 1918, during the tenure of its first Director, Franklin Johnson, Jr., remained much the same as when it first was planned by Falconer and Lloyd. Within the framework of applied social study, the course combined a theoretical grounding in the social sciences with practical information on such topics as criminality and contagious diseases.<sup>43</sup> The program was divided into two sections: lectures courses to provide theory, taught by members of the University, and discussion classes led by active social workers which were meant to bear "directly on the everyday experience of the student."<sup>44</sup> In the first year, for example, the lecture courses included "Social Economics" by G.I.H. Lloyd, "Social Psychology" by the philosopher George Sidney Brett, and "The Urban Community" by the sociologist Norman J. Ware. The discussion classes explored such topics as "Settlement Methods" and "Recreation," and, in accordance with

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<sup>42</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/032, file: Social Service, 1913-1914, TMs, "Proposed School of Social Service," n.d.

<sup>43</sup>UTA, Pamphlets, box 6: McGregor, "Department of Social Science," in Training for Social Work, pp. 12-14; UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/032, file: Social Service, 1913-1914, TMs, "Proposed School of Social Service," n.d.

<sup>44</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/032, file: Social Service, 1913-1914, TMs, "Proposed School of Social Service," n.d.



Falconer's previous recommendation, they were conducted by prominent Toronto social workers, including Sara Libby Carson, who was then the supervisor of settlement work for the Presbyterian Church, and Elizabeth B. Neufeld of Central Neighbourhood House.<sup>45</sup> As in the Department of Political Economy, students in Social Service were expected to use their theoretical understanding of social conditions to realize moral purposes, and the program incorporated a course on "Social Ethics," in which students wrestled with such questions as "whether the subject of moral judgments is the action or the motive."<sup>46</sup> The essays written by one student in the class of 1916, Dorothy W. Eddis, ranged from a discussion on "How do I distinguish right from wrong?" to an analysis of "The Social and Economic Differences between Labor and other Commodities."<sup>47</sup> In 1917, an optional second year was added to the program to provide more advanced instruction, and a course on "Social and Industrial Investigation," which aimed to train students for government

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<sup>45</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/148, file: A32/2, Social Service, 1914-1915, TMs, "Report of the Director of the Department of Social Service," [1914-1915]; UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/031, file: Social Service, 1914, TMs, "Report regarding Courses of Training for Social Workers," 14 May 1914.

<sup>46</sup>UTA, Dorothy W. Eddis, B76-1037, University of Toronto, Department of Social Service, Annual Examination in Social Ethics, 1916.

<sup>47</sup>UTA, Dorothy W. Eddis, B76-1037, University of Toronto, Department of Social Service, Essays, 1915-1916.

service, was included as an elective second year course. With an emphasis similar to that of courses taught at the London School of Economics and the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, this class was specifically designed to prepare students for positions in public welfare administration.<sup>48</sup>

Although they recognized the importance of practical education, like E.J. Urwick, Falconer and Lloyd gave only minor attention to the need for actual training in social work methodology. In contrast to most American schools of social work at this time, the curriculum of the Department of Social Service at Toronto included, out of eight compulsory and eight optional courses, only two specifically dealing with technique: "The Family and the Community," which all full-time students were required to attend, and "Charities," which was an elective discussion course.<sup>49</sup> Between 1914 and 1918, both courses were taught by Arthur H. Burnett, then of the Department of Public Health, who had left his work at Central Neighbourhood House to enroll in the New York School of Philanthropy in 1912. By the time of

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<sup>48</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/042, file: Franklin Johnson, Jr., 1916-1917, Robert Falconer to Franklin Johnson, Jr., 13 March 1917; University of Toronto Calendar, 1917-1918, p. 15.

<sup>49</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/148, file: A32/2, Social Service, 1914-1915, TMs, "Report of the Director of the Department of Social Service," [1914-1915]. After 1915 the name of the required course was changed to "Dependents and the Community."

Burnett's attendance, the New York School of Philanthropy had become almost exclusively oriented toward vocationalism and casework.<sup>50</sup> In accordance with his training in New York, Burnett's courses at Toronto were concerned with transmitting skills, particularly methods of differential casework. The Calendar for 1915-1916, for example, gave the following description of Burnett's required course: "The technique of charitable work; investigation, plan, application. Methods of administration; confidential exchange, records, conferences. Study of selected case records." Similarly, his discussion course, "Charities," was intended to offer more advanced instruction in casework, and was organized to help students deal with the cases which they encountered during their field work.<sup>51</sup> In the original proposal for the Department, field work had been recommended as a third kind of instruction, which would be "for the collection of information and critical first hand study of social questions[.]"<sup>52</sup> Field work was initiated in 1914, and full-time students were required to devote ten hours a week to gaining experience in Toronto agencies, which included University Settlement, Central Neighbourhood House,

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<sup>50</sup> Lubove, pp. 144-45.

<sup>51</sup> University of Toronto Calendar, 1915-1916, pp. 643-44.

<sup>52</sup> UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/032, file: Social Service, 1913-1914, TMs, "Proposed School of Social Service," n.d.

and the Social Service Department of the Toronto General Hospital. As with Urwick's course in London, it seems to have been assumed at Toronto that the students would receive most of their technical training through their field work. During the Department's first four years, however, the field-work program remained tentative and unorganized, with "the problem of suitable field work" consistently striking the single negative chord in the Director's otherwise self-congratulatory Annual Reports.<sup>53</sup>

Despite its limited attention to technique, the Department of Social Service immediately attracted the participation of those groups of social workers who were pioneering casework methodology in Toronto: the visiting nurses employed by the Department of Public Health and by the Board of Education. As in many large American cities, in Toronto some of the earliest people to use casework were the nurses and teachers who specialized in medical or school social work.<sup>54</sup> The Department's enrollment for the first year reflected the particular interest of caseworkers, as the over two hundred and eighty part-time students included a large number of public health nurses and school nurses, as well as probation officers of the Juvenile Court, nurses-

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<sup>53</sup> University of Toronto Calendar, 1915-1916, p. 639, 1917-1918, pp. 17-18; UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/149, file: A32/2, Social Service, 1915-1917, TMs, "Report of the Director of the Department of Social Service," 1915-1916, 1916-1917.

<sup>54</sup> Lubove, pp. 23-49; Bator, 43-49.

in-training from the Social Service Department of the Toronto General Hospital, and staff from the Social Service Commission.<sup>55</sup> In addition to those who specialized in casework, the program also drew part-time students from Toronto's settlement houses, and during the first year paid workers from St. Christopher House, Evangelia House, and University Settlement took courses. Of the eleven full-time students who graduated in 1915, eight would later hold permanent positions in settlement houses, or in such social agencies as the Child Welfare Council and the NWA. One graduate from the first class, Ethel Dodds Parker, became a leading member of Toronto's social work community, holding several prominent appointments, including the Directorship of the city's Social Welfare Division from 1927 to 1932. Parker was President of the Canadian Association of Social Workers in 1932, and, as chapter six will maintain, during her tenure she was a forceful advocate of improved professional standards in social work.<sup>56</sup> In 1915, the ties between the Department and Toronto's professional social workers were strengthened by two developments: first, the

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<sup>55</sup>UTA, Pamphlets, box 6: McGregor, "Department of Social Science," in Training for Social Work, p. 14; UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/034, file: Franklin Johnson, Jr., 1914, Franklin Johnson, Jr., to Robert Falconer, 11 November 1914; UTA, Faculty of Social Work, A85-0002/007-019, Student Enrolment Cards, 1914-1915.

<sup>56</sup>UTA, Faculty of Social Work, A85-0002/007-019, Student Enrolment Cards, 1914-1915. For information on Ethel Dodds Parker, see Metropolitan Toronto Central Library, Baldwin Room, Ethel (Dodds) Parker Papers.

decision by the city that all playground supervisors and assistants in its employment were from then on required to take the Department's course on playgrounds, and secondly, the establishment by the Toronto General Hospital of a scholarship to enable its best part-time student enrolled in the Medical Social Service Course to study full time in the Department for a year. In 1916, both the Department of Public Health and the Board of Education followed the example of the city's Playground Department, and required that their visiting staffs take particular courses given by the Department of Social Service.<sup>57</sup> During the 1916 to 1917 academic year, the Department also conducted a study of the distribution of charitable relief from public funds for the city's Social Service Commission.<sup>58</sup>

#### The University's "Step-Child"

Although the curriculum had been planned to give social workers a sound academic background in the social sciences, by 1918 the Department had virtually no credibility in the University community. When University Settlement had been founded, the Toronto ideal had ensured that the service of

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<sup>57</sup> UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/149, file: A32/2, Social Service, 1915-1917, TMs, "Report of the Director of the Department of Social Service," 1915-1916, 1916-1917.

<sup>58</sup> UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/149, file: A32/2, Social Service, 1915-1917, TMs, "Report of the Director of the Department of Social Service," 1916-1917.

educated men would be elevated above that of University women. Just as they had in 1910, in 1914 the founders of the Department of Social Service had hoped to attract young men into the field of social service. Settlement work, however, had been seen as a temporary way for men to gain a knowledge of social problems which could then be applied to their life-work in other fields. By contrast, it had been anticipated that the Department of Social Service would be able to draw men permanently into the profession's high administrative positions, by offering a broad education in the social sciences designed to give social work academic legitimacy. At Toronto, therefore, the curriculum's distinction between technique and theory, or between practitioners and administrators, was firmly grounded in considerations of gender. While technique in social work became identified as a feminine skill, natural to the nurturing and communicative qualities attributed to women, sociological theory was increasingly defined by the requirements of masculine knowledge, and pushed into the domain of the male social scientist.<sup>59</sup> In 1932, J.J. Kelso looked back with frustration on the feminization of the

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<sup>59</sup>In general, the low status of female occupations and the devaluing of "female skills" shaped the development of women's vocational education in Ontario. See Ruby Heap, "'Schooling Women for Home or for Work?' Vocational Education for Women in Ontario in the Early Twentieth Century: The Case of the Toronto Technical High School: 1892-1920," in Gender and Education in Ontario: An Historical Reader, ed. Ruby Heap and Alison Prentice (Toronto, 1991), 195-243.

social service program at Toronto. "It was a great disappointment to me," he remembered, "to find when the course was actually opened that it was swamped with young women and the young men felt they were quite out of it. It seemed to be taken for granted that it was a woman's job and this is a big mistake for the key positions should be held by men."<sup>60</sup> As Kelso's comment suggests, the widely-held perception that men naturally were better suited to hold social work's executive positions, led to discrimination against women in a female-dominated profession. One historian has shown that despite their superior professional training, by 1950 women were confined primarily to low-paying jobs in the practitioner sector, while men, although a minority in the field of social work, held the higher-paying administrative positions.<sup>61</sup>

While the University of Toronto Calendar specified that the Department received both men and women as students, wartime conditions had increased the already large numbers

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<sup>60</sup> NAC, Kelso Papers, MG 30, C 97, vol. 6, file: School of Social Work, University of Toronto, J.J. Kelso to T.R. Robinson, 7 July 1932.

<sup>61</sup> James Struthers, "'Lord give us men': Women and Social Work in English Canada, 1918 to 1953," Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers (1983), 111-12. A similar pattern of male dominance has been identified in the structure of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century public school organization in Ontario, in which men managed and women taught. See John R. Abbott, "Accomplishing 'a Man's Task': Rural Women Teachers, Male Culture, and the School Inspectorate in Turn of the Century Ontario," in Gender and Education in Ontario, 49-70.



of women who were attracted to the occupation of social work, and by the end of the war, social service had become almost exclusively a women's program.<sup>62</sup> During the first year there were just five part-time and no full-time male students, and the entire graduating class--and by extension the founding membership of the Social Service Alumni Association--was female.<sup>63</sup> This discrepancy continued: between 1915 and 1918, only sixteen men were registered, compared to seven hundred and sixty-five women, and of these only five men studied in the Department full-time.<sup>64</sup> In 1938, a study indicated that since 1914 the Department had graduated only fifty-three men compared to four hundred and seventy-eight women.<sup>65</sup>

The identification of social work as a women's program was accentuated in the fall of 1920, when the University inaugurated a two-year "Special Course for Workers with Boys," which was open to students in other departments, and which was specifically designed to attract the young men who did not wish to take the entire diploma course in social

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<sup>62</sup> University of Toronto Calendar, 1915-1916, 1917-1918.

<sup>63</sup> UTA, Faculty of Social Work, A85-0002/007-019, Student Enrolment Cards, 1914-1915.

<sup>64</sup> UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/149-150, file: A32/2, Social Service, 1915-1918, TMs, "Report of the Director of the Department of Social Service," 1915-1916, 1916-1917, 1917-1918.

<sup>65</sup> UTA, Pamphlets, box 6: McGregor, "Department of Social Science," in Training for Social Work, p. 30.

work, but who intended, either as volunteers or paid workers, to lead the boys' programs operated by the city's social agencies. The Calendar for 1921 to 1922 was careful to explain that boys' work not only provided men with a means of personal fulfilment but should be seen as a respectable male career. "There is an increasing demand for Boys' Work Secretaries; the Young Men's Christian Association, local churches, settlements and Boys' Work Boards are in constant need of more and better trained men than are available. As an effective and satisfying form of social service, as well as a promising field for a vocation, specialized work with boys makes one of the strongest claims."<sup>66</sup> While the creation of the special course in boys' work revealed the University's continued desire to attract men into the field of social work, it also indicated the degree to which enrollment in the regular course of the Department of Social Service had become regarded as unsuitable for young male students.

Agnes C. McGregor, a graduate of 1916 who became a faculty member, later described the Department in its early years as a "step-child" of the University. It was, she wrote, "a small experimental department with no real status

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<sup>66</sup>University of Toronto Calendar, 1921-1922, p. 596; UTA, Ephemera, B84-1089, pamphlet: University of Toronto, Department of Social Service, Special Course in Work with Boys, n.d.

in the University, it had little prestige."<sup>67</sup> The Department's lack of respectability during the war years can be attributed to two main factors: first, to the Social Service Committee's decision in 1914 to appoint Franklin Johnson, Jr., as the Department's Director, and secondly, to the program's necessarily close association with a female-dominated occupation, which, in the eyes of many members of the University community, had no legitimate claim to academic standing.

In consultation with Sarah T. Warren, the member of the Social Science Study Club who had agreed to finance the appointment, Falconer had started seeking advice from prominent American social-work educators in May 1914. In a letter that he had sent to Charles R. Henderson of the University of Chicago, Graham Taylor of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, Hastings H. Hart of the Russell Sage Foundation, Edward T. Devine of the New York School of Philanthropy, and Gaylord White of the Union Theological Seminary, Falconer had stressed the importance of finding a director whose approach was applied, and who might place the Department at the centre of Canada's growing social work community. "We wish to secure a person of university training, and, if possible, distinction," he had written, "one also who has had thorough experience in the practical

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<sup>67</sup> University of Toronto Library, Agnes C. McGregor, "Memories," TMs [photocopy], 1959, pp. 27-28.

work of social organisation and who will be competent not only to establish a new department or school, but to conduct it in such a way that it may realise what seems to us to be the great possibility of such a school in this Dominion." Falconer had explained that he was contacting American authorities because the Committee preferred to find an American candidate, believing that, as he had put it, "in many ways the social conditions of the United States are more similar to our own than English conditions would be."<sup>68</sup>

Considering the Committee's stated objectives, Franklin Johnson had been an unlikely candidate, as he possessed neither practical experience in social work, nor a background in applied sociology. Johnson first had been recommended by Edward T. Devine of the New York School of Philanthropy, who had claimed that Johnson's moral attributes as a former leader in the Baptist Church made up for the fact that he had done little teaching and had no social-work training. "He has an attractive and forceful personality, exceptional intellectual capacity, and genuine interest in social problems," Devine had urged.<sup>69</sup> Emphasizing Johnson's character and religious work, Devine

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<sup>68</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/032, file: Sarah Warren, 1914, Robert Falconer to Charles R. Henderson, Graham Taylor, Gaylord White, Hastings H. Hart, and Edward T. Divine, 16 May 1914.

<sup>69</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/036, file: Byron Edmund Walker, 1914-1915, Edward T. Divine to Robert Falconer, 27 May 1914.

had merely skimmed over his academic record, and had assured the Committee that his recommendation was supported by Franklin H. Giddings at Columbia University, where Johnson was enrolled in the doctoral program in sociology.<sup>70</sup> Under Giddings' direction, the study of sociology at Columbia was less reform-oriented than it was at Chicago under Albion W. Small and the other members of the early Chicago school, and Columbia students were trained to approach their research using an objective, statistical method of quantitative measurement.<sup>71</sup> The difference between the approaches of Small and Giddings had been clearly demonstrated in the contributions of the two sociologists to a discussion at the annual meeting of the American Economic Association in 1894. Small had submitted a paper on "The Relation of Sociology to Economics," in which he had urged that sociology be

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<sup>70</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/036, file: Byron Edmund Walker, 1914-1915, Edward T. Devine to Robert Falconer, 2 June 1914; UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/033, file: Edward T. Devine, 1914, Robert Falconer to Edward T. Devine, 11 September 1914; UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/047b, file: Franklin Johnson, Jr., 1918, Transcript of Franklin Johnson, Jr., from Columbia University, 22 March 1918.

<sup>71</sup>Dorothy Ross, The Origins of American Social Science (Cambridge, England, 1991), pp. 224-29, p. 369. Mary O. Furner argues that the professionalization of the social sciences in America after 1890 created a growing tension among academics between their desire to be advocates of reform causes, and their need to be perceived as scientific and objective. See Mary O. Furner, Advocacy and Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of American Social Science, 1865-1905 (Lexington, Ky., 1975), pp. 322-23.

considered an applied science, directed toward moral ends. "The final work of sociology," he had argued, "is to derive from social facts knowledge of available means for realizing social improvement, and of the necessary methods of applying the means." By contrast, Giddings had responded during the discussion of the paper that sociology was a "concrete science," like chemistry or biology, which could coordinate all other social sciences by uncovering the "fundamental facts and universal principles" explaining the historical evolution of society.<sup>72</sup>

Franklin Johnson's lack of experience in applied sociology had initially troubled Falconer. "The record of Mr. Johnson," he had pointed out to Edward Devine in May 1914, "seems to be in some respects excellent, though it occurs to me that possibly his practical experience has been confined rather much to one side of social training[.]"<sup>73</sup> The following month, the Director of the Russell Sage Foundation, John M. Glenn, had written to warn Falconer against appointing an academic without vocational training in social work. "[W]hen a man has not had close enough

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<sup>72</sup>William James Ashley, Simon N. Patten, Franklin H. Giddings, Lester F. Ward, "Discussion" of Albion W. Small's paper, "The Relation of Sociology to Economics," read at the Seventh Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association, December 28, 1894. Abstracts in Publications of the American Economic Association, X, No. 3 (March 1895), 106-17.

<sup>73</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/028, file: Edward T. Devine, 1914, Robert Falconer to Edward T. Devine, 29 May 1914.

contact with some particular line or lines of work to learn method and technique, it is not easy for him to understand and sympathize with such work. He is likely to emphasize the theoretical side and teaching of a general nature rather than professional training and discipline. His school is likely to lean to the side of inspiration and information and not to lay enough stress on method."<sup>74</sup> In light of the Committee's own perspective on social-work education, however, Glenn's warning probably would have come more as a recommendation than otherwise, as the possibility that Johnson might esteem theory over technique, and inspiration over method, would have strengthened his claim to the position. Johnson himself, despite his "objective" training at Columbia, had reassured the Committee that he regarded his work from a moral perspective, and, as a Baptist minister, seems to have been drawn to sociology by the influence of the social gospel. In a somewhat pompous letter to Falconer in July 1914, he had stated that he had turned down a much more lucrative and distinguished position in order to accept the task offered by Toronto. He had claimed that he did so because he believed in the great importance and usefulness of an undertaking which linked "the work of the Christian ministry with the equally Christian work of social ministry[.]" "I am looking forward

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<sup>74</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/036, file: Byron Edmund Walker, 1914-1915, J.M. Glenn to Robert Falconer, 24 June 1914.

with much interest and pleasure to the work in Toronto," Johnson had assured him, "and shall go into it with enthusiasm, tempered with wisdom, and with the view of building up a great work of far-reaching influence, and so accomplishing much in the service of humanity."<sup>75</sup> In an address which he had delivered in November, after arriving in Toronto, to recruit support for University Settlement, Johnson had emphasized what he saw as the spiritual foundation of social service. As reported in The Varsity, he had told his audience that social work had grown out of God's work, and was the "very essence of Christianity."<sup>76</sup> As in their search for the Settlement's Resident Director during the previous year, Falconer and Lloyd--who sat on both hiring committees--again had been swayed by their idealist faith in moral leadership. "Apparently [Johnson] does not claim the ripe wisdom of the old practical hand," Lloyd had written to Falconer in June 1914, "or the theoretical cocksureness of the school made man. But if he has the human and the intellectual gifts which are here attributed to him in such unstinted measure he has the

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<sup>75</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/034, file: Franklin Johnson, Jr., 1914, Franklin Johnson, Jr., to Robert Falconer, 31 July 1914.

<sup>76</sup>The Varsity, XXXIV, No. 17 (9 November 1914).



essential thing for our purpose and I think we should count ourselves fortunate to find such a man."<sup>77</sup>

Far from asserting moral leadership, however, Franklin Johnson would leave Toronto in disgrace in early 1918. He had been hired on the assumption that he had received his doctoral degree from Columbia University, and for four years the letterhead of the Department of Social Service had advertised the Director's possession of a Ph.D. By 1918, it had been discovered that Johnson did not, in fact, have his doctorate. Although Falconer tried to avoid scandal by quietly seeking an alternative position for him outside Toronto, rumours circulated in the University that Johnson's academic qualifications had been falsified.<sup>78</sup> In January 1918, Falconer wrote to Graham Taylor of Chicago to inquire about other possible openings, explaining that Johnson wished to secure a more permanent and financially stable appointment than his present one.<sup>79</sup> Forced to give up his

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<sup>77</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/036, file: Byron Edmund Walker, 1914-1915, G.I.H. Lloyd to Robert Falconer, 27 June [1914].

<sup>78</sup>UTA, University Historian, A83-0036/014, file: Faculty of Social Work, 1914-1932, TMs, Lorna F. Hurl, "Building a Profession: The Origin and Development of the Department of Social Service in the University of Toronto, 1914-1928," December 1981, pp. 13-14, pp. 51-52. Hurl writes that she was told of this rumour in a personal interview with Elsie Lawson, a student in the Department in 1918-1919.

<sup>79</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/049b, file: Graham Taylor, 1918, Robert Falconer to Graham Taylor, 21 January 1918.

position at Toronto, and urged by Falconer to complete his degree, Johnson returned to Columbia University in April. In his final Annual Report as Director of the Department of Social Service, he claimed that he was retiring from the position "to enter the war service of the American Government[.]"<sup>80</sup> On Johnson's request, Franklin Giddings sent Falconer a letter to "go on file," which stated that Johnson had completed all the work for his doctoral degree "except the finishing up and publishing of his dissertation." "I hope that it will be possible for Johnson to keep on in academic work somewhere," Giddings wrote. "But if during the period of the war that should be impossible, he will, I am sure, make good in war activities."<sup>81</sup> Johnson's replacement, R.M. MacIver, later recalled in his autobiography the humiliating circumstances of Johnson's forced resignation, which, as he remembered it, had left him "saddled for a time with the direction of a struggling School of Social Work[.]" MacIver stated: "Its director had proved quite unsatisfactory, and on his induced

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<sup>80</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/150, file: A32/2, Social Service, 1917-1918, TMs, "Report of the Director of the Department of Social Service," 1917-1918.

<sup>81</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/047a, file: Franklin H. Giddings, 1918, Franklin H. Giddings to Robert Falconer, 30 April 1918; A67-0007/047a, file: Franklin H. Giddings, 1918, Robert Falconer to Franklin H. Giddings, 2 May 1918.

departure no successor could be immediately found to repair the damage and raise the reputation of the school."<sup>82</sup>

The low standing of the Department of Social Service at the time of Johnson's departure was highlighted in a series of anonymous letters published between November 1917 and March 1918 in a new University magazine, The Rebel. The magazine vividly expressed the mood of restlessness and dissatisfaction among Toronto's faculty and students during the final years of World War I. Appearing in February 1917, the introductory issue bravely promised its readers that the journal would offer an "honest criticism of things as they are."<sup>83</sup> One of the first areas to come under attack in The Rebel was the University's participation in social service, and the program of the fledgling Department of Social Service was ridiculed and disparaged. The criticisms in all the letters concerned the University's subordination of practical training to academic education, and they reflected the more specific debate among educators over whether primacy should be given to the technical or the theoretical aspects of social-work training. The attack was launched by

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<sup>82</sup>R.M. MacIver, As a Tale That Is Told: The Autobiography of R.M. MacIver (Chicago, 1968), p. 89.

<sup>83</sup>UTA, P78-0712(01), The Rebel, I, No. 1 (February 1917), 3. The Rebel was published anonymously by "members of the University of Toronto," and ran from February 1917 to March 1920, at which time it indicated its intention in September to become a general political and literary magazine under a new name, The Canadian Forum. UTA, P78-0712(01), The Rebel, IV, No. 6 (March 1920), 230.

a contribution from "Hetairos," who pointed out that students taking theology or law at the University of Toronto were especially unequipped to deal with social questions.

"I take it that any university that would arouse enthusiasm in social problems," the letter stated, "and that would fit its students for effective social endeavour, must provide instruction and facilities for practical work." In a sarcastic reply to "Hetairos," a letter signed by "Conservative" argued against change, and mockingly defended the curriculum of the Department of Social Service.

"Everyone who knows anything, or near anything, realizes that the University has already established a Department of Social Service that supplies enough theory to deal with any social problem without the slightest reference to field work. Why the necessity of prowling around Juvenile Courts or Settlements, or even Sunday Schools, to learn the practical side of criminality?" This exchange provoked several enthusiastic responses offering suggestions for improvements, and in one letter someone signed as "P" continued "Conservative's" satirical defence of the existing program. "For very many years the University has been content to study the slum from the comfortable arm chairs of its libraries. Why any change?" Although there had been "romantic radicals" who had envisioned the Department of Social Service as a point of contact between academia and "real life," it could be happily reported now that

"conventionality and the status quo" had been regained. Some young students, in fact, had ventured out into the slums, but, "P" hastened to add, "Conservative" was to be reassured that they were strictly supervised. "Don't jump: it is all under the most careful chaperonage. Lights out at ten. No latch keys! The whole atmosphere one of pasteurized propriety which approximates as closely as possible to that of a young 'ladies' finishing school."<sup>84</sup>

Besides showing the University's wartime mood and general impatience with conservatism, the criticisms in The Rebel reveal the two factors which contributed to the lack of public respect for the Department of Social Service. In the first place, as was already mentioned, the letters were an assault on what was seen as the overly academic and theoretical curriculum of the Department. The determination of Falconer and Lloyd to institute a broad academically-oriented program in the social sciences, rather than a specialized technical course, had created a curriculum which underemphasized casework methodology and field work, and therefore devalued the skill which increasingly had come to define professional social work. Secondly, the attack in The Rebel indicates the extent to which the Department's

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<sup>84</sup>UTA, P78-0712(01), Hetairos, "The University and Social Service," The Rebel, II, No. 2 (November 1917), 72-74; Conservative, "The University and Social Service," The Rebel, II, No. 3 (December 1917), 120-22; P., "The University and Social Service," The Rebel, II, No. 6 (March 1918), 266-67.

academic standing relied on perceptions of gender, as it reflects the extremely low status held by the female-dominated course in the larger University community. The original purpose of "Hetairos'" letter had not been so much to draw attention to the weakness of the Department, as rather to demand that male students enrolled in theology or law also be given appropriate instruction in social problems. By asserting the importance of training young professional men in social service, "Hetairos" was reviving once again the University's idealist confidence in the superiority of male over female ability, and was expressing the conviction that social problems would finally be given the attention they deserved once male students returned home from the war. One subsequent letter in The Rebel responded specifically to this point, claiming that social reform on a grand scale would be impossible without the cooperation of the young men who were society's future leaders. "The Social Service Department is probably doing good work for a comparatively small group of women who study for a year or two under its supervision. If, however, this department were enlarged so that it could supply practical demonstrations and supervise field work for students in Arts, Theology, Law, and Medicine, its value would be greatly enhanced."<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>85</sup>UTA, P78-0712(01), "The University and Social Service," The Rebel, II, No. 3 (December 1917), 114-16.

From its inception, therefore, the Department of Social Service embodied a gendered distinction between male-directed applied sociology and female-dominated vocational social work. While Falconer and his Committee recognized the value of professional social work, they nevertheless assumed that to give the Department academic legitimacy the Directorship should go to a male academic, rather than to a practising female social worker. In his search for candidates, Falconer indicated that the Committee would only consider a woman if it were unable to find the "right man."<sup>86</sup> This assumption helps to explain why the Committee asked the opinions of men who headed American training centres, and did not request help from such prominent social workers as Jane Addams of Hull-House. While other schools of social work in the United States became more and more preoccupied with teaching casework methodology, and, after 1920, with psychiatric technique in particular, the Toronto Department continued to maintain its original program of morally-applied sociology. Even though men never did enter the program in any numbers, the initial association of vocational training with "a woman's job" helped, to some extent, to sustain the University's resistance to purely

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<sup>86</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/032, file: Social Service, 1913-1914, Gaylord White to Robert Falconer, 22 May 1914.

technical education.<sup>87</sup> During the interwar years, in fact, the Department's female graduates themselves attempted to reinforce the University's rejection of vocational training. Seeking academic respect for their discipline, in 1919, and again in 1929, the Social Service Alumni Association would pressure the University to appoint as Director of the Department a male social scientist rather than a practising female social worker. These graduates would experience conflict, however, between their desire for academic legitimacy, and the growing tendency among social workers to construct their professional identity around the acquisition of casework technique.

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<sup>87</sup> Two recent works which explore the impact of gender on the development of social work and sociology, have argued that the identification of theoretical or academic social study as a masculine field increasingly limited women to the area of practical or skills-oriented social work. See Mary Jo Deegan, Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School, 1892-1918 (New Brunswick, N.J., 1988), pp. 313-17; and Martha Vicinus, "Settlement Houses: A Community Ideal for the Poor," in Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920 (Chicago, 1985), pp. 211-46. For discussions of the exclusion of female sociologists from the academic establishment, see Rosalind Rosenberg, Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism (New Haven, Conn., 1982), p. 50; and Mary Jo Deegan, "Early Women Sociologists and the American Sociological Society: The Patterns of Exclusion and Participation," American Sociologist, XVI, No.1 (February 1981), 14-24.



## CHAPTER 6

### THE CONTINUITY OF IDEALIST VALUES: THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICE AND ITS GRADUATES, 1918-1937

In the years between the two world wars, education in social work at the University of Toronto was controlled by a succession of British social philosophers. Under the direction of R.M. MacIver, J.A. Dale, and E.J. Urwick, the Department of Social Service slowly gained status in the academic world, and, by the time of Urwick's retirement in 1937, it had become a post-graduate course designed to dovetail with the University's honour program in sociology. For all three Directors, it was of paramount importance that social-work education develop within the limits which had been defined historically by the Toronto ideal, and during their tenures, the program continued to offer a general training in the social sciences instead of the more specialized emphasis on technique favoured by most American schools of social work.

In their efforts to preserve the program's original approach to social work, the Directors found themselves fully supported by the Department's graduates, who, through their membership in the Social Service Alumni Association, formed vital links between the University and the city's

social work community. Seeking professional recognition, the female graduates endorsed the leadership of all three male academics as a deliberate strategy to gain academic prestige for their occupation. One study of women in Canadian social work after World War I has claimed that complaints about sexual inequality in the profession existed as an undercurrent of anger throughout the 1920s, and that by the 1930s, resentment against male leadership was becoming increasingly apparent in the social-work journals.<sup>1</sup> During the early stages of professionalization in the 1920s, however, it can be argued that some female social workers in Canada also accepted and even made use of male dominance as a necessary way of enhancing the authority of their discipline. Because women formed the majority of its practitioners, unlike the older professions of medicine or law, social work lacked access to important power structures in society which were controlled by white, middle-class men.<sup>2</sup> Although the policy of the Department threatened to undermine the social workers' elevation of casework technique, the perception that their own professional status primarily depended on the academic integrity of the program

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<sup>1</sup>James Struthers, "'Lord give us men': Women and Social Work in English Canada, 1918 to 1953," Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers (1983), 96-98.

<sup>2</sup>Penina Migdal Glazer and Miriam Slater, "The Creation of Psychiatric Social Work," in Unequal Colleagues: The Entrance of Women into the Professions, 1890-1940 (New Brunswick, N.J., 1987), p. 175, p. 191.

induced the female graduates to form a close and cooperative relationship with the program's male Directors.

In the United States, a pattern had emerged by the 1920s, paralleled at Toronto, which placed male social scientists with prestigious academic qualifications at the head of schools of social work, while more experienced female social workers managed their daily administrative details.<sup>3</sup> At the University of Toronto, the running of the social-work program was left in the hands of its longest-serving faculty member, Agnes C. McGregor, who was herself a graduate of the Department, and an active member of the Social Service Alumni Association. MacIver, Dale, and Urwick shaped the program's policy--and consequently left records of their activities--yet much of the credit for the strength of the Department's continuity essentially belongs to Agnes McGregor. In 1915 McGregor enrolled in the program while also working part-time in the Department as an office assistant, and, after graduating from the course with first-class standing in 1916, was appointed secretary to the faculty. Between 1915 and her retirement in 1947, she shifted from the administrative to the teaching branch of the staff, being promoted to Director of Field Work under MacIver, and then to Assistant Director under Urwick.<sup>4</sup> As

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> University of Toronto Archives (hereafter UTA), Faculty of Social Work, A85-0002/013, Student Enrolment Cards, 1915-1916; UTA, Department of Graduate Records, A73-

both a graduate and a faculty member, McGregor was a constant advocate of the Toronto ideal, and, although she left few personal records of her work, the early history of social-work education at the University has been mainly filtered through her eyes. In her formal history of the program, which was prepared to celebrate the school's twenty-fifth anniversary and published in 1940, she glossed over the difficulties in gaining academic status, and stressed instead the progression of the principles laid down by Robert Falconer and G.I.H. Lloyd in 1914. She concluded with the warning that "the Department must be envisaged and maintained not only as a competent and effective vocational school, but as an educational institution of highest quality."<sup>5</sup> Similarly, while her two unpublished memoirs, "Reminiscences" (1947) and "Memories" (1959), were more frank about the Department being, as she put it, the

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0026/270(86), file: Agnes Christine McGregor, clipping: Toronto Telegram, 4 May 1960; Torontonensis, XVIII (1916), 207; UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/042, file: Franklin Johnson, Jr., 1916-1917, Franklin Johnson, Jr., to Robert Falconer, 27 September 1916; University of Toronto Library (hereafter UTL), Agnes C. McGregor, "Memories," TMs [photocopy], 1959, pp. 27-28. R.M. MacIver made McGregor's promotion to Director of Field Work a condition of his agreeing to continue as Acting Director. UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/053a, file: James Mavor, 1919, James Mavor to Robert Falconer, 14 June 1919.

<sup>5</sup>UTA, Pamphlets, box 6: Agnes C. McGregor, "The Department of Social Science, University of Toronto, 1914-1940," in Training for Social Work in the Department of Social Science, University of Toronto, 1914-1940, 1940, p. 14.

University's "step-child," she again championed the approach taken by MacIver, Dale, and Urwick.<sup>6</sup> E.J. Urwick recognized her importance, and in his foreword to her anniversary history in 1940 he credited her with providing the work of the Department with "a marked unity and coherence," which, he argued, was derived from her unvarying singleness of aim.<sup>7</sup> Thus while any examination of the Department's policy during this period must explore the social thought of its three Directors, it is important to note that McGregor's influence, and that of other trained social workers on the teaching staff, remains largely hidden from the historical record. To this extent, the Department itself reproduced the pattern of gender inequality which characterized the development of professional social work in Canada.

#### R.M. MacIver and a Sociology of Values

In Agnes McGregor's recollections, the real history of the Department always began in the spring of 1918, when Franklin Johnson returned to the United States and the British social scientist R.M. MacIver was appointed Acting

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<sup>6</sup>UTL, McGregor, "Memories," pp. 27-28. "Memories" is primarily a history of McGregor's family, and in her "Foreword" she writes that she intended it to be read only by a few friends and relatives. "Reminiscences" is a brief history of the Department of Social Service which McGregor presented to a meeting of the School of Social Work Alumni held 27 November 1947. UTA, Ephemera, B81-1020, Agnes C. McGregor, "Reminiscences," TMs [photocopy], 1947, pp. 1-5.

<sup>7</sup>UTA, Pamphlets, box 6: E.J. Urwick, "Foreword," in Training for Social Work, p. 8.

Director. MacIver only held the position for two years, yet in McGregor's view his appointment inaugurated a period of intense excitement and progress, where the Director's personal convictions and leadership skills perfectly suited the University's impatient postwar mood. "He brought youth, vigor and broad social idealism to the Department," she asserted in "Reminiscences." "His students responded eagerly and threw themselves into work in the classroom and in the community, feeling a part of all that was happening, and believing that they were really helping to create a new heaven and a new earth."<sup>8</sup> While there is no doubt that MacIver injected renewed energy and purpose into social-work education at Toronto, he did not, in fact, substantially alter the curriculum of the Department. Under MacIver's direction, the social service program retained its original orientation toward the social sciences, and it continued to elevate academic education over vocational training. At the end of the 1914 to 1915 academic year, G.I.H. Lloyd had resigned from his position at Toronto to return to England, and, in July, MacIver had been appointed James Mavor's new Associate Professor of Political Economy.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>UTA, Ephemera, B81-1020, McGregor, "Reminiscences," pp. 1-2.

<sup>9</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/034, file: W.T. Layton, 1915, Robert Falconer to W.T. Layton, 5 April 1915; UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/037, file: Appointments, 1914-1915, Robert Falconer to R.M. MacIver, 6 July 1915.

Since the fall of 1915, MacIver had been affiliated with the Department of Social Service, having taken over the teaching of Lloyd's course on "Social Economics." As Lloyd's successor, MacIver was an obvious choice for the position of Acting Director, and after Johnson's embarrassing and abrupt departure--according to MacIver--the President "begged" him to take charge of the Department.<sup>10</sup>

Although he had received his formal education in classics at Edinburgh and Oxford, MacIver had become increasingly attracted to the discipline of sociology, and in 1915 he had recently been awarded his doctoral degree from Edinburgh on the strength of a dissertation analyzing social evolution, published two years later as Community: A Sociological Study.<sup>11</sup> Compared to its standing in America at this time, in Britain theoretical sociology had failed to gain a significant footing within academia, and by World War I, with the exception of MacIver himself at the University of Aberdeen, only L.T. Hobhouse at the London School of Economics taught a full program of non-applied sociology.<sup>12</sup> MacIver had decided to seek a position at the University of

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<sup>10</sup>R.M. MacIver, As a Tale That Is Told: The Autobiography of R.M. MacIver (Chicago, 1968), p. 89.

<sup>11</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/035, file: James Mavor, 1915, Robert Falconer to James Mavor, 17 April 1915; MacIver, As a Tale, pp. 64-65.

<sup>12</sup>Reba N. Soffer, "Why Do Disciplines Fail? The Strange Case of British Sociology," English Historical Review, XCVII, No. 385 (October 1982), 768.

Toronto after offending his department head at Aberdeen by writing a critical review of the idealist philosopher Bernard Bosanquet's Philosophical Theory of the State (1911).<sup>13</sup> The review had attacked Bosanquet's theory of political obligation by questioning the assumption that the "real" or ideal will of the individual harmonized with the general will of the state.<sup>14</sup> One historian has maintained that MacIver's sociological theory, like that of L.T. Hobhouse, was primarily shaped by his objection to the teleological aspects of idealism.<sup>15</sup> It would be inaccurate, however, to view MacIver's social thought as representing a definite break from the tradition of ethical idealism which for so many years had influenced social service at Toronto. For MacIver, as for Hobhouse, sociology was a fundamentally moral discipline; a science dedicated to uncovering the laws of social development, and, by extension, to revealing the evolutionary nature of human society.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>MacIver, As a Tale, pp. 74-75.

<sup>14</sup>R.M. MacIver, "A Criticism of the Neo-Hegelian Identification of 'Society' and 'State,'" Appendix B in Community: A Sociological Study: Being an Attempt to Set out the Nature and Fundamental Laws of Social Life, 4th ed. (London, 1970), pp. 425-33. This Appendix was an excerpt of MacIver's article "Society and State," Philosophical Review, XX (January 1911), 30-45.

<sup>15</sup>Stefan Collini, "Sociology and Idealism in Britain, 1880-1920," Archives européennes de sociologie, XIX, No. 1 (1978), 27-29.

<sup>16</sup>Stefan Collini, Liberalism and Sociology: L.T. Hobhouse and Political Argument in England, 1880-1914 (Cambridge, England, 1979), pp. 198-99, p. 235; Philip



In MacIver's view, sociology differed in an essential way from such "physical" sciences as geology, biology, or chemistry, even though, as he argued, the social sciences were equally justified in using the scientific method to discover and formulate universal laws. This crucial difference, he maintained in Community, was based on the principle that social facts were also values, and that as such they reflected the striving human purpose which shaped them. "The very existence of society means ethical purpose in its members," MacIver stated. "The sociologist who has no ethical interest, no interest in social conditions as relative to values, is a dilettante." Human community therefore inevitably adopted a developmental character, and the social scientist, alone among those in the field of evolutionary science, could unambiguously introduce the idea of purposeful growth. He wrote: "When we study community we are studying a world of values, and in the study of values it is impossible to retain the ideal which perhaps inspires the student of external nature. We must speak of better or worse institutions, of higher or lower stages of development, just because it is values we are concerned about."<sup>17</sup> The standard against which progress could be measured, for MacIver as for W.J. Ashley, was a community's

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Abrams, The Origins of British Sociology: 1834-1914 (Chicago, 1968), pp. 86-87.

<sup>17</sup>MacIver, Community, p. 57, p. 170.

ability to provide a better common life; an ability gauged by its possession of institutions and customs able to serve a greater number of people.<sup>18</sup> Thus MacIver believed that the welfare of society and the welfare of the individual were inseparable, and that the individual, in seeking good for others, necessarily found his or her own well-being. "As all individuality comes to fruition in society, so all individuality must in some way give itself up to society," he claimed in an article in The Sociological Review in 1914. "A profound sense of final failure accompanies all individuality which detaches itself from social service."<sup>19</sup>

While Community was very well received in Britain, in the United States its moralistic and philosophical approach was out of harmony with the growing popularity of statistical "objective" sociology.<sup>20</sup> Drawing on the inspiration of the objectivism that Franklin H. Giddings had been promoting at Columbia University since the turn of the century, by the early 1920s many younger American sociologists were adopting an extreme form of scientism, which gave exclusive authority to "value-free" methodology and statistical technique.<sup>21</sup> There was an increasing

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 169.

<sup>19</sup> R.M. MacIver, "Society and 'the Individual,'" The Sociological Review, VII, No. 1 (January 1914), 63.

<sup>20</sup> MacIver, As a Tale, p. 87.

<sup>21</sup> Dorothy Ross, The Origins of American Social Science (Cambridge, England, 1991), pp. 404-5.

division between the applied sociology taught to social workers in such institutions as the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, and the theoretical sociology pursued by academics in the college system. In the previous chapter, it was suggested that after 1900 the belief that academic social science was a masculine area of expertise caused female sociologists to become more and more isolated within the field of vocational social work. The appeal of scientism in the 1920s, historians have argued, also had an effect on gender roles, as male sociologists could use aggressively "masculine" scientific language to reinforce the boundaries between academic sociology and female-dominated social work.<sup>22</sup> Throughout the decade, scientific method was elevated to such an extent that one critic later described statistical sociology at this time as "atomistic raw empiricism."<sup>23</sup> After leaving Toronto in 1927, MacIver taught sociology at Columbia University for over twenty years, and there he became a vocal opponent of extreme scientism. In his perspective, this over-emphasis on statistics forced sociologists to assume that their purpose

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 394. For a similar, if less subtle argument concerning the development of theoretical sociology, see Mary Jo Deegan, Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School, 1892-1918 (New Brunswick, N.J., 1988), pp. 313-17.

<sup>23</sup> Harry Alpert, "Robert M. MacIver's Contributions to Sociological Theory," in Freedom and Control in Modern Society, ed. Morroe Berger, Theodore Abel and Charles H. Page (New York, 1954), p. 289.

was the accumulation, rather than the interpretation of facts. Like other exponents of the Toronto ideal, MacIver remained hostile to types of empiricism which were not utilized for moral purposes. "Measurement is never the end or the goal of science," he argued in his autobiography, "but only a way of approach to it."<sup>24</sup>

In his opinions on social-work education, MacIver shared the view put forth by Urwick and Ashley that students needed much more than simply to acquire skills: they needed to seek out the deeper moral meaning which lay beneath all the facets of social life. For MacIver, education in social work had the potential to bring together what he described as the "means" of living, the accumulation of skills which resulted in civilization, and the "ends" of living, the cultural traditions which evolved out of the endless process of human experience. His rejection of a purely vocational approach to social work was based on the same resistance to "objectivism" which had sparked his criticism of an exclusively statistical sociology. In a 1927 article in the journal of the Social Service Council of Canada, Social Welfare, MacIver explained: "Social [e]ducation, we agree, is the meeting point of culture and civilization. The social worker or the social scientist cannot, like the engineer, think only of the means of living. Social education is not merely a technique. Here the means are too

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<sup>24</sup>MacIver, As a Tale, p. 128.

closely related to the ends. The social worker must see his or her relation to a living society, to the things worth while, or the work loses its meaning." He warned social workers that they risked "spiritual loss" if they succumbed to the danger of becoming "engrossed with the means, the technique."<sup>25</sup> MacIver elaborated his ideas on social-work education in a series of lectures which he delivered at the New York School of Social Work, and which were published in 1931 as The Contribution of Sociology to Social Work.

Beginning with the statement that the relation of sociology to social work was that of a science to an art, he argued that sociology provided an essential foundation for the development of a social philosophy which could discipline and support the art of the social worker. "For sociology," MacIver asserted, "is the science of social relationships, and social work is an art designed to relieve or remove the definite ailments and maladjustments that beset individuals in specific social situations."<sup>26</sup>

When MacIver became Acting Director of Toronto's Department of Social Service in 1918, he left the structure of the original curriculum very much as he found it, and focused his attention instead on improving the quality of the teaching and on raising the low status of the

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<sup>25</sup>R.M. MacIver, "Education and Life," Social Welfare, X, No. 2 (November 1927), 24.

<sup>26</sup>R.M. MacIver, The Contribution of Sociology to Social Work (New York, 1931), p. 1, p. 9.

Department. Several instructors were added to the staff, including the political economist S.A. Cudmore, who took over the existing economic courses: "Labour Problems," "Social Economics" and "Statistics and Social Research." MacIver himself taught two new courses, "Evolution of Modern Industry" and "Social Evolution," in which he applied his sociological theory to industrial and social development.<sup>27</sup> In accordance with MacIver's belief that the social sciences provided social workers with an important framework for their daily decisions, the Department continued to place little emphasis on the importance of technical training. During MacIver's tenure, as during that of Johnson, only two courses on methodology were incorporated into the curriculum. Arthur H. Burnett had recently left Toronto to work for the Cincinnati Health Department, but his courses on casework technique, "Charities" and "Dependents and the Community," were assumed by F.N. Stapleford of the Neighbourhood Workers' Association, and renamed "The Social Treatment of Poverty" and "The Essentials of Case Work."<sup>28</sup> After Agnes McGregor's promotion to the position of Director of Field Work in 1919, the field work program was

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<sup>27</sup> University of Toronto Calendar, 1918-1919, pp. 5-20; UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/150, file: A32/2, Social Service, 1918-1919, TMs, "Report of the Acting Director of the Department of Social Service," 1918-1919.

<sup>28</sup> UTA, Pamphlets, box 6: McGregor, "Department of Social Science," in Training for Social Work, pp. 16-17; University of Toronto Calendar, 1918-1919, pp. 5-20.

reorganized, and, with an increase in full-time students after the war, was extended to include new affiliations with several Toronto agencies.<sup>29</sup> In an effort to bring the Department into closer contact with the University and the city--and perhaps to mitigate the stinging criticisms which had appeared in The Rebel--in the fall of 1918 MacIver introduced a special series of lectures open to all students and to the public. The series involved, for example, a course of lectures and addresses on "Institutions for War Relief and Reconstruction," given by representatives of such organizations as the Red Cross, the Soldiers' Aid Commission of Ontario, and the Toronto and York Patriotic Society.<sup>30</sup>

After the publication of Community in 1917, MacIver had gained considerable recognition as a rising academic, and his personal ability to lend prestige to the Department, combined with his determination to strengthen the academic basis of the program, finally gave social-work education at Toronto some badly needed credibility. While he rejected the vocational approach, MacIver actively campaigned to have social work accepted as a legitimately professional occupation. Speaking at a conference on "Opportunities for

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<sup>29</sup> University of Toronto Calendar, 1918-1919, p. 14; UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/151, file: A32/2, Social Service, 1919-1920, TMs, "Report of the Acting Director of the Department of Social Service," 1919-1920.

<sup>30</sup> University of Toronto Calendar, 1918-1919, p. 14; UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/150, file: A32/2, Social Service, 1918-1919, TMs, "Report of the Acting Director of the Department of Social Service," 1918-1919.

Women in Social Service," organized by the University's United Alumnae Association in January 1919, he claimed that there should not be any opposition between "practical and cultural training," or between higher education and fitness for practical life. Social service, he urged, had to be recognized as a responsible profession which was passing out of the hands of the amateur and into those of the trained worker.<sup>31</sup>

MacIver's support was eagerly welcomed by the graduates of the Department, and the Social Service Alumni Association (SSA) was firm in its endorsement of his Directorship. The SSA had been formed by the first graduating class in June 1915, and, despite the fact that the Association used the designation "alumni" instead of "alumnae" in its records, its membership from the beginning had consisted predominantly of female graduates.<sup>32</sup> The identification of the course with an exclusively female program, combined with the humiliating circumstances of Franklin Johnson's resignation, had not only given the Department a low status but had placed its graduates in a disadvantaged position in

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<sup>31</sup>UTA, Department of Graduate Records, A73-0026/274(88), file: Robert M. MacIver, clipping: Toronto Globe, 31 January 1919.

<sup>32</sup>The SSA membership list of May 1922, for example, includes only one male name in a list of ninety-four paid members. Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library (hereafter TFRB), John Joseph Kelso, MS. COLL. 115, box 1, file: School of Social Work Alumni, TMs, "Social Service Alumni, University of Toronto, list of paid members," May 1922.



their search for professional recognition. Although MacIver's view of social work challenged the profession's growing reliance on casework technique, his prominence as a respected male academic offered the female graduates a way to strengthen the standing of their discipline. As women who were restricted by their gender from participating fully in the University's authority, it can be argued that after 1919 the members of the SSA began to support the policies of the Department's male Directors as a deliberate strategy to gain academic--and by extension professional--prestige for a female-dominated occupation. In June 1919, the SSA unanimously carried a resolution requesting that MacIver be retained as Director, which was signed by forty-five members--including Agnes McGregor--and sent to President Falconer. "Under Professor MacIver's direction," the resolution read, "the Department has developed in a marked degree and we feel strongly that a change at the present time would jeopardize its standing in the community and its possibilities of increased service. ... We feel that a continuance of the present directorate would see the development and fruition of valuable plans and would firmly establish the Department of Social Service as an integral part of the University and of the community."<sup>33</sup> At the end

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<sup>33</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/053a, file: Robert Morrison MacIver, 1919, TMs, resolution enclosed with letter from Margaret K. Nairn and Ethel Lovell to Robert Falconer, 2 June 1919.

of the year, the SSA members also sent a letter to MacIver, expressing their appreciation, as it was later reported to the out-of-town members, "of his contribution in making the Social Service course a recognized part of the University curriculum."<sup>34</sup>

By lobbying the University to retain MacIver, the SSA was expressing its growing orientation toward its role as a professional organization. MacIver's tenure as Director ushered in a period of growth and activity for the association which would continue well into the 1920s. The constitution of the SSA had indicated that its objectives were to be both academic and professional; to bring graduates together and keep them in touch with other social workers, to further the aims of the Department, and to initiate and promote constructive social action.<sup>35</sup> In the absence of a comparable organized group of social workers, in the fall of 1919 the SSA began to function more as a professional association than as an alumni group, shaping its program around short talks or papers by members (which dealt with such topics as a plan for a social workers' exchange), and approving selected provincial legislation. That year, the SSA took what it termed "the first step in an

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<sup>34</sup>TFRB, Toronto Social Welfare Agencies, MS. COLL. 12, box 2, file: School of Social Work, letter to out-of-town members, 21 July 1920.

<sup>35</sup>UTA, Social Service Alumni, B89-0004/001(01), TMs, "Constitution of the Social Service Alumni of the University of Toronto," n.d.

advance movement," when it appointed its own representative, Agnes McGregor, to the board of the Toronto Children's Aid Society.<sup>36</sup> In subsequent years, the SSA sought and gained representation on the local boards of other social agencies, including the Protestant Children's Homes, the Big Sister Association, and University Settlement, and its network of connections greatly facilitated the extension of the Department's field work program.<sup>37</sup> With members in key positions in social agencies in Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa, and other centres, the SSA increasingly became one of the foremost professional organizations for social workers in the country.<sup>38</sup> As will be seen below, during the Directorship of MacIver's successor, J.A. Dale, the SSA continued to identify closely with the Department, reinforcing the University's academic interpretation of social-work education, and in turn receiving Dale's influential support in its efforts to improve the professional status of social work.

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<sup>36</sup>TFRB, Toronto Social Welfare Agencies, MS. COLL. 12, box 2, file: School of Social Work, letters to out-of-town members, 21 July 1920 and n.d. [1922].

<sup>37</sup>UTA, Ephemera, B81-1020, McGregor, "Reminiscences," p. 3.

<sup>38</sup>TFRB, John Joseph Kelso, MS. COLL. 115, box 1, file: School of Social Work Alumni, TMs, "Social Service Alumni, University of Toronto, list of paid members," May 1922; UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/112, file: Social Service, 1927, TMs, "Department of Social Service, List of Graduates in Each Year Since Inception," n.d.

While he vigorously backed the program, MacIver's own interests lay more in the area of political science and theoretical sociology than in the applied sociology taught by the Department, and he agreed only to serve as Acting Director for one more year. In February 1920 the University appointed J.A. Dale to the full-time position of Director. In his final annual report, MacIver concluded with a strong statement of his support for the Department: "In relinquishing the post of acting director I desire to record my conviction of the growing value of the Department in training students and setting standards for social work throughout Canada."<sup>39</sup> The degree to which MacIver was successful in elevating the status of social-work education at Toronto is perhaps indicated by the fact that the University decided in 1920 to establish its first Chair of Social Science, and, in a significant recognition of the academic orientation of the curriculum, Dale was appointed both Director of the Department of Social Service and Professor of Social Science in the Faculty of Arts.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/151, file: A32/2, Social Service, 1919-1920, TMs, "Report of the Acting Director of the Department of Social Service," 1919-1920.

<sup>40</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/058a, file: James Alfred Dale, 1919-1920, Robert Falconer to J.A. Dale, 13 February 1920.

J.A. Dale and the Pursuit of Professional Standards

J.A. Dale believed that social workers required a liberal education, and he agreed with MacIver and Falconer that this education should unify theory and practice by providing, as he stated in Social Welfare in 1924, "a balance of wise generalization and effective specialization."<sup>41</sup> For Dale, a well-rounded education ultimately prepared social workers to exercise the responsibility of good citizenship; a duty that, he maintained, should become their life-work. Continuing a tradition of academic importation which soon would include E.J. Urwick as well as Ashley and MacIver, Dale was born in Britain and educated at Oxford.<sup>42</sup> After graduating from Merton College, Oxford, in 1901, he pursued an active interest in adult education, spending periods of time at Toynbee Hall, and establishing close connections with the two most significant movements for working-class education: Ruskin College, which was opened at Oxford in 1899, and the Workers' Educational Association which was started in 1903.

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<sup>41</sup>J.A. Dale, "The Training of Social Workers," Social Welfare, VI, No. 10 (July 1924), 201.

<sup>42</sup>James Greenlee has revealed that Robert Falconer wished to promote imperial cooperation by establishing strong links between the British academic world and the University of Toronto. James G. Greenlee, "The Highroads of Intellectual Commerce: Sir Robert Falconer and the British Universities," Ontario History, LXXIV, No. 3 (September 1982), 185-205.

He was appointed an Extension Lecturer in the University of Oxford in 1902, and for the following six years lectured throughout England on literary and educational subjects. In 1908 he came to Canada to accept the position of Professor of Education at McGill University.<sup>43</sup> Through his role as chairman of the committee responsible for McGill's University Settlement, Dale became known to Robert Falconer, who invited him to Toronto in 1912 to give an address on settlement work, and, in 1919, Dale began corresponding with Falconer concerning a possible appointment in the Department of Social Service.<sup>44</sup> In his inaugural address as Director of the Department in October 1920, Dale expressed himself in terms which must have assured Falconer that the Toynbee ethic would continue to determine moral endeavour at Toronto. "The hope of both education and social service,"

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<sup>43</sup>Barbara M. Finlayson, "Professor Dale," Social Welfare, IX, No. 3 (December 1926), 234-35; UTA, Department of Graduate Records, A73-0026/077(24), file: James A. Dale, clippings: The School, April 1920, and Toronto Telegram, 29 November 1951; UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/108b, file: Robert M. MacIver, 1927-1928, Robert Falconer to R.M. MacIver, 14 December 1927; Toynbee Record, XVIII, No. 4 (January 1906), and XXVI, Nos. 2-5 (November 1913-February 1914).

<sup>44</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/022, file: James A. Dale, 1912, Robert Falconer to J.A. Dale, 24 and 30 October 1912; The Varsity, XXXII, No. 22 (20 November 1912), 4-5; UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/058a, file: James A. Dale, 1919-1920, Robert Falconer to J.A. Dale, 30 October 1919. For a history of the University Settlement of Montreal, which was incorporated into McGill University in 1910, see Marlene Shore, The Science of Social Redemption: McGill, the Chicago School, and the Origins of Social Research in Canada (Toronto, 1987), pp. 48-49.

Dale stated, "is to bring up a race who shall not impoverish or debase their native land, or the life of a single citizen, and shall leave their country more great, more rich and more beautiful."<sup>45</sup> In words reminiscent of those used by Arnold Toynbee and Samuel Barnett forty years earlier, Dale articulated the faith in personal contact which was central to the idealist plan for social reintegration. "It is one of the hardest things," he explained in an interview quoted in the Toronto Star Weekly in January 1921, "to know your neighbor--really to know him unless he be in your set. Hence misunderstandings and condemnations not only between persons, but between classes and nations, employer and employed, rich and poor. ... [The poor] are our neighbors and we do not know them."<sup>46</sup>

Dale maintained the Department's broad emphasis on the social sciences, and in his first annual report he made a point of praising R.M. MacIver, as both Director and teacher, for having given the program "the tradition of sound learning, whose evidence is in his books."<sup>47</sup> Under

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<sup>45</sup>UTA, Department of Graduate Records, A73-0026/077(24), file: James A. Dale, clipping: The Varsity, 6 October 1920.

<sup>46</sup>UTA, Department of Graduate Records, A73-0026/077(24), file: James A. Dale, clipping: Toronto Star Weekly, 29 January 1921.

<sup>47</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/151, file: A32/2, Social Service, 1920-1921, TMs, "Report of the Director of the Department of Social Service," 1920-1921.

Dale's supervision little was changed, and the curriculum continued to offer a number of courses on economics, including two taught by MacIver: "Social Economics" and "Industrial Problems." There were, however, several additional courses for second-year students which reflected the influence of developments in psychiatry. During the 1920s, psychiatric ideas gained considerable popularity among social workers in the United States, and many caseworkers began to shift away from the older emphasis on objective social and economic conditions advocated by the social-work educator Mary Richmond, to focus instead on the inner mental process. The view that mental disorders could be responsible for various forms of social maladjustment challenged Richmond's assumption that the social worker could manipulate and adjust aspects of the social environment.<sup>48</sup> Canadian social workers also were exposed to new ideas concerning psychological development. In April 1926, at the second annual Social Welfare Conference in Toronto arranged by the Federation for Community Service, two papers which were later printed in Social Welfare, "Some Things the Case Worker Desires From the Psychiatrist" and "What the Psychiatrist Can Contribute to Case Work,"

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<sup>48</sup> John H. Ehrenreich, The Altruistic Imagination: A History of Social Work and Social Policy in the United States (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985), pp. 64-77; Roy Lubove, The Professional Altruist: The Emergence of Social Work as a Career, 1880-1930 (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), p. 86, pp. 108-115; Glazer and Slater, pp. 183-84.



explored the possibilities of cooperation between these emerging fields of expertise.<sup>49</sup> In the fall of 1920, courses on "Psychiatry" and "Occupational Therapy" (changed to "The Industrial Rehabilitation of the Handicapped" in 1921) were introduced into the curriculum of the Department of Social Service. The following year, a course on "Mental Testing" was added which specifically discussed the techniques of experimental psychology.<sup>50</sup> While the curriculum showed evidence of new psychiatric influences, during the 1920s, however, the field work program directed by Agnes McGregor became even more firmly based in the theory of differential casework. By 1927, McGregor had prepared an outline for field work training, adopted from one provided by the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, which closely followed Richmond's method of diagnosis based on the investigation of objective social evidence. In her "Field Work Bulletin" for April 1927, one of a series which she regularly distributed to supervisors, McGregor presented the new outline, and referred to the need to help students develop "sound working habits as well as

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<sup>49</sup>E.P. Lewis, "What the Psychiatrist Can Contribute to Case Work," Social Welfare, VIII, No. 8 (June-July 1926), 187; Mae Fleming, "Some Things the Case Worker Desires From the Psychiatrist," Social Welfare, VIII, No. 8 (June-July 1926), 188-89.

<sup>50</sup>UTA, Division of University Extension, P78-0055/003, pamphlet: Statement and Reports Presented to the University Commission by the Board of Governors and Senate of the University of Toronto, 6 December 1920; University of Toronto Calendar, 1921-1922, pp. 601-2.

good technique," a process she described as "Richmondizing Field Work."<sup>51</sup>

Despite the increased attention given to technique and methodology, under Dale's management the Department continued to reinforce its original orientation toward producing high-level welfare administrators rather than social-work practitioners. To further this goal, new regulations were drawn up for the 1921 to 1922 session which more clearly stressed that the ideal qualification for full-time students was graduation from a university or college. The Calendar made the Department's reasons explicit: "This, though not essential, is the most desirable preparation for entrance; both from the point of view of the work itself, and for eventual leadership in social service."<sup>52</sup> Beginning with the 1923 to 1924 session, the one-year certificate course was eliminated from the program, requiring all full-time students from that point onward to complete the two-

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<sup>51</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/100, file: James A. Dale, 1927, TMs, Agnes C. McGregor, "Field Work Bulletin," 1 April 1927. Ruth Hill, the Associated Executive Secretary of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, presented a paper to the Toronto Conference in 1926 which encouraged an approach to casework similar to that recommended by McGregor. See Ruth Hill, "The Spirit of Case Work as a Philosophy for Life," Social Welfare, VIII, No. 8 (June-July 1926), 181-84.

<sup>52</sup>University of Toronto Calendar, 1921-1922, p. 594; UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/151, file: A32/2, Social Service, 1920-1921, TMs, "Report of the Director of the Department of Social Service," 1920-1921.

year course to qualify for a diploma in social service.<sup>53</sup> In his report to the President in 1922, Dale had explained that the two-year course was designed to train those men and women who, he wrote, "will have it in their power to influence the policy of institutions, public or private, which are responsible for any phase of social work."<sup>54</sup> Dale's ambition to see large numbers of post-graduates enroll full time, however, was not realized during his tenure. In the fall term of 1927, shortly before Dale was forced by ill health to take what would become a permanent leave of absence, only four new students with university degrees registered in the program full time, and the remaining seventeen new students were accepted on the basis of their high school matriculation work, or their experience in social service.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, by 1927 it was perceived in the Department that the establishment of the two-year course had in fact succeeding in making a clearer line of demarcation between the students seeking professional training, and the deaconesses, missionaries, and other part-

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<sup>53</sup>"Report of the Director of the Department of Social Service," in University of Toronto President's Report, 1923-1924, p. 62.

<sup>54</sup>"Report of the Director of the Social Service Department," in University of Toronto President's Report, 1921-1922, p. 61.

<sup>55</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/112, file: Social Service, 1927, TMs, Agnes C. McGregor, "Field Work Bulletin," October 1927.

time students who enrolled out of a general interest in social issues.<sup>56</sup>

In Dale's perception, social work was the most effective and selfless expression of true citizenship for both men and women, and he stressed that the elevation of professional standards for social workers could only facilitate their ability to improve society. The advancement of social workers toward a higher level of organization, he believed, was matched by a community's overall progress toward social betterment. In December 1926, Dale wrote in Social Welfare: "The forms in which society is to evolve depend on the extent to which it succeeds in bringing into clearer consciousness the implications of community, in giving definiteness and warmth to the vague underlying goodwill, in sharpening it into the intelligent direction of social purpose. Not only as social workers but as citizens," he concluded, "we shall profit by every opportunity for the union that is strength."<sup>57</sup>

Dale himself worked steadily to promote the development of professional standards in the field, and, in 1922, he initiated discussions among social workers in Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal and Halifax concerning the possibility of

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<sup>56</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/112, file: Social Service, 1927, TMs, "Department of Social Service, List of Graduates in Each Year Since Inception," n.d.

<sup>57</sup>J.A. Dale, "Social Work's Coming of Age," Social Welfare, IX, No. 3 (December 1926), 324.

founding a Canadian Association of Social Workers.<sup>58</sup> At a meeting in Toronto in June 1924, he was appointed chairman of a committee requested to look into the formation of the Association. Although he was unable to continue as chairman due to his always uncertain state of health, Dale remained an active member of the Provisional Executive after the Canadian Association of Social Workers (CASW) was formally organized in March 1926. In October, Social Welfare became the official organ of the new Association, and, until the creation of the CASW's own publication, The Social Worker, in October 1932, each issue contained a section controlled by the CASW, which was originally edited by a Toronto graduate of 1915, Ethel Dodds Parker.<sup>59</sup> In a pattern of gender inequality which would continue to characterize the development of the profession,<sup>60</sup> all the members of the Provisional Executive were men, and, in addition to Dale, it included such leading administrators and educators as C. L. A. Dawson, Director of the School for Social Workers at McGill University; George Basil Clarke, General Secretary of the Family Welfare Association of Montreal; John Howard T.

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<sup>58</sup> "Report of the Director of the Social Service Department," in University of Toronto President's Report, 1921-1922, p. 61.

<sup>59</sup> R.W. Hopper, "Official Announcement in Respect to the Organization of the Canadian Association of Social Workers," Social Welfare, IX, No. 1 (October 1926), 284-86; "As We Grew," The Social Worker, III, No. 10 (August-September 1935), 1-7.

<sup>60</sup> Struthers, 96-112.

Falk, Secretary of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies; and Ernest H. Blois, Director of Child Welfare in Halifax.<sup>61</sup> Of the two hundred names on the charter membership list, however, over one hundred and fifty were those of women, who, the editors of The Social Worker later caustically noted, "were only moderately kept in the background at the General Meeting and election[.]"<sup>62</sup>

From the beginning the CASW safeguarded its professional identity, yet in such a way as to favour those engaged in administrative or policy-forming positions, and its constitution specified that only those "professionally occupied with the work of social education, organization, or adjustment" were eligible for membership. The constitution incorporated the perspective which had shaped social-work education at Toronto in other ways as well, stating that, among various objectives, the CASW existed to "cultivate an informed public opinion which will recognize the professional and technical nature of social work[.]"<sup>63</sup> For Dale, the establishment of the CASW meant that social work was entering a higher stage of organization; one in which the ideals of service could be realized, and that fundamental link between skill and knowledge forged. "In

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<sup>61</sup>Hopper, 285; "Charter Membership List," Social Welfare, IX, No. 2 (November 1926), 303.

<sup>62</sup>"As We Grew," 2.

<sup>63</sup>Hopper, 284.

the faithful doing of their work," he argued in Social Welfare in 1926, "and in the confidence of the help it enables them to bring to distressed men, women and children, [social workers] have seen their ideals more and more expressed in practice, by themselves and by others. They have outgrown the sense of isolation in the consciousness of belonging in a comradeship, whose circle is widening, whose roots go ever deeper into knowledge and humanity."<sup>64</sup>

Dale's active promotion of professional standards for social workers placed him in a position to work closely with the Department's graduates, and the minutes of the SSA at this time reveal a growing unity of interest between its members and the administration. The graduates' degree of loyalty to the Department at this point is indicated by their tendency to assess professional standards according to Toronto's goals in social-work education, and they based their claim to professional status not only on their possession of university training, but more specifically on their ability to combine technical skill with a breadth of knowledge of social problems. By the middle of the 1920s, the SSA perceived itself as the principal professional organization for social workers in the city, and its meetings were structured around lectures by guest speakers from across Canada and the United States. The program for 1924 to 1925, for example, included addresses on "The School

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<sup>64</sup>Dale, "Social Work's Coming of Age," 324.

and Democracy" by W.D. Bayley of Winnipeg, "An Experiment in Community Organization" by Mary Clarke Burnett of Pittsburg, and "The Unmarried Mother and Her Baby" by a Mrs. Baylor of the Children's Aid Society in Boston.<sup>65</sup> The SSA also adopted other functions characteristic of a professional body, continuing to secure representation on the boards of social agencies in Toronto, disseminating relevant information to its members, and lobbying for improved standards in social work. In April 1928, proposed changes in provincial child welfare legislation sparked debate among the members concerning the question of professional qualifications for public positions in social service. At a meeting on the eighteenth of April, the Alumni formed a resolution that a letter be sent to the Premier of Ontario, Howard Ferguson, drawing the attention of the Ontario government to the fact that, the minutes recorded, "in the field of Social Welfare, as in that of medicine, of teaching, and of law, technical training and experi[e]nce are of the greatest importance, and that those citizens who are the victims of misfortune, handicapped by unfortunate circumstances, or in need of protection or assistance, through public beneficiary measures, such as the Mothers' Allowance Act, the Children's Protection Act, the Children of Unmarried Parents' Act, etc., are entitled to the best

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<sup>65</sup>UTA, Social Service Alumni, B89-0004/001(03), Social Service Alumni Minutes, 1924-1925.



available technical skill and social knowledge as well as personal qualities of understanding, sympathy and insight on the part of those doing the work of investigation, inspection and supervision." The resolution was passed unanimously, after an amendment was proposed, seconded by Agnes McGregor, that "technical training" be changed-- significantly--to "professional training."<sup>66</sup>

In their efforts to promote the claims of the new profession, Toronto graduates in social work also relied on a moral rationale for their work which was firmly grounded in their University's interpretation of service. At the Social Welfare Conference held in Toronto in 1926, Ethel Dodds Parker, who was then the Secretary of the Toronto Child Welfare Council, presented a paper, subsequently published in Social Welfare, which attempted to justify the right of social work to professional status. Her article was entitled "A Code of Ethics for Social Workers," and she acknowledged that it was influenced by one written by R.M. MacIver, "The Social Significance of Professional Ethics." Following MacIver, Parker believed that the social worker was involved in a fundamentally moral activity, and she claimed that a social worker's code therefore was based on the conception of "duties" rather than of "rights." Rooting

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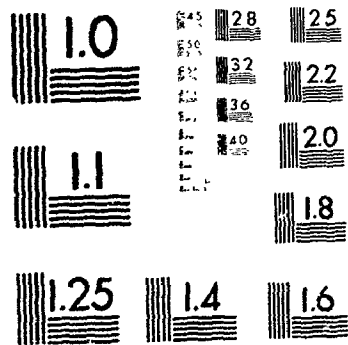
<sup>66</sup>UTA, Social Service Alumni, B89-0004/001(05), Social Service Alumni Minutes, 1926-1927, (15 November 1926); B89-0004/001(06), Social Service Alumni Minutes, 1927-1928, Report of the Committee Regarding the Mothers' Allowance Commission, (18 April 1928).

her argument in the assumption that a profession was distinguished from an occupation by the existence of a code of ethics or "unity of ideals," Parker asserted that social work was acquiring most of the characteristics of a profession. She maintained that social workers' strongest qualification in this regard (what she termed their "keystone of unity") was their conception of "devoted service," which placed the interests of the people being served before financial gain. "Perhaps no other group," she wrote, "unless the ministry, has higher qualifications on [this] point." Like other members of the SSA, Parker associated the cultivation of professional ideals with the need to sustain the moralistic education which she herself had received at Toronto, and in her article she criticized social workers for allowing people to drift into their profession without first undertaking a long period of specialized training and discipline. She stated: "Only when we require training of all, and when that training includes a long drilling on the ethics peculiar to this profession, can we overcome this deficiency."<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Ethel Dodds Parker, "A Code of Ethics for Social Workers," Social Welfare, VIII, No. 8 (June-July 1926), 196-99. An interesting argument has been made, with reference to the field of psychiatric social work in the United States, that the tendency of women to justify their claim to professional status by stressing the ideal of service inevitably associated them with older forms of voluntary charitable activity, and therefore "set the groundwork for social work's subordination." See Glazer and Slater, pp. 201-3.

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NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS  
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a  
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The view that professional aims were dependent on a rigorous program of training naturally reinforced the ties between the Department of Social Service and its graduates, and during Dale's tenure the SSA took steps to more actively support the University. In May 1924, Dale addressed the members on developments in the program at the SSA's annual meeting, and at that time he initiated discussions concerning what a growing number began to see as the members' particular responsibility toward the Department. The minutes recorded: "It was pointed out how the Alumni could help to raise the Standard of Social Work by getting the public to understand the need of training."<sup>68</sup> In January 1925, the SSA Executive began to discuss what "special work" the graduates could undertake, and considered appointing a member to sit in on the meetings of the Department. The subject was again brought up at a general meeting of the SSA later that month, and, after it was suggested that the association's "first duty should be to the School," it was proposed that the members sponsor an annual scholarship of one hundred dollars.<sup>69</sup> Sharing Dale's belief in the need to raise the entrance requirements of the program, the SSA members agreed that the aim of the

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<sup>68</sup>UTA, Social Service Alumni, B89-0004/001(03), Social Service Alumni Minutes, 1924-1925, (29 May 1924).

<sup>69</sup>UTA, Social Service Alumni, B89-0004/001(03), Social Service Alumni Minutes, 1924-1925, (15 and 26 January, and 22 April 1925).

Scholarship should be to "recruit the right type of person" rather than award it to a student who had already entered the course. In selecting a university graduate, Mary Jennison, as the first recipient of their scholarship, the Alumni were satisfied that the requirements of "previous education, promise of success regarding both practical and theoretical work, as well as financial need" had been met.<sup>70</sup>

Agnes McGregor later looked back on the years of Dale's Directorship as a "happy, carefree era in the history of the School."<sup>71</sup> After 1925, however, Dale's health became more and more fragile, and by the end of 1927 it was obvious that he was no longer capable of running the Department effectively. In April 1927, R.M. MacIver had decided to leave his position as Head of the Department of Political Economy (which he had held since James Mavor's retirement in 1922) to direct the Department of Economics and Sociology at Barnard College in Columbia University.<sup>72</sup> In December, MacIver wrote to President Falconer from New York to discuss the situation in the Department of Social Service and to offer a suggestion for Dale's replacement. MacIver was

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<sup>70</sup>UTA, Social Service Alumni, B89-0004/001(05), Social Service Alumni Minutes, 1926-1927, (18 October 1926 and 21 February 1927).

<sup>71</sup>UTA, Ephemera, B81-1020, McGregor, "Reminiscences," p. 3.

<sup>72</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/102, file: Robert Morrison MacIver, 1926-1927, R.M. MacIver to Robert Falconer, 11 April 1927.

anxious to warn Falconer against appointing a social worker who did not possess academic qualifications, and his re-ommendation to the President relied on the gendered assumption that the Department ought to be directed, but not necessarily administered, by a male academic. "What [the Department] needs is someone who has experience and vision," he advised, "not merely technical training in social work-- which is apt to be very narrow--, someone who can represent it and make decisions on questions of policy but who need not be engrossed in details of administration." The "one man" available with these qualifications, MacIver urged, was E.J. Urwick, who had recently been appointed his successor in heading the Department of Political Economy.<sup>73</sup> MacIver's views were similar to those conveyed in an unsigned memorandum of 1927, found among President Falconer's papers, which described the situation in Social Service, and explained that little progress was being made compared with what might be accomplished with a stronger staff. "The school needs a director with academic and personal prestige," the memorandum stated, "and with knowledge of social work. Since social work seriously needs men workers of high ability, the director should be a man. A part time or temporary director such as Professor Urwick would be greatly preferable to the appointment of a less highly

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<sup>73</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/108b, file: Robert Morrison MacIver, 1927-1928, R.M. MacIver to Robert Falconer, 6 December 1927.

qualified and suitable person."<sup>74</sup> Falconer accepted MacIver's advice, and in January 1928 Urwick agreed to serve without remuneration as Acting Director of the Department of Social Service, while Dale was granted a leave of absence for the following year, before retiring permanently from the University.<sup>75</sup>

As MacIver had anticipated, under Urwick's guidance the Department's moralistic approach to social work was maintained into the years preceding World War II. In contrast to the years under Dale, however, the period of Urwick's Directorship, although initially harmonious, culminated in dissension between the Department and its graduates, as some began to support an interpretation of social work which challenged the University's long-standing idealist and empirical approach to service. With the impact of the Depression, a more specialized and skills-oriented view of social work became popular among professional social workers, and the Department's continued focus on a broadly-based program in the social sciences ultimately came under attack.

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<sup>74</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/112, file: Social Service, 1927, TMs, unsigned, "Memo. Regarding Social Service Department," n.d.

<sup>75</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/108b, file: Robert Morrison MacIver, 1927-1928, Robert Falconer to R.M. MacIver, 7 December 1927; A67-0007/110a, file: Edward Johns Urwick, 1927-1928, Robert Falconer to E.J. Urwick, 19 December 1927 and 13 January 1928; A67-0007/107a, file: James Alfred Dale, 1927-1928, Robert Falconer to J.A. Dale, 7 June 1928.

E.J. Urwick and the Revolt Against Machinery

Although E.J. Urwick regularly stressed the temporary and voluntary nature of his positions, he did not hesitate to exert his influence to shape the policies of the departments under his control. In 1929, after serving for one year as Acting Director of the Department of Social Service, he started pressing the University administration to sanction proposals which would have a significant impact at Toronto not only on social-work education, but on the development of sociology as an independent discipline. In both areas, Urwick's hostility to all evidence of what he saw as "machinery"--to bureaucratic structure or to scientific priorities--ensured that he set himself against the incursions of psychiatric technique on the one hand, and of theoretical objective sociology on the other. While at Toronto, he became apprehensive that any form of theoretical sociology, particularly as it was practised in the United States, would inevitably reduce the discipline to a vapid scientific exercise. Like many other late Victorians, he found that the bewildering events of the twentieth century, the Great War and the Depression, only sharpened his desire to return to a world of values, and to defend spiritual certainties from the impertinence of scientific presumption. During his tenure, he successfully prevented theoretical sociology from gaining a foothold at the University, and he



ensured that the introduction of a sociology program was in accordance with the University's emphasis on applied social research.

By recommending Urwick, it is unlikely that MacIver could have discovered anyone more suited to sustain the Victorian habits of thought which had shaped the Toronto ideal. To understand the philosophy of his Directorship, it is important to look at Urwick's early life and academic background in some detail. He attended Wadham College, Oxford, in the late 1880s, taking a first-class degree in "Greats" in 1890 at the age of twenty-three, and receiving his M.A. in 1892. The British settlement movement was then reaching the peak of its influence, and, like so many rising young men of his generation, Urwick took up residency in London's East End after leaving Oxford. During the 1890s, he explored the reform possibilities of T.H. Green's ethic of personal service: living at Oxford House, a settlement which he had helped to found while at university; serving as a Whitechapel Poor Law Guardian and as a member of the Port of London Immigration Board; and acting as both a worker and a board member in the London Charity Organisation Society. In October 1897, Urwick became a resident of Toynbee Hall, where, until he left in 1903, he was active in the life of the settlement, holding the position of Sub-Warden under Samuel Barnett from 1900 to 1902, in addition to other roles as chairman of the Men's Evening Classes Discussion Club,

honourary secretary of the Education Committee, and secretary for the Children's Country Holiday Fund.<sup>76</sup> In 1897, the same year that he moved into Toynbee Hall, Urwick also was placed in charge of the newly established School of Ethics and Social Philosophy, which had originated in the London Ethical Society, and which, as chapter five has shown, led in 1903 to his appointment as Director of the first British program in social work, the London School of Sociology and Social Economics. In 1908, while he continued his work at the School, he was made Tooke Professor of Economic Science at King's College in the University of London. Urwick's two academic affiliations came together in 1912, after the School of Sociology became the Department of Social Science and Administration within the University of London, and his title was changed more appropriately to that of Professor of Social Philosophy (a position which he held until he left Britain for Canada in 1924).<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup>Toynbee Record, XI, No. 7 (April 1899), 103; XII, No. 1 (October 1899), 16; XII, No. 5 (February 1900), 62; XV, No. 1 (October 1902), 2-3; VIII, No. 1 (October 1905), 6; Henrietta O. Barnett, Canon Barnett: His Life, Work, and Friends (London, 1918), vol. 1, p. 179.

<sup>77</sup>Reba N. Soffer, Ethics and Society in England: The Revolution in the Social Sciences, 1870-1914 (Berkeley, 1978), p. 58; Toynbee Record, XXI, No. 1 (October 1908), 5. For biographical information on E.J. Urwick, see UTA, Department of Graduate Records, A73-0026/482(66), Edward Johns Urwick, TMs, "Resolution Adopted by the Senate of the University of Toronto, April 13th, 1945, on Motion of Professor H.M. Cassidy, Seconded by Professor H.A. Innis"; also Agnes C. McGregor, "Professor Urwick," The Social Worker, XIII, No. 3 (April 1945), 16; and Harold A. Innis, "Edward Johns Urwick, 1867-1945," Canadian Journal of

While at Toynbee Hall, Urwick demonstrated what would become a lifelong commitment to the idealist goals of community reintegration and education. Like Samuel Barnett, whose views were examined in chapter two, he believed that Toynbee Hall should exist not simply to transmit a utilitarian education, but rather to convey those intangible forms of cultural knowledge which led to a higher understanding of life. In January 1900, in his introductory speech as Sub-Warden, Urwick stated: "I should like to label the basis of our work at Toynbee Hall as in some sort a Provident Society,--a mental insurance society; the education we aim at is an education which will open our eyes to new and ever increasing interests; true education so training the eyes and ears, and faculties of the mind, that the taste for the things that are permanent shall take the place of the things that are transitory."<sup>78</sup> For Urwick, as for so many others influenced by the example of Arnold Toynbee, effective reform was impossible without the establishment of connection; the creation of bonds of friendship between those with the advantages of education and affluence, and those in the poorest classes in society.

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Economics and Political Science, XI, No. 2 (May 1945), 265-68. As these accounts differ on factual details, other sources have been used when possible. For an analysis of Urwick's social thought, see John A. Irving, "The Social Philosophy of E.J. Urwick," editor's introduction to The Values of Life by E.J. Urwick (Toronto, 1948), pp. xi-lxv.

<sup>78</sup> Toynbee Record, XII, No. 5 (February 1900), 63.

"Mr. Urwick spoke of the difficulties of work among the 'lowest classes' who were the 'leakage' of the rest;" the Toynbee Record reported of the settlement's annual meeting in March 1901, "and of the necessity for 'stopping the leaks' by which these classes were supplied. The street ruffianism, so much talked of lately, had its origin mainly in bad homes, and bad homes could, in the last resort, only be reformed by personal influence and appeals to conscience."<sup>79</sup>

Having fully absorbed the tenets of the settlement idea, by 1902 Urwick found himself struggling to make a link between the ideals articulated in the writings of Green and Toynbee, and the reality of the settlement movement as it proceeded into the twentieth century. Over a decade later at the University of Toronto, men like Robert Falconer, G.I.H. Lloyd, and E.J. Kylie would still attempt unsuccessfully to translate their idealist beliefs into the practical daily workings of University Settlement. As early as 1900, it was beginning to be perceived that even Toynbee Hall embodied a growing discrepancy between the aims of its founders and what its extensive program was actually able to accomplish. Samuel Barnett found himself besieged by challenges from those who dissented from the "Toynbee ethos"; by sociologists who emphasized the concepts of family and class over that of community, by socialists who

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<sup>79</sup> Toynbee Record, XIII, No. 6 (April 1901), 79.

advocated state intervention, and by centralizers who presented a new bureaucratic vision of public service. To a certain extent, Barnett attempted to appease his critics by gradually redirecting Toynbee Hall's activities toward newer methods of sociological investigation, and away from its traditional emphasis on education.<sup>80</sup> Among those who recognized the gap between ideals and reality, Urwick began to cast a critical eye over the activities of Toynbee Hall and other modern settlement houses in Britain and the United States. Unlike other critics, however, Urwick's disillusionment with the current manifestation of the settlement movement did not result in his rejection of the idealist convictions which had inspired it. Instead, his disappointment prompted him to make an urgent appeal for regeneration; a reform of the settlement movement which he believed would bring it back to the moral confidence and purity of its idealist origins.

In February 1902, while he was still Sub-Warden of Toynbee Hall, Urwick launched his campaign for reform in a paper read before the Federation of Women's Settlements in London, which was printed the following month as "The

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<sup>80</sup> Standish Meacham sees E.J. Urwick as a good example of a Toynbee Hall man who was able to resolve the intellectual tension between the empirical demands of sociological investigation and the spiritual goals of idealism "by subordinating sociological method to idealist ends." Standish Meacham, Toynbee Hall and Social Reform, 1880-1914: The Search for Community (New Haven, Conn., 1987), p. 105, also pp. 87-110.

Settlement Ideal" in the British Charity Organisation Review. Evoking the optimistic faith of the early 1880s, he argued that the settlement movement had grown out of a revolt against "machine work of all kinds," and had rested on the premise that lasting influence had to come "through the action of individual upon individual, not of mass upon mass."<sup>81</sup> The rich were to imitate the role carried out by the gentry in a country parish, coming to the ignorant poor as educated neighbours rather than patrons, and, by living with them, attempting to close up the gap which had so alienated one class from another. The true ideal of "simple neighbourliness," Urwick charged, had been abandoned by most of the settlements in Britain, and by almost all in America, and everywhere the settlements had become institutions preoccupied with technique and bureaucracy. "Founded as a protest against reform by machinery," he stated, "they have themselves become centres of machinery, and the machines are running away with the inventors. ... Those who should come to be friends too often stay to learn method or manage a piece of machinery, more often still they leave before even a pretence of neighbourliness or friendship can be established."<sup>82</sup> For Urwick, the duties of citizenship--in T.H. Green's sense of the word--ought to have been a

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<sup>81</sup> E.J. Urwick, "The Settlement Ideal," Charity Organisation Review, (March 1902), 119.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 121.

settler's primary responsibility, and their replacement by other, lesser preoccupations rendered the settlement's true goal of social reintegration unattainable. In order to return back to the earliest intentions of the movement, he suggested a radical change which questioned not only the institutional structure of all settlements, but challenged the gendered interpretation of service which had made Toynbee Hall an exclusively masculine community. By trying to go back to the ideological origins of Toynbee Hall, Urwick, in fact, was striking at one of the most fundamental elements of the settlement idea: the belief that reform efforts should rightly be the domain of "young thinking men," destined by their class and gender to control the country's sources of power. By contrast, like J.A. Dale, Urwick held the view that women had an equal obligation to participate fully in the integral duties of citizenship.<sup>83</sup> Criticizing the artificiality of a settlement life which encouraged single men and women to live in closed, segregated communities, he proposed that small groups of both men and women, married and single, live apart from the central settlement building in scattered homes throughout the area, where they could there genuinely "settle" and come to know their neighbours. "An hotel has no neighbours, nor

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<sup>83</sup>E.J. Urwick, A Philosophy of Social Progress, 2d ed., rev. (London, 1920), pp. 154-56.

has a palace," he reminded his audience.<sup>84</sup> In 1903, Urwick decided to put his own suggestion into practice, and, with three other Toynbee residents, he established a "colony" of the settlement in the nearby neighbourhood of Limehouse. From his new vantage point, he continued to urge for reform, hoping that others would follow the initiative of the Limehouse Colony and inaugurate a new era of "disintegrated" settlements. In February 1904, for example, he opened a debate on "settlement ideals" attended by Toynbee residents and others, in which he repeated his argument against institutionalization, insisting that the noun corresponding to the verb "to settle" was "settler," not "settlement-worker."<sup>85</sup>

In his subsequent career as a social philosopher in both Britain and Canada, Urwick refused to allow his recognition of the gap between ideals and reality to discourage him from concentrating on what "ought to be" rather than what "was." In 1912, sixteen years before his appointment in social service at Toronto, he published a determined statement of his social thought, A Philosophy of Social Progress, which was at once a condemnation of "scientific" sociology, and a forceful plea to reinstate the spiritual foundations of social reform. In the latter sense, his work owed more to the mid-Victorian tradition of

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<sup>84</sup>Urwick, "The Settlement Ideal," 126.

<sup>85</sup>Toynbee Record, XVI, No. 6 (March 1904), 83-84.



social criticism than to contemporary treatises in the social sciences, and his prose often took on an urgent prophetic quality reminiscent of Carlyle or Ruskin. While granting the sociologist the right to use the scientific method to uncover some knowledge concerning the conditions of social life, he flatly denied that the sociologist had any authority to predict the future of social change, or to offer guidance on how society might best progress. Sociology might claim to be a coordinating science, but the reality of this claim, Urwick argued, was rendered impossible by the fact that the whole of human life was modified and controlled by the forces of a spiritual universe, a universe which completely eluded all attempts at scientific analysis or inquiry.

Like R.M. MacIver in Community, Urwick rejected the use of categories borrowed from the physical sciences because he believed that social facts were also social values, and that as such they could never be divorced from their importance in determining the quality of social life.<sup>86</sup> Having proved to his own satisfaction that a science of society was impossible, Urwick offered instead a philosophy of social progress, formulated on the assumption that change resulted from "life-impulses" in the individual which could neither

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<sup>86</sup>Urwick, A Philosophy of Social Progress, pp. 1-25, pp. 52-59. Urwick presented a similar argument concerning sociology in "Sociology and Social Progress," Sociological Review, III, No. 2 (April 1910), 137-49.

be calculated nor predicted, and which were dependent on the "spiritual element" possessed by everyone.<sup>67</sup> Drawing on T.H. Green's assertion that all human beings were able to communicate with the God immanent within them by realizing their higher selves, Urwick maintained that real progress could only be assessed by the extent to which an individual was capable of discovering his or her "true" or spiritual self through citizenship. "[A]t this point," he stated, "the important thing to realize is that citizenship--as the unifying whole of all social duties--has been lost sight of among the parts, and needs to be restored to its place; and that till it is restored, no real social policy, no true moral advance, no sureness of dealing with any difficulty, is possible."<sup>68</sup> Since the realization of the true individual was the "only absolutely good end," Urwick adopted the extreme idealist position that what ought to be in fact mattered more than what actually was, and he concluded his book with a final indictment of materialism and machinery in social amelioration. He wrote: "And this is the philosopher's final lesson: to learn that what is of importance is not the reform, but the will that prompts it; not the improvement of social machinery, but the resolve that machinery shall be improved until all are helped by it; not the results achieved by our devices, but the effort to

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<sup>67</sup>Urwick, A Philosophy of Social Progress, p. vi.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 153.

achieve something good for the use of our fellow-citizens."<sup>89</sup>

Written at a time when the idea of state intervention in Britain was just beginning to gain acceptance, and a Liberal government had recently brought in such very concrete reforms as old-age pensions and unemployment insurance, Urwick's insistence on the supremacy of ideals over actions left him open to the charge of being anachronistic. Reviewing A Philosophy of Social Progress in May 1912, the Toynbee Record expressed its annoyance with Urwick's disregard for tangible accomplishments, and complained that his philosophical position was "largely commonplace and no matter of dispute." "We cannot agree that the results of reform are not to be counted, but only the will to reform," the reviewer objected; "rather we should have said that to the reformer who has realised the purpose of reform, results are everything, for they form the content by which that purpose is brought into fact[.]"<sup>90</sup> Despite his growing alienation from the new brand of Toynbee Hall men, however, Urwick remained on good terms with Samuel and Henrietta Barnett, who perhaps sympathized with his desire to get back to first principles. In June 1913, he served as one of four casket-bearers at Samuel Barnett's funeral in Whitechapel, and in 1918, Henrietta Barnett

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid., p. 198, p. 240.

<sup>90</sup> Toynbee Record, XXIV, No. 8 (May 1912), 118-19.

described him in her biography of her husband as one of "the men we worked with, lived with, and loved."<sup>91</sup> Urwick also maintained his connections with Toynbee Hall, and, in his subsequent career at the University of Toronto, he used his personal contacts at both the settlement and the London School of Economics to benefit several of his Canadian students while they were studying overseas.<sup>92</sup>

In 1924, at the age of fifty-seven, Urwick uprooted himself and his family from their life in Britain, and settled in a neighbourhood of Toronto near the University, restless in what he then thought would be an early retirement. He had been pursued by poor health throughout his career, and his self-appointed exile in Canada, in his view, was a drastic attempt to avoid the dangers of London's damp climate. "You can imagine what a grief it was to me," he later wrote to a friend in England, "to have to abandon all my work in London, in order to get the benefit of better health in another country."<sup>93</sup> Once in Toronto, Urwick

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<sup>91</sup>Toynbee Record, XXV, No. 10 (July-September 1913), 150; Barnett, vol. 2, p. 26.

<sup>92</sup>See, for example, UTA, Department of Political Economy, A65-0005/001(04) E.J. Urwick to J.J. Mallon, 15 September 1928; A65-0005/001(04), L. Rasminsky to E.J. Urwick, 18 October 1928; UTA, Department of Political Economy, A69-0007/001(07), F.A. Haight to E.J. Urwick, 1 November 1929.

<sup>93</sup>UTA, Department of Political Economy, A69-0007/001(03), E.J. Urwick to C.I. Brennand, 4 June 1930. In October 1902, Urwick's health caused him to resign his position as sub-warden of Toynbee Hall. Toynbee Record, XV,

established tentative contacts with the University. Although he was anxious to be of use, it ran contrary to his Toynbee principles to actually seek out anything beyond disinterested service.<sup>94</sup> In November 1925, he undertook to lead a study group of the SSA, which throughout the following academic year would meet every two weeks to discuss--typically--"the Social Good."<sup>95</sup> In January 1926, he was, in MacIver's words, "at hand" to fill in during the sudden illness of C.R. Fay, a professor in the Department of Political Economy, and, at MacIver's request, he was appointed a Special Lecturer in Economic History for the remainder of the term. By this point MacIver almost certainly had an eye to the future, and in November he arranged to have Urwick (who still retained the title of Professor of Social Philosophy in the University of London)

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No. 1 (October 1902), 2-3; and XV, No. 8 (May 1903), 107.

<sup>94</sup>In 1936, Urwick's emphasis on disinterested service contributed to his rejection of a proposal by Harry M. Cassidy to create a Canadian Institute of Social-Economic Research at Toronto. Urwick told the President (then H.J. Cody) that he was suspicious that Cassidy wished to make a place for himself as director of the new institute. "I do not like any scheme based on self-interest," he confessed. UTA, Office of the President (Cody), A68-0006/029(03), file: Correspondence, T-V, E.J. Urwick to H.J. Cody, 21 August 1936. For Cassidy's proposal, see UTA, Department of Political Economy, A76-0025/001(07), TMs, H.M. Cassidy, "A Canadian Institute of Social-Economic Research: A Preliminary Plan," 30 July 1936.

<sup>95</sup>UTA, Social Service Alumni, B89-0004/001(04), Social Service Alumni Minutes, 1925-1926, (24 November 1925).

become an honorary member of the staff, without salary.<sup>96</sup> When MacIver resigned in April 1927, he indicated to Falconer that Urwick was intending to remain in Toronto for the following year, and the President, taking the hint and hoping to avoid a nightmare of infighting among the political economists, requested him to serve as Acting Head of the Department of Political Economy.<sup>97</sup> It was important to Urwick that his affiliation with the University of Toronto had been unsolicited on his part, and, even though he directed the departments of both Political Economy and Social Service for over ten years, he consistently maintained the modest position that he was just temporarily doing "a little useful work" during his enforced

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<sup>96</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/095, file: Robert Morrison MacIver, 1925-1926, R.M. MacIver to Robert Falconer, 9 February 1926; UTA, Department of Political Economy, A65-0005/001(25), TMs, R.M. MacIver, "Report on the Department of Political Economy for the year 1925-26," 24 April 1926; UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/102, file: Robert Morrison MacIver, 1926-1927, R.M. MacIver to Robert Falconer, 29 October 1926; A67-0007/104, file: E.J. Urwick, 1926-1927, Robert Falconer to E.J. Urwick, 12 November 1926.

<sup>97</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/104, file: E.J. Urwick, 1926-1927, Robert Falconer to E.J. Urwick, 25 April 1927. Vincent Bladen, who was then a junior member of the Department of Political Economy, later recalled that it was lucky Urwick was available, to prevent the two most senior professors, G.E. Jackson and W.T. Jackman, from bitterly competing for the headship. See UTA, Vincent Wheeler Bladen, B74-0038, interview by C. Roger Myers, 4 January 1974, transcript, University of Toronto Oral History Project, pp. 97-99. For another inside view of fighting within the Department, see UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/115, file: Harold Adams Innis, 1929, Harold A. Innis to Robert Falconer, [15 April 1929].

retirement.<sup>98</sup> "Quite by accident I fell into some delightful work here," he characteristically wrote in a letter of 1930. "[I]ts only drawback is that it is increasing so fast that I can hardly keep up with it. But I intend to go on until senility becomes too obvious."<sup>99</sup> It is interesting to note that Henrietta Barnett, remembering Urwick at Toynbee Hall, described him as an unassuming man who nevertheless was driven in his desire to realize his social ideals: an "incomparable host, whose courteous tact hid the will which never forgot its goals reached by self-forgetting labour."<sup>100</sup>

Urwick's years as a settler in the East End had left him permanently disenchanted with the ability of organized reform efforts to transcend the corrupting influences of public subscriptions and institutional structures. Although he continued to involve himself in reform issues, such as the housing problem in Toronto, his personal experience during the early part of his career caused him always to remain wary of the difficulty involved in successfully incorporating ethical ideals into the practical policy of any organization. While living in Toronto, he agreed to

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<sup>98</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/104, file: E.J. Urwick, 1926-1927, E.J. Urwick to Robert Falconer, 15 November 1926.

<sup>99</sup>UTA, Department of Political Economy, A69-0007/001(03), E.J. Urwick to C.I. Brennand, 4 June 1930.

<sup>100</sup>Barnett, vol. 2, p. 27.

serve as an active member of the Board of Directors of University Settlement from 1927 to 1940 (and was ex-officio Honourary Chairman as head of the Department of Social Service), but the Board's minutes for this period reveal that he consistently advocated the need for the other members to adapt or recast their ideals to suit the changing times.<sup>101</sup> At a special meeting of both the staff and the Board held in December 1937, the purpose and future policy of the Settlement was discussed, and Urwick, the minutes recorded, took the opportunity once again to question "the whole movement at present both here and in England."<sup>102</sup> His recognition of the limitations of the settlement idea, however, seems only to have increased his determination to carry the idealist message to younger generations of social reformers. Through his role in social-work education in Canada, as in Britain, he sustained his campaign against the evil effects of "machinery" on attempts at social amelioration, de-emphasizing the importance of technique in favour of an academic orientation on the social sciences.

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<sup>101</sup>City of Toronto Archives, University Settlement House Collection, SC 24, series B, box 001, Board of Directors of University Settlement Minutes, 1925-1934, (12 March 1931, 11 June 1931, 16 April 1931); and 1935-1943, (10 March 1938).

<sup>102</sup>City of Toronto Archives, University Settlement House Collection, SC 24, series B, box 001, Board of Directors of University Settlement Minutes, 1935-1943, (2 December 1937).



Urwick's goal was to make the Department of Social Service into an academically rigorous post-graduate program, and to provide a four-year undergraduate course in the social sciences as a prerequisite, which would channel talented students directly into the Department. In January 1929, he prepared the first of several strongly-worded reports containing his recommendations for the future of social work. "For some years past," he informed the President, "the Department of Social Service has merely marked time." After pointing out that the Department was in no way able to satisfy the current demand for qualified social workers, he criticized the "internal defects" of the "present patch-work course," which, since its establishment in 1914, had attempted to mix courses in the social sciences with highly specialized skills-oriented courses such as "Recreation," "Case Work Methods," or "Settlements." Complaining that the curriculum had little coherence, he argued that the relation between the two groups of courses was by no means clear, and that no real attempt had been made to bring them into relation. Like Dale, Urwick stressed the need for the Department to attract university graduates, and he suggested that the course should be able to draw in the type of men and women who were capable, as he put it, "of becoming leaders in the social work of the country." As a solution to the problems of the curriculum, Urwick proposed that its academic orientation be

strengthened, and that primacy be given to the theoretical basis of social-work education, rather than to balancing theory and technique in an uneasy alliance. He wrote: "The better method--and the only successful method--is to plan first the essential ground work of a course which shall furnish the knowledge and induce the viewpoint necessary to all social work; and then to build upon this foundation whatever specialisms may seem advisable."

For Urwick, as for Falconer and others on the Social Service Committee, the distinctions between theory and technique, knowledge and skill, or administrators and practitioners, hinged on considerations of gender. In his January report, Urwick assumed that theoretical knowledge was by definition a masculine area of expertise, and his recommendation to strengthen the academic foundation of the program included the stipulation that two new staff members should be appointed, "of whom one should be a man."<sup>103</sup> As he had wished, in April 1929 a young social scientist, Harry M. Cassidy, was given the newly-created position of Assistant Professor in the Department of Social Science.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>103</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/129, file: Social Service, 1929-1931, TMs, E.J. Urwick, "Report on the Present Needs of the Department of Social Service," 17 January 1929.

<sup>104</sup>UTA, Harry Morris Cassidy, B72-0022/016, file: Urwick, E.J. Urwick to Harry Cassidy, 24 January and 19 April 1929. Cassidy's career as Director of Toronto's School of Social Work from 1945 to 1951 is discussed in the following chapter.

A first step toward the fulfilment of Urwick's plan was accomplished in October 1929, when the Senate approved his request to have the name of the Department changed to what he considered to be the more suitable title of "Social Science."<sup>105</sup> That same month, he submitted a second, more detailed report to the President, in response to unidentified opposition from among the members of the Senate's Committee on Social Science, which at that time was considering his proposals. Fearing that social philosophy would be rejected as being insufficiently "objective," Urwick explained his long-standing conviction that students in social work needed to be made aware of the "supreme importance" of moral and spiritual influences. After assuming the Directorship, he had been troubled by the way many Toronto social workers approached their work. "I find one of the great dangers here is intense concentration upon the technique of case work etc. rather than upon the principles underlying it," he had written to a colleague in Britain in January 1929. "And there is a danger of even the best workers losing any vision of the wider social facts of their work and the possibilities of putting prevention before treatment."<sup>106</sup> While Urwick supported the desire of

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<sup>105</sup>UTA, University of Toronto, Senate, A68-0012/roll 7, vol. 16, Senate Minutes, 1929-1932, p. 49, (11 October 1929).

<sup>106</sup>UTA, Department of Political Economy, A69-0007/001(11), E.J. Urwick to H.M. Kelly, 31 January 1929.

social workers to gain professional status, his faith in the importance of ideals over actions made him suspicious of the corrupting effect of organization and "scientific" technique on the social worker's will to reform. "[I]t must not be forgotten," he warned in his October report, "that there is, a real danger--very pronounced at the present time--of social workers drifting into a materialistic attitude which is certainly not counteracted by exclusive attention to objective scientific method." The most potent hazard, he believed, was the increasing tendency among social workers to overemphasize the value of psychological insight in casework, and to elevate psychiatric technique as the profession's primary claim to "scientific" expertise. Arguing that the subject was in any case too complex to be undertaken by students of social work, Urwick also protested that psychiatry was "apt to excite a slightly morbid over-interest in the student's mind."<sup>107</sup> In common with other late nineteenth-century idealists, Urwick was unable to accept the psychologist's supposition that social organization was affected by forces which were fundamentally irrational.<sup>108</sup> As a philosopher, his search for meaning within the patterns of social life depended on the conviction that human activity was guided by an ethical

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<sup>107</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/123, file: E.J. Urwick, 1929-1930, TMs, E.J. Urwick, "The Education of Social Workers," 4 October 1929.

<sup>108</sup>Meacham, pp. 107-9.

purpose, a unifying spiritual force, which had an existence beyond the normal or abnormal powers of the mind.

In 1930, Urwick made his campaign public when he published two articles in Social Welfare, "The Training of Social Workers" and "First Principles First," in which he outlined his views on the changes needed in social-work education.<sup>109</sup> His arguments were accepted by the standing Senate's Committee on Social Science, which recommended in May 1931 that President Falconer appoint a special committee of the Senate to consider implementing his proposals, and by 1932 he had succeeded in realizing his plans for both sociology and social work.<sup>110</sup> Beginning in the 1932 to 1933 session, the University instituted a four-year honour course in social science--called the "sociology" course despite Urwick's protests--which was directed by a committee under his chairmanship, and was designed to provide those students entering the social-work program with a more intensive

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<sup>109</sup>E.J. Urwick, "The Training of Social Workers," Social Welfare, XII, No. 8 (May 1930), 176-77; E.J. Urwick, "First Principles First," Social Welfare, XIII, No. 2 (November 1930), 29-30, 32.

<sup>110</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/129, file: Social Service, 1929-1931, TMs, "Memorandum on the Department of Social Science, Summarizing points in the discussion of the Senate's Committee held on Friday, December 19th," n.d.; UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/128a, file: E.J. Urwick, 1930-1931, Robert Falconer to E.J. Urwick, 14 May 1931; UTA, Office of the Registrar, A73/0051/135, file: SW, 1930-1932, A.B. Fennell to E.J. Urwick, 19 December 1932.

academic background.<sup>111</sup> It was therefore proposed that a graduate in the sociology course could receive a diploma in social work after completing only one additional year of more practical training in the Department of Social Science, and, as expected, in October 1932 The Varsity reported that most of the ten students registered in sociology intended to go on and take the social-work diploma.<sup>112</sup> With the exception of two new courses in sociology, the program was in reality a composite of existing courses taught in the Faculty of Arts, including economics, psychology, history and philosophy, and, like the program in social work, was intended to provide students with a general grounding in the social sciences.<sup>113</sup> Addressing the criticism that the proposed course might look "rather thin" from the point of view of "certain American universities," Urwick wrote to President Falconer that the members of the committee were fully justified in pursuing their own interpretation of sociology, and that he did not think it was "necessary for

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<sup>111</sup>UTA, University of Toronto, Senate, A68-0012/roll 8, vol. 16, Senate Minutes, 1929-1932, p. 446, (12 February 1932); UTA, University of Toronto, Board of Governors, A70-0024/023, vol. 12, Board of Governors Minutes, 1931-1933, p. 141, (10 March 1932).

<sup>112</sup>UTA, Office of the Registrar, A73-0051/230(01), file: Sociology, 1932-1936, clipping: The Varsity, 4 October 1932.

<sup>113</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/135a, file: Social Science, 1932, A.B. Fennell to Robert Falconer, 16 February 1932; W.G. Martin to Robert Falconer, 23 February 1932.

us to contemplate at present a development of Sociological teaching along the lines usually adopted in American universities."<sup>114</sup> The introduction of the new program marked an appropriate conclusion to Falconer's long tenure as President. Troubled by poor health, Falconer resigned in 1932, and until 1945, the Presidency of the University would be held by the prominent Anglian Church leader Henry J. Cody. By 1935, Urwick was able to report that over two thirds of those students currently enrolled in the Department of Social Science held a B.A., and beginning in the 1936 to 1937 session, the condition of entry to the course was changed to require the possession of a university degree, although the Calendar noted that exceptions were to be made in cases of special experience or "proved capacity" in other fields.<sup>115</sup> As he had outlined in his proposals of 1929, the Department's curriculum was designed to emphasize the unity of the principles underlying social education, including such courses as "Philosophical Aspects of Social Theory" and "Economic Basis of Social Life," and to minimize

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<sup>114</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/135a, file: Social Science, 1932, E.J. Urwick to Robert Falconer, 19 February 1932.

<sup>115</sup>"Report of the Acting Director of Department of Social Science," in University of Toronto President's Report, 1934-1935, p. 99; 1935-1936, p. 98.

the importance of technical expertise, particularly that of psychiatric casework.<sup>116</sup>

By the late 1930s, Urwick's tenacious allegiance to idealist principles had caused him to enter into a public dispute with leading members of the SSA. During the first few years of his Directorship, he had enjoyed the same confidence and support which had characterized relations between the graduates and the Department in the time of MacIver and Dale. At a meeting of the SSA in April 1928, Urwick had confided his views on the current inadequacy of the Department, and had requested the members' support by tactfully pointing out that, as graduates, their professional standing to a great extent depended upon the status of the program. The minutes had summarized the message in his address: "Social work status rises and falls with the standard of training which is being given, therefore unconsciously the Alumni shares in the responsibility." On Urwick's suggestion, an Alumni Advisory Committee had been formed to counsel the Department on matters of policy, and fourteen members had been appointed --including Ethel Dodds Parker, by then the director of the

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<sup>116</sup>University of Toronto Calendar, 1937-1938, pp. 14-17.



city's Division of Social Welfare--who all held prominent positions in public or private welfare agencies.<sup>117</sup>

For the SSA, Urwick's request for help had come at exactly the right time. With the establishment of the Toronto Chapter of the CASW in the spring of 1928, the SSA had worried that its functions were being duplicated by the other organization, and it had attempted to redefine its mandate in relation to the aims of the Department. After considerable debate among the members, in November 1928 the SSA had resolved to surrender its professional activities to the CASW, and to limit its activities to bringing graduates together and to supporting the Department through recruiting, training, and scholarship work.<sup>118</sup> Just as they had ten years earlier in relation to MacIver, the SSA members had recognized the value of Urwick's "academic standing and prestige," and in April 1929, the new Advisory Committee had sent a letter to President Falconer requesting that Urwick be allowed to continue as Acting Director of the

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<sup>117</sup>UTA, Social Service Alumni, B89-0004/001(06), Social Service Alumni Minutes, 1927-1928, (18 April 1928); B89-0004/001(06), Social Service Alumni Minutes, 1927-1928, Report of the Formation of an Alumni Advisory Committee to the Social Service Department of the University of Toronto, n.d. [April 1928].

<sup>118</sup>"Report of the Director of the Department of Social Service," in University of Toronto President's Report, 1922-1923, p. 60; UTA, Social Service Alumni, B89-0004/001(03), Social Service Alumni Minutes, 1924-1925, (25 November 1924); B89-0004/001(06), Social Service Alumni Minutes, 1927-1928, (8 June 1928); B89-0004/001(07), Social Service Alumni Minutes, 1928-1929, (29 October and 6 November 1928).

Department.<sup>119</sup> This cooperative relationship had been sustained throughout Urwick's campaign to reorganize the social-work program, and he had received the endorsement of Toronto graduates through both the Community Welfare Council of Ontario (formerly the Social Service Council of Ontario) and the CASW, which was at that time under the Presidency of Ethel Dodds Parker. In February 1932, Parker had written to President Falconer on behalf of the CASW, to indicate the Association's recognition of "the importance of both educational background and special training for Social work." She had assured Falconer that "the whole Canadian Membership is behind the policy which, we understand, is under consideration by the University of Toronto, namely-- the establishment within the Faculty of Arts of a selective course which specializes in the subjects which are considered to be a pre-requisite to professional training."<sup>120</sup>

Since the late 1920s, however, Urwick had been concerned over what he saw as the spread of a "materialistic attitude" among Canadian social workers, and in the fall of

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<sup>119</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/117, file: E.J. Urwick, 1928-1929, Jean McTaggart to Robert Falconer, 10 April 1929.

<sup>120</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/133, file: Mrs. G. Cameron Parker, 1932, A. Ethel Parker to Robert Falconer, 8 February 1932. See also, UTA, Office of the Registrar, A73-0051/135, file: SW, 1930-1932, E.D. MacPhee and D.B. Harkness to Robert Falconer, 26 October 1931.

1936, he shattered his harmonious relationship with the SSA by criticizing the CASW's approach to social work. In August 1936, The Social Worker had published the first part of a report, written by a special committee of the CASW on "What is a Social Worker?" To Urwick's dissatisfaction, the report had concluded that: "A social worker is one who, having acquired certain professional technique, is qualified to treat, and if possible prevent, social maladjustments in the area of human and environmental relationships."<sup>121</sup> Believing that the definition conveyed an inadequate picture of a social worker's responsibilities, Urwick wrote "An Alternative View," and, although he did not have it published in The Social Worker, he discussed it with the second-year students in the Department.<sup>122</sup> One of the authors of the report, Frieda Held of the Provincial Department of Public Welfare, had long been affiliated with the University: an active member of the SSA since her graduation in 1920, she had been one of the first to be appointed to the Alumni Advisory Committee in 1928, and had been teaching in the Department as a special lecturer

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<sup>121</sup>"What is a Social Worker?" The Social Worker, IV, No. 10 (August-September 1936), 7.

<sup>122</sup>UTA, Harry Morris Cassidy, B72-0022/014, file: Agnes McGregor, Agnes C. McGregor to Harry Cassidy, 28 March 1937.

throughout the 1930s.<sup>123</sup> Held reacted angrily to Urwick's criticisms, and the result, Agnes McGregor later explained to Harry Cassidy, was "INDIGNATION - HURT FEELINGS - RUMBLINGS and a Deputation of Protest[.]" Shortly afterward, hostility increased between the Department and the CASW (and by extension many of the SSA members) when the CASW's Committee on Recruiting and Training, convened by Frieda Held, formally protested against the University's recent decision to restrict admission to the social-work program to university graduates.<sup>124</sup> While his retirement from the Directorship in June 1937 eased the tensions somewhat, Urwick himself remained convinced that Canadian social workers were overvaluing the importance of technique, and were succumbing to the dangerous influences of machinery.<sup>125</sup> After 1940, when he was forced by ill-health

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<sup>123</sup> TFRB, John Joseph Kelso, MS. COLL. 115, box 1, file: School of Social Work Alumni, TMs, "Social Service Alumni, University of Toronto, list of paid members," May 1922; UTA, Office of the President (Cody), A68-0006/012(03), file: T-V, TMs, List of Special Lecturers, 1933-1934; A68-0006/018(02), file: TO-WA, TMs, List of Special Lecturers, 1934-1935; A68-0006/024(03), file: U-WA, TMs, List of Special Lecturers, 1935-1936; A68-0006/029(03), file: T-V, TMs, List of Special Lecturers, 1936-1937.

<sup>124</sup> UTA, Harry Morris Cassidy, B72-0022/014, file: Agnes McGregor, Agnes C. McGregor to Harry Cassidy, 28 March 1937.

<sup>125</sup> In June 1937, Urwick was given the title of Professor Emeritus of Political Economy, and, being reluctant to completely sever his connection with the University, he agreed to continue to teach in the Department of Social Science until 1940. Archives of Ontario, F 980, H.J. Cody Papers, Series A-3, MU 4965, file 1, E.J. Urwick to H.J. Cody, 8 June 1937; UTA, Office of the President

to leave Toronto for British Columbia, he continued to worry over the direction of the social-work program, writing to his successor as head of the Department of Political Economy, Harold Innis, in September 1942 that he thought "there was too much of a tendency to acquiesce in some of the questionable aims of the dominant social workers."<sup>126</sup>

Although he and MacIver shared the basic assumption that the study of society must necessarily involve the moral participation of the sociologist, Urwick's battle against non-applied sociology eventually led him to quarrel openly with MacIver over the degree to which scientific method could be used to analyze society. In public addresses throughout the 1930s, Urwick repeatedly expressed his opposition to what he saw as the estrangement of the social sciences from philosophy, warning his audiences of the danger of following the American example and separating "religion and sentiment" from the study of human actions.<sup>127</sup> Maintaining that sociology merely became "ludicrous" when it attempted to be objective, he wrote in February 1935:

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(Cody), A68-0006/033(05), file: T-V, H.J. Cody to E.J. Urwick, 14 June 1937; UTA, Department of Political Economy, A76-0025/001(07), E.J. Urwick to G.E. Jackson, 1 May 1937.

<sup>126</sup>UTA, Harold Adams Innis, B72-0025/011(12), E.J. Urwick to Harold Innis, 15 September 1942.

<sup>127</sup>UTA, Department of Graduate Records, A73-0026/482(66), Edward Johns Urwick, clippings: The Varsity, 20 November 1935 and 17 February 1937; UTA, Office of the Registrar, A73-0051/230(01), file: Sociology, 1932-1936, clipping: The Varsity, 22 January 1936.

"[T]he first condition of objectivity is that all the objects to be observed shall be devoid of any meaning whatever, or any appeal to your and my interests and purposes. And that is a sorry method to apply to life."<sup>128</sup> Even though MacIver himself had for many years been fighting against the influence of scientism on theoretical sociology, in May 1938 Urwick published a highly critical review, in the Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, of MacIver's Society: A Textbook of Sociology.

In the twenty years since Community first had appeared, MacIver had developed a more comprehensive approach to the study of social relationships, but his opinions on the essential principles of sociology remained substantially unaltered. Derived from earlier material which he had rewritten, Society was MacIver's attempt to provide undergraduates with "certain primary concepts" to use in the study of sociology.<sup>129</sup> While he acknowledged the importance of many of MacIver's philosophical insights, Urwick was deeply offended by what he saw as the misleading presumption that sociology, or any other form of social study, actually possessed the body of universally accepted facts and principles which would entitle it to textbook treatment. He

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<sup>128</sup>E.J. Urwick, "The Role of Intelligence in the Social Process," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, I, No. 1 (February 1935), 73.

<sup>129</sup>R.M. MacIver, Society: A Textbook of Sociology (New York, 1937), p. 3.

dismissed MacIver's attempts to establish exact definitions as creating a "mass of sociological schematizations and classifications," and cautioned that an over-attention to the structure of a discussion--to the limits set by definitions--would prevent the discovery of the essential meaning which existed within that structure.<sup>130</sup> Urwick's strong disapproval, however, was not due so much to what MacIver had actually written, as to what Urwick feared his work might promote, by opening the doors to a complete abandonment of ethical principles in favour of excessive American objectivism. "Surely it is time to drop this futile but meaningless talk about the necessary disinterest of the student of social life," Urwick argued. "[W]hat use is it to ask us to select our material without bias and deal with this value-impregnated realm without any care about values?"<sup>131</sup> MacIver had not, in fact, suggested that the sociologist remain unconcerned with values, and in a response to the review, published in November 1938, he protested that Urwick had misrepresented his position. After restating his belief in the moral involvement of the sociologist on certain key ethical questions, however, MacIver concluded with the assertion that Urwick's separation of science and philosophy was unsound, and, he

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<sup>130</sup> E.J. Urwick, "Is There a Scientific Sociology?" Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, IV, No. 2 (May 1938), 240, 233-35.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 239.

implied, antiquated. He wrote: "I would maintain ... that unless philosophy seeks to build on the data and the conclusions of science it becomes a kind of dilettante theology, supporting our interests or our prejudices, but offering neither the enlightenment of science nor the sustenance of religion."<sup>132</sup>

In 1927, MacIver had recommended the appointment of E.J. Urwick to the Directorship of the Department of Social Service because he had assumed, correctly, that Urwick would carry on the work which he himself had initiated in 1918, and which Dale had sustained throughout the early 1920s. As MacIver indicated in his response in 1938, however, Urwick's appointment ultimately had the effect of introducing an intellectually paralysing influence into the development of both social work and sociology at Toronto. Like that of W.J. Ashley half a century before, Urwick's social thought was shaped by his strong affinity for the tenets of idealism, and his empirical training as an academic allowed him to approach social problems with that blend of "science and sentiment" typically cultivated at the University of Toronto. Unlike Ashley, however, Urwick's growing suspicion of "machinery" in all its manifestations caused him finally to reject the claims of the scientific method to truly illuminate any aspect of social life. By the beginning of

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<sup>132</sup>R.M. MacIver, "Science and Sociology: A Reply to Professor Urwick," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, IV, No. 4 (November 1938), 551.



World War II, Urwick found himself alienated from the mood of students and graduates alike, and, from his retirement home in Vancouver, he watched anxiously for signs that his work at Toronto was disintegrating.

## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSION:

#### "IN THE INTERESTS OF EFFICIENCY AND CLARITY": WELFARE BUREAUCRACY AND THE DECLINE OF THE TORONTO IDEAL

In December 1942, E.J. Urwick wrote one of many troubled letters which he sent to his friend Harold Innis at Toronto, expressing his fear of the changes accelerated by the war. "We talk about the militarism of Germany and Japan, but is it not the case that the real enemy of human progress is the militarism in the hearts of men of all nations?" he asked. "I am afraid the academic mind ... harbours these wrong attitudes almost as much as financiers and exploiters in the market-place." By 1944, Urwick had become convinced that all of wartime society was driven by a mindless respect for order and authority, a form of "machinery" which, in his view, fundamentally threatened the idealist and empirical basis of the social science curriculum at the University of Toronto. In April 1944, less than a year before his death, he wrote to Innis: "I despair of a return to the sane atmosphere in which Adam Smith quite naturally combined the moral sentiments with his scientific thought about economic forces. The whole trend to-day is to exalt the rationalist scientific approach and to discard the philosophical. I am not thinking only of the

worship of the physical and mechanical sciences, but rather of the attempt to make ethics, philosophy, sociology, etc. conform in method and language to the physical sciences--with disastrous results."<sup>1</sup>

Sensitive to the forces which gradually were eroding the values of the Toynbee generation, Urwick's instincts were essentially correct. His apprehensions of the effect of the wartime environment on academic life were to prove well-founded in light of the declining status of the liberal-arts curriculum after 1940, and the corresponding growth of the modern bureaucratic university.<sup>2</sup> During the 1940s, the Toronto ideal would be confronted by significant challenges which questioned the foundations of its ethical assumptions, and which increasingly exposed its inability to satisfy the changing priorities of the postwar era. In the curriculum of the School of Social Work and in the policy of University Settlement, ideas on the centrality of expertise and efficiency in social work took on a new importance, and a bureaucratic ideal threatened to displace the University's traditional deference for the goals of personal connection

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<sup>1</sup>University of Toronto Archives (hereafter UTA), Harold Adams Innis, B72-0025/011(12), E.J. Urwick to Harold Innis, 30 December 1942 and 24 April 1944.

<sup>2</sup>Patricia Jasen, "'In Pursuit of Human Values (or Laugh When You Say That)': The Student Critique of the Arts Curriculum in the 1960s," in Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education, ed. Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid (Kingston, 1989), pp. 247-71.

and community reintegration. At Toronto, however, idealist and empirical beliefs were embedded too deeply into the curriculum to allow it to be easily subject to change, and throughout the decade the social sciences would retain their close ties to the humanities.<sup>3</sup> Even while idealist convictions steadily lost their relevance for many faculty members and students, Urwick's influence--and that of Ashley, Falconer, MacIver and Dale before him--would continue to dominate the disciplinary structure of both social work and sociology long after his retirement in 1937. Until the early 1950s, Urwick's objectives would be maintained most fiercely by two men who themselves held widely divergent opinions: by the economic historian Harold Innis in the Department of Political Economy, and by the biochemist Hardolph Wasteneys on the Board of University Settlement.

Harold Innis was Urwick's most forceful, if perhaps least likely ally. The political economist Vincent Bladen later remembered that Urwick initially had been unable to

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<sup>3</sup>The blending of idealist and empirical assumptions also had a much more general effect on the development of Toronto's liberal-arts curriculum. For example, Michael Gauvreau has argued recently that before 1940 the Toronto philosopher George Sidney Brett resisted specialization in the social sciences, and claimed that humanistic and philosophical values ensured a unified relationship between the sciences and the humanities. Michael Gauvreau, "Philosophy, Psychology, and History: George Sidney Brett and the Quest for a Social Science at the University of Toronto, 1910-1940," Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers (1988), 209-36.

understand either Innis' manners or his economic theories, but gradually had recognized the talent of "this raw Ontario farm boy," and had refused to retire until he was certain that Innis would follow him as head of the Department.<sup>4</sup> Innis' ambition to eradicate all traces of moral bias from the "science" of economic history would not seem at first glance to endear him to Urwick. Yet in their mutual dislike of bureaucracy and authoritarianism, and in their desire to sustain what they both saw as the purity of their University's task, Innis and Urwick could, and did, find common ground. As one historian has suggested, Innis' very recognition of the existence of personal bias made him reject the view that the social scientist could ever be entirely detached and objective. Although Innis refused to mistake what "ought to be" for what was, and therefore resented the pressure put on economists during the Depression to advocate immediate remedies, he nevertheless believed that the social scientist had a moral responsibility to uncover the long-term forces which determined social and economic conditions.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>UTA, Vincent Wheeler Bladen, B74-0038, interview by C. Roger Myers, 4 January 1974, transcript, University of Toronto Oral History Project, pp. 95-100.

<sup>5</sup>Carl Berger, "Harold Innis: The Search for Limits," in The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing: 1900 to 1970 (Toronto, 1976), pp. 100-111.

Between the late 1930s and his own early death in 1952, Innis opposed the kind of commercial orientation which the Department had reflected under James Mavor, but he did not repudiate the moral imperative upon which that attitude had been based. In an address to members of the United Church of Canada in 1947, he warned that "skill and discipline" in social service were of little value unless, in his words, "the practitioners of good works are selected for their integrity and the high quality of their characters."<sup>6</sup> He shared Urwick's fear that the University's liberal values were being endangered by impatience and materialism, and his address frequently echoed the concerns that Urwick had conveyed in his final letters. "Modern civilization, characterized by an enormous increase in the output of mechanized knowledge with the newspaper, the book, the radio and the cinema," Innis claimed, "has produced a state of numbness, pleasure, and self-complacency perhaps only equalled by laughing-gas. . . . The demands of the machine are insatiable."<sup>7</sup> In 1944, he tendered his resignation as Chairman of the Council of the School of Social Work when he heard that the social scientist Harry Cassidy was to be the new Director, objecting to the appointment, he explained to President Cody, on the basis that Cassidy contaminated his

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<sup>6</sup>Harold A. Innis, "The Church in Canada," in Essays in Canadian Economic History, ed. Mary Q. Innis (Toronto, 1956), p. 393.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 383.

scholarship by combining it with political advocacy.<sup>8</sup> For Innis, the proper role of the University was to protect the integrity of academic research from such corrupting demands, and by doing so, to encourage the development of an independent Canadian identity.

In 1939, Harold Innis had been made responsible for sociology when the four-year honour program was attached officially to the Department of Political Economy.<sup>9</sup> During his retirement, Urwick corresponded regularly with Innis regarding departmental matters, and his letters often referred uneasily to the future of sociology, cautioning Innis to avoid the dangers of American statistical sociology on the one hand, and the hazards of non-academic Christian sociology--taught by "a half-baked sociologist-parson"--on the other.<sup>10</sup> Writing from British Columbia in September 1940, Urwick expressed his relief that Innis was in charge of sociology, and urged him to keep a close eye on the program. "Like you," he told Innis, "I care more for the ultimate values than for any of the intermediate ones with which we are so much occupied in Economics and Political

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<sup>8</sup>Berger, pp. 109-110; Allan Irving, "A Canadian Fabian: The Life and Work of Harry Cassidy" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1982), pp. 441-42.

<sup>9</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Cody), A68-0006/039(03), file: U, E.J. Urwick to H.J. Cody, 5 May 1939.

<sup>10</sup>JTA, Harold Adams Innis, B72-0025/011(12), E.J. Urwick to Harold Innis, 24 September 1940 and 30 December 1942.

Science. You have always managed to keep the torch burning, even though unobtrusively, but that is the best way, if, as I believe, what is felt is much more potent than what is grasped by the reason."<sup>11</sup> As Urwick had hoped, under Innis' direction during the 1940s the program retained its original liberal-arts focus, teaching a broad range of courses in the humanities and the social sciences, and continuing to prepare students for post-graduate study in social work. It was not until 1963, when an independent Department of Sociology was established at Toronto, that the program was able to escape from under the wing of the Department of Political Economy. With the notable exception of McGill University, which created a separate Department of Sociology in 1922, before the early 1960s other Canadian universities paralleled Toronto by forming interdisciplinary departments where sociology was subordinated in importance to economics and political science. It has been contended, therefore, that the influence of Toronto's Department of Political Economy, and that of Innis in particular, was crucial in preventing English-Canadian sociology from developing as an autonomous, objective discipline on the American model.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>UTA, Harold Adams Innis, E72-0025/011(12), E.J. Urwick to Harold Innis, 24 September 1940.

<sup>12</sup>Harry H. Hiller, Society and Change: S.D. Clark and the Development of Canadian Sociology (Toronto, 1982), pp. 12-16; S.D. Clark, "Sociology in Canada: An Historical Over-view," Canadian Journal of Sociology, I, No. 2 (Summer 1975), 226-27. For a history of the development of sociology at McGill University, see Marlene Shore, The



While Harold Innis was able to exert his authority over sociology, the School of Social Work--in spite of his threat in 1944 to resign from its Council--was placed beyond his control. After 1945 Harry Cassidy would sustain and even strengthen the original structure of the social-work program, yet he exemplified a new type of social scientist; a social welfare expert whose very existence depended on a rejection of the aim of personal connection which had formed the core of the idealist reform movement. Cassidy belonged to the postwar age in a way that Urwick and other followers of T.H. Green never could, and under his leadership, social-work education at Toronto incorporated the efficient bureaucratic spirit which both Urwick and Innis so feared in the final years of their lives. Urwick himself had been responsible for first bringing Cassidy to Toronto in 1929 as a junior professor in the Department of Social Science. In 1934, Cassidy had resigned to accept the position of director of social welfare for the province of British Columbia, and then in 1939 he had moved to the United States to head the School of Social Welfare at the University of California, Berkeley. While he had wished to return to Toronto in the late 1930s to direct the Department of Social Science, Urwick had resisted any attempt to appoint Cassidy as his replacement. Urwick's negative attitude toward

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Science of Social Redemption: McGill, the Chicago School, and the Origins of Social Research in Canada (Toronto, 1987).

Cassidy was a great disappointment to the Assistant Director, Agnes McGregor, who continued to campaign for his appointment after Urwick's retirement, and finally secured Cassidy's return in January 1945.<sup>13</sup> In an address to the School of Social Work Alumni Association in November 1947, shortly after her own retirement, McGregor asserted her confidence that Cassidy's appointment would guarantee the continuation of the idealist principles introduced by Falconer and Lloyd, and subsequently maintained by MacIver, Dale, and Urwick. "I feel strongly," she stated, "that at the end of each chapter of its history, whether the story was bright or dark those values implicit in the life of the School from the very first were still its animating force, and will continue to be so as the School grows great in prestige and influence."<sup>14</sup>

In terms of the structural continuity of the program, McGregor's faith was not misplaced. Harry Cassidy agreed with the School's previous Directors that social-work education should be academic rather than vocational, and, like them, he modeled its curriculum on the course created by Sophonisba Breckenridge and Edith Abbott at the University of Chicago. Following Breckenridge and Abbott,

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<sup>13</sup>UTA, Harry Morris Cassidy, B72-0022/014, file: Agnes McGregor, Agnes C. McGregor to Harry Cassidy, 29 July 1939, 15 August 1939, 13 and 31 December 1939, and 1 February 1941.

<sup>14</sup>UTA, Ephemera, B81-1020, Agnes C. McGregor, "Reminiscences," TMs [photocopy], 1947, p. 5.

Cassidy believed that social workers should be given a broadly-based preparation in the social sciences which taught them to conduct independent research into social problems, and which, in general, trained them to be welfare policy-makers instead of social-work practitioners.<sup>15</sup> In July 1941, the Department of Social Science had gained the status of a professional school when it was renamed the School of Social Work, and its Council was formed to link it directly to the Senate of the University.<sup>16</sup> As Director between 1945 and his death in 1951 (shortly before that of Harold Innis), Cassidy took steps to reinforce the School's academic and professional standing, and he built on the changes which Urwick had introduced during the early 1930s. Beginning in the 1945 to 1946 session, the admission standards were tightened to limit even further the number of non-graduates, and applicants were required to have a strong background in the social sciences--a requirement which encouraged undergraduates to take the four-year sociology course as a prerequisite to social-work training. In the fall of 1947, Urwick's vision of the program as a post-graduate course was fully realized with the establishment of the professional degrees of B.S.W. and M.S.W. for those completing one or two years of graduate study respectively.

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<sup>15</sup> Irving, p. 328, pp. 350-52, pp. 442-45.

<sup>16</sup> UTA, Ephemera, B81-1020, McGregor, "Reminiscences," p. 5; University of Toronto Library, Agnes C. McGregor, "Memories," TMs [photocopy], 1959, p. 28.

Throughout his tenure, Cassidy encouraged research among both students and faculty, and under his direction studies in social policy and housing became an important part of the School's curriculum.<sup>17</sup>

Although Harry Cassidy fortified the existing structure of the social-work program, his influence had a corrosive effect on the idealist values which in the past had injected the course with a quality of moral certainty and self-sacrifice. Cassidy's biographer has described him as a "Canadian Fabian," belonging to an attitude of mind which sought social reform through the administrative expertise of enlightened welfare bureaucrats. Like the early British Fabians Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Cassidy believed that reform could be stimulated by public education and factual research, and he placed his faith for social progress in the power of efficient experts who possessed advanced technical skills.<sup>18</sup> During the early 1900s in Britain, the Fabian approach had seriously challenged the tradition of reform epitomized by the young men at Toynbee Hall. Toynbee Hall's educational program had been constructed on the belief that the development of connections between university men and their working-class neighbours inevitably would recreate the bonds of local community destroyed by industrialization. It has been argued that the Fabians--and other advocates of

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<sup>17</sup> Irving, pp. 421-25, p. 445.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pp. 490-95.

centralization--redefined the idealist goal of community in national rather than local terms, and, by substituting the work of disinterested bureaucratic experts for the one-to-one service of individuals, dismissed as irrelevant T.H. Green's primary emphasis on the importance of personal contact.<sup>19</sup> For an idealist like E.J. Urwick, Harry Cassidy's promotion of the Fabians' bureaucratic state was an exhibition of "machinery" at its most distasteful extreme. Although Toronto's program from the beginning had been designed to produce high-level administrators, the curriculum had been based on the assumption that social work was not to be seen as demonstration of professional expertise, but rather as an expression of self-negating service. Cassidy's determination to create a class of welfare bureaucrats linked professionalism in social work to a quality of detachment which was in every way antithetical to the idealist tenets incorporated into the program in 1914.

During the 1940s, this new attitude toward social work gained support among the largely female staff of University Settlement, and caused a growing alienation of opinion to form between the professional staff and the predominantly male faculty members on the Board of Directors. Since 1915, when Sara Libby Carson had been placed in charge of its

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<sup>19</sup> Standish Meacham, Toynbee Hall and Social Reform, 1880-1914: The Search for Community (New Haven, Conn., 1987), pp. 88-96.

program, University Settlement had been managed by female social workers, and its fortunes had been closely linked to those of the Department of Social Service. Like the Department, the Settlement had drifted during the years of World War I, and then had discovered renewed support for its idealist mandate during the Directorships of J.A. Dale and E.J. Urwick. In 1920, Dale had dissuaded the Board of Directors from closing down the Settlement, and throughout his tenure he had promoted its program as a continuation of what he called the University's "tradition of sane wholesome service."<sup>20</sup> While both Dale and Urwick had acted on the Settlement's Board of Directors, however, Dale's frequent absences from illness and Urwick's disenchantment with its organizational structure had caused them to exert only an indirect influence on its policy. The academic most responsible, therefore, for the preservation of idealist convictions on the Board was Hardolph Wasteneys. As a prominent member during the late 1920s and 1930s, and as Chairman from 1940 to 1953, Wasteneys remained determined to defend the priorities of the Toronto ideal from the incursions of modern social work.

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<sup>20</sup>UTA, Office of the President (Falconer), A67-0007/058a, file: James A. Dale, 1919-1920, Robert Falconer to J.A. Dale, 21 April 1920, and J.A. Dale to Robert Falconer, 24 April 1920; UTA, Department of Graduate Records, A73-0026/077(24), James A. Dale, clipping: The Varsity, 26 February 1925.

Born in Britain, Wasteneys came to Toronto to teach biochemistry after receiving his doctorate from Columbia University in 1916, and he served as Head of the Department of Biochemistry from 1928 until his retirement in 1951.<sup>21</sup> Although his research in biochemistry was not directly applicable to social problems, Wasteneys perceived his work to be broadly defined in moral terms, and he believed that advancements in science led inevitably toward social progress. In a public lecture in January 1923, he urged: "The really great scientists of all ages have been conscious that the main object to be obtained by science is service to humanity."<sup>22</sup> Outside his academic responsibilities, he exhibited the same commitment to active citizenship which earlier in the century had been demonstrated by such academics as E.J. Kylie and S.A. Cudmore, and his involvement in University Settlement was matched by his interest in many similar reform projects in Toronto. In his view of settlement work, Wasteneys was inspired by the writings of Arnold Toynbee and Samuel Barnett, and, as a strong presence on the Board for over twenty-five years, he ensured that their vision of community reintegration would continue to dominate the policy of University Settlement

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<sup>21</sup>UTA, Department of Graduate Records, A73-0026/497(05), Hardolph Wasteneys, clipping: Toronto Globe and Mail, 3 February 1965.

<sup>22</sup>UTA, Department of Graduate Records, A73-0026/497(05), Hardolph Wasteneys, clipping: Toronto Mail, 11 January 1923.

well into the 1950s.<sup>23</sup> In 1928, for example, Wasteneys, who was then the Board's Vice-Chairman, prepared a statement which explained that the purpose of the Settlement was to facilitate understanding and contact between the members of the University and the inhabitants of its neighbourhood. "It is like a hand stretched out to give and to receive," he maintained; "to give because any member of a University has something vital to offer; to receive, because no member of a University can be educated unless his sympathy and thought are stimulated by contact with the lives and thoughts of all sorts and conditions of men."<sup>24</sup> At a meeting in May, the statement was adopted for use in the Settlement's new publicity pamphlet because, as the minutes reported, the other Board members thought it was "such an happy expression of what they felt the Settlement should stand for in relation to the University and the Community[.]"<sup>25</sup>

Beginning in the early 1940s, the management of University Settlement began to be disrupted by conflict between the professional aspirations of its staff, and the

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<sup>23</sup>Hortense Catherine Fardell Wasteneys, "A History of the University Settlement of Toronto, 1910-1958: An Exploration of the Social Objectives of the University Settlement and of Their Implementation" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1975), pp. 223-24, pp. 249-52.

<sup>24</sup>UTA, Ephemera, B81-1058, pamphlet: University Settlement House [1928].

<sup>25</sup>City of Toronto Archives, University Settlement House Collection, SC 24, series B, box 001, Board of Directors of University Settlement Minutes, 1925-1934, (10 May 1928).



idealist views of Wasteneys and other faculty members on the Board. In May 1943, the Head Resident, Frances Crowther, submitted a confidential report to Wasteneys as Chairman, in which she pointed out the staff's difficulty in transforming the Board's sanguine faith in nineteenth-century precepts into the kind of verifiable projects demanded by their increasingly sophisticated professional training. She wrote: "[T]here is a difference between the policy as outlined by the Board which is largely English in its outlook and the actual working out of Settlement program by the influence of American thinking. A new Staff and changed conditions in the neighbourhood have pointed up the ineffectiveness and lack of vitality of some of the work that we are doing. If the Settlement is to play the role in the University and neighbourhood which it should our whole policy and organization should be reviewed and redefined."<sup>26</sup> Reconciling the gap between ideals and actions had always been a problem for the residents of University Settlement, and, in some ways, Crowther's problems were no different from those experienced by J.M. Shaver in 1910. Crowther's report, however, reflected the fact that the female staff members were sensitive to the new perceptions of social work which were affecting the School, and that these influences were distancing them still further from the view of settlement work sustained by the idealism of the Board.

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<sup>26</sup>Quoted in Wasteneys, p. 156.

During the 1940s, the staff members of University Settlement became more and more impatient with what they saw as the Directors' ineffective and amateur approach to the agency's program, and the Board meetings frequently involved clashes of opinion over issues relating to professional status.<sup>27</sup> The tensions between the staff and the Board reached a climax in April 1948, when Hardolph Wasteneys tendered his resignation as Chairman in protest of the Board's decision to consider a report stipulating personnel standards for the staff. During the annual meeting that month, Wasteneys explained that he felt the existence of personnel standards to be "contrary to the spirit [of] the Settlement."<sup>28</sup> To support his perspective, Wasteneys referred to E.J. Urwick--whom he considered along with Toynbee and Barnett to be one of the "pioneers" of the settlement movement--and he repeated Urwick's concern that a "materialistic attitude" among social workers would destroy the fragile bond of connection between themselves and those they served. According to Wasteneys, Urwick had "pleaded with social workers to remain ever 'amateurs' not, of course, in the sense in which the word is used in the field of sport, but

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<sup>27</sup>Wasteneys, pp. 158-65; UTA, William Tout Sharp, B84-0002/001(08), University Settlement Annual Report, 1946, submitted by Frances Crowther; UTA, William Tout Sharp, B84-0002/001(09), University Settlement Annual Report, 1947, submitted by Mary C. Donaldson.

<sup>28</sup>City of Toronto Archives, University Settlement House Collection, SC 24, series B, box 001, Board of Directors of University Settlement Minutes, 1944-1950, (28 April 1948).

devoted, self-sacrificing, selfless servants of their fellow man."<sup>29</sup> Following the meeting, the staff members presented a statement of their own views to the Board, which asserted that their wish to have the agency set up high personnel standards was not inconsistent with their desire, as social workers, to serve humanity. "We see nothing unreasonable," they argued, "in recording, in the interests of efficiency and clarity, what has already been accepted in practice."<sup>30</sup> While Wasteneys eventually agreed to continue as Chairman in response to protests from the Board and from members of the Settlement's clubs, his determination to cling to an elite and voluntaristic view of service was out of harmony with the definition of professional social work put forth by the female staff members. His retirement five years later was merely an affirmation of the fact that the policy of University Settlement had to accommodate the University's changing objectives. In 1956, the Board acceded to the staff's recommendation that the Settlement be converted from an educational institution into a neighbourhood recreation centre, and, in cooperation with the City of Toronto, in 1958 a new building was constructed to house such necessary modern facilities as a swimming pool and a gymnasium.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Quoted in Wasteneys, p. 177.

<sup>30</sup>Quoted in Wasteneys, p. 317.

<sup>31</sup>Wasteneys, pp. 179-80, pp. 267-68.

In 1910, Robert Falconer had entreated Toronto students to seek the "highest good," and the University's young men had come to believe that the ultimate expression of their own citizenship could be found in self-denying service to others. The establishment of University Settlement in 1910, and the organization of the Department of Social Service in 1914, had been attempts to institutionalize that Victorian ideal of service within the expanding structure of the twentieth-century University. After World War II, social welfare could no longer be perceived simply as an individual masculine responsibility worked out at the community level, and the growing complexity of public welfare services administered by the federal and provincial governments required trained men and women who could efficiently organize resources within a centralized system.<sup>32</sup> The goal of social progress still dominated the University's mandate, but during the 1940s, the very idea of progress had been infused with an admiration for order, efficiency and technological expertise, a new preoccupation which effectively undermined the altruistic spirit central to the Toronto ideal. "[W]e so readily think of civilization in

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<sup>32</sup>For examinations of the development of the Canadian welfare state, see Dennis Guest, The Emergence of Social Security in Canada, 2d ed., rev. (Vancouver, 1985); James Struthers, "Regulating the Elderly: Old Age Pensions and the Formation of a Pension Bureaucracy in Ontario, 1929-1945," Journal of the Canadian Historical Association, III (1992), 235-55; James Struthers, No Fault of Their Own: Unemployment and the Canadian Welfare State, 1914-1941 (Toronto, 1983).

terms of equipment," Urwick had protested wistfully in 1940, "of bigger and better pots and pans in fact ... rather than in the plain terms of the qualifications of the good citizen, and of the good society, whose marks will be universal trust in the goodwill of all, and security for the onward march of each towards a fuller life in conscious co-operation with all."<sup>33</sup> While many Toronto academics after the war continued to look hopefully toward an ideal society, the conviction of moral rightness which had encouraged Urwick's generation no longer had the authority to prescribe what that society ought to be.

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<sup>33</sup>UTA, Pamphlets, box 6: E.J. Urwick, "Social Philosophy and Social Work," in Training for Social Work in the Department of Social Science, University of Toronto, 1914-1940, 1940, p. 52.

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